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Spring 2005
Political Science 860

Authoritarianism and Its Aftermath

Description: This seminar explores totalitarian, authoritarian, and other non-democratic regimes: how and why they come about, what sustains them, and how and why they decline and fall. We will also explore the aftermath of totalitarianism and authoritarianism, and speculate on the world-wide future of democracy and authoritarianism.

Requirements: Two-thirds of your grade will be based on a term paper, due in my mailbox by Friday, May 6, 5:00pm. You are free to choose any topic you wish, provided that it is relevant to the course. Topics might include an analysis of a particular case of authoritarian persistence and breakdown, or a comparison of different types of non-democratic regimes. Be sure you discuss the topic with me in advance. A one-page synopsis of your proposed paper is due in class on March 8. On April 5 each person will give a 15-20 minute in-class presentation on his or her paper. One-third of your grade will be based on class participation and “reaction papers” for each week in which we have readings except for the last day of class. These papers, no more than three pages long, should not be mere descriptions of the weekly readings. They could, for example, elaborate further on some theoretical point, propose and discuss an alternative hypothesis, or compare and contrast different readings. Class participation is essential. This means two things. First, you must do the weekly readings, and think about what arguments the authors are making. Second, you must be prepared to critically discuss these arguments in class. I reserve the right to add or subtract readings as needed.

Books available for purchase at the Underground Textbook Exchange, 664 State Street (across from Starbucks):

Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. (Beacon Press, 1990).

Roger Boesche, *Theories of Tyranny: From Plato to Arendt*. (Penn State University Press, 1995).

Juan J. Linz, *Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

János Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*. (Princeton University Press, 1992).
Alec Nove, *The Economics of Feasible Socialism*. (HarperCollinsAcademic, 1991).
Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. (HarperCollins, 1999).
Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. (Oxford University Press, 2000).
Daniel Chirot, *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age*. (New York: The Free Press, 1994).
Ronald Wintrobe, *The Political Economy of Dictatorship*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*. (Oxford, 1997).
Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*. (Transaction Publishers, 2000).

All other readings are available on ereserve. To access them please follow the directions at: <http://www.library.wisc.edu/reserves/>

Important Note: I have often assigned only parts of books. This is necessary to ensure that the important material be covered. However, I strongly recommend that the unassigned portions of books also be looked at.

1. (January 18): Introduction and Overview

2. (January 25): Social Origins of Totalitarianism, Authoritarianism, Democracy

William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*. (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 13-17; 119-172.
Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. (Beacon Press, 1966).
Gregory M. Luebbert, "Social Foundation of Political Order in Interwar Europe," *World Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 4, July 1987, pp. 449-478.

3. (February 1): Strategies of Authoritarian Rule

Roger Boesche, *Theories of Tyranny: From Plato to Arendt* (Penn State University Press, 1995), Chapter 1, "Plato"; Chapter 4, "Machiavelli"; Chapter 9, "Weber."
Daniel Chirot, *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age*. (New York: The Free Press, 1994), Chapter 1, "On Modern Tyranny."

4. (February 8) A Desire for Authoritarianism....?

- Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), pp. 1-32.
- Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*. (New York: Avon Books, 1964 [1941]), pp. xii-38.
- Mark Lilla, "The Lure of Syracuse," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, Issue 14, Sept. 2001.
- Albert Somit and Steven A. Peterson, *Darwinism, Dominance and Democracy: The Biological Bases of Authoritarianism*. (Praeger, 1997), pp. 3-14; 51-84.
- Carl Gershman, "Explaining Communism's Appeal," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 2, April 2000, pp. 169-173.

5. (February 15) ...Or False Consciousness?

- Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*. (New York: Penguin, 1993 [1924]).
- Mikhail Heller, *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*. (New York: Knopf, 1988, pp. 1-87; 259-263.
- Karl Marx, "Political Consciousness and the Means of Production," in Neil J. Kressel, *Political Psychology: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. New York: Random House, 1993, pp. 103-107.
- James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), Chapters 1 and 4.

6. (February 22): Is Dictatorship Rational?

- Ronald Wintrobe, *The Political Economy of Dictatorship*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Draft Manuscript. Selections.

7. (March 1): FILM, title TBA.

8. (March 8): How Did Communist Regimes Work? The Economy (ONE-PAGE PAPER SYNOPSSES DUE)

- János Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*. (Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Charles Sabel and David Stark, "Planning, Politics and Shop Floor Power: Hidden Forms of Bargaining in Soviet-Imposed State-Socialist Societies" *Politics & Society* 4, 1982, 439-475.

Alec Nove, *The Economics of Feasible Socialism*. (HarperCollinsAcademic, 1991), pp. 73-126; 127-156.

Richard E. Ericson, "The Classical Soviet-Type Economy: Nature of the System and Implications for Reform," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 5, Issue 4 (Autumn, 1991), 11-27.

9. (March 15): How Did Communist Regimes Work? Party, State, and Society

Ferenc Fehér, Ágnes Heller, and György Márkus, *Dictatorship over Needs: An Analysis of Soviet Societies*. (Basil Blackwell, 1984), Chapters 5 and 7.

Václav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," in Václav Havel et al, *The Power of the Powerless*. (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1985).

Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. (HarperCollins, 1999).

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. (Oxford University Press, 2000).

(March 19-27): Spring Break

10. (March 29): What is/was Fascism and How Does/Did it Work?

Ian Kershaw, "The Essence of Nazism: Form of fascism, brand of totalitarianism, or unique phenomenon?," in Roger Griffin with Matthew Feldman, editors, *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science* Volume IV. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 47-74.

Adrian Lyttleton, "What was Fascism?" *The New York Review of Books*, Volume LI, No. 16, October 21, 2004, pp. 33-36.

Juan J. Linz, "Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer," in Roger Griffin with Matthew Feldman, editors, *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science* Volume II. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 141-173.

Mark Antliff, "Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity," in in Roger Griffin with Matthew Feldman, editors, *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science* Volume III. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 120-168.

11. (April 5): Class Presentations

12. (April 12): The Decline and Collapse of (Classical) Authoritarian Regimes

- Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*. (Oxford, 1997), Chapters 1-2; 4-6; 9.
- Jean J. Kirkpatrick, *Dictatorships and Double Standards*. (American Enterprise Institute, 1982), pp. 7-18; 23-52; 96-138.
- Samuel P. Huntington, "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society*. (Basic Books, 1970), pp. 3-47.
- Richard Lowenthal, "Beyond Totalitarianism?" in Irving Howe, editor, *1984 Revisited*, pp. 209-267.
- Charles Maier, "The Collapse of Communism: Approaches for a Future History", *History Workshop* 31 (1991), 34-59.

13. (April 19): Varieties of Non-Democratic Regimes

- Juan J. Linz, *Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 159-261.
- Daniel Chirot, *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age*. (New York: The Free Press, 1994), Chapters 5-9;11.

14. (April 26): Between Democracy and Authoritarianism

- Larry Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 21-35.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 51-65.
- Lilia Shevtsova, "The Limits of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 3, July 2004, pp. 67-77.
- Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy", *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 1997, Vol. 76, No. 6, pp. 22-43.

15. (May 3): Concluding Reflections

- Daniel Chirot, *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age*. (New York: The Free Press, 1994), Chapter 12.
- Roger Boesche, *Theories of Tyranny*, Conclusion.
- Harold D. Lasswell, "The Garrison State," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46, No. 4, January 1941, pp. 455-468.

Papers due May 6, 5:00pm.