

Central European University, Budapest
Department of History
Department of Political Science

**Reinterpreting Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe: A
Comparative Analysis**

M.A. Course, 2 Credits, Spring 2020 (from May 5 to May 15)

Prof. Julian Casanova

Classes:

Office Hours:

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

The comparative historical analysis calls for interdisciplinary dialogue between sociology, political science, and history. The objective of this course is to draw up a narrative comparative interpretation, establishing similarities and differences, of the main demonstrations of political and collective violence, from anarchist terrorism at the beginning of the century to the later episodes of war and politics of extermination in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

After an introductory overview of the main interpretative frameworks offered by historiography, the course will turn its focus to a critical review of the most recent socio-historical research and debates concerning violence, with special emphasis on colonial violence, wars, revolutions, paramilitarism, sexual violence, ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Readings:

A huge body of literature exists on the large and important themes that we shall pursue in the course.

The following books are specially recommended:

-ALTINAY, Aysel Güll and PETÖ, Andrea (ed), *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories. Feminist Conversations on War, Genocide and Political Violence*, Routledge, London, 2016.

-BEREND, Ivan T., *Decades of Crisis. Central and Eastern Europe before World War II*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998.

-BERGHahn, Volker R., *Europe in the Era of Two World Wars. From Militarism and Genocide to Civil Society, 1900-1950*, Princeton University Press, 2006.

- BESSEL, Richard, *Violence. A Modern Obsession*, Simon & Schuster, London, 2015.
- BLOXHAM, Donald and GERWARTH, Robert (ed), *Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001.
- BÖHLER, Jochen; BORODZIEJ, Vlodzimierz; and VON PUTTKAMER, Joachim, *Legacies of Violence. Eastern Europe's First World War*, Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, 2014.
- CARMICHAEL, Cathie, *Genocide Before the Holocaust*, Yale University Press, New Haven y London, 2009.
- CHICKERING, Roger; FÖRSTER, Stig; and GREINER, Bernd, *A World of Total War. Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937-1945*, German Historical Institute y Cambridge University Press, Washington, 2005.
- DEÁK, Itsván, *Europe on Trial. The Story of Collaboration, Resistance, and Retribution During World War II*, Westview Press, Philadelphia, PA, 2015.
- GAGNON, V.P. Jr., *The Myth of Ethnic War. Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca y London, 2004.
- GERWARTH, Robert and HORNE, John (ed), *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012.
- GERWARTH, Robert, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End (1917-1923)*, Allen Lane, London 2016
- HAYNES, Rebeca y RADY, Martyn, *In the Shadow of Hitler. Personalities of the Right in Central and Eastern Europe*, I.B., Tauris, London, 2011.
- HERZOG, Dagmar (ed), *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, Nueva York, 2009.
- JUDT, Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, Williman Heineman, London, 2005
- MARTEL, Gordon (ed), *Twentieth-Century War and Conflict. A Concise Encyclopedia*, Wiley Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2015.
- MILLINGTON, Chris and PASSMORE, Kevin (ed), *Political Violence and Democracy in Western Europe, 1918-1940*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2015.
- NAIMARK, Norman M., *Fires of hatred: ethnic cleansing in twentieth-century Europe*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2001.
- PETERSEN, Roger D., *Understanding Ethnic Violence. Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.
- RAMET, Sabrina P., *The Three Yugoslavias. State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 2006.
- WEITZ, Eric D., *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course is organised into lectures and seminars. The first eight sessions will be lectures, while the last four will be seminars devoted to four case studies. Regular participation in discussions is necessary and expected. During the seminars, students are expected to reflect critically on the mandatory readings and to engage in discussions. Questions and stimulating interaction during the lectures will be positively evaluated as well.

The items marked with an asterisk (*) under each week topic are mandatory. Each student will have to take part in one 15 minutes presentation in a group of 4, in the seminars, depending on the number of participants in the course. A general class discussion will follow

Grade relevant features of the presentation will be: adequate representation of the literature processed and critical, innovative and stimulating thought. I will assist you with identifying core readings for the presentations.

There will be a final writing assignment (2 pages), a short review of one of the books of the readings specially recommended. Please note that class attendance is required.

GRADING:

The short review will weigh 40 percent of the grade. The remaining 60 percent will be assigned for presentations (40 percent) and participation in discussions (20 percent).

LEARNING OUTCOMES AND THEIR ASSESSMENT

The overall grade will primarily indicate the ability of the students to comprehend and rethink historical concepts and processes, to fit the pieces of that huge mosaic together, to establish the differences among politics, history and memory. The learning outcomes of the master program are supported and measured by the present course in the following ways: The ability to deploy effective oral presentation and discussion skills is assessed through the classes. The skills to analyse historical events and evaluate them in a comparative perspective will be reflected by a final evaluation: a short review (2 pages) of a source included in the bibliography of the course. The discussions and final evaluation will also measure the ability of students to elaborate a critical review of the most recent socio-historical research and debates concerning Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1

**Session 1: Course description, content and works of relevance to the course.
History and Social Sciences.**

Session 2: Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe: general patterns and periodization

Readings:

-BLOXHAM, Donald and GERWARTH, Robert (ed), *Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe*, “Introduction” and “Europe in the world: systems and culture of violence”, pp. 1-39.

-BERGHAHN, Volker R., *Europe in the Era of Two World Wars. From Militarism and Genocide to Civil Society, 1900-1950*, “Introduction” and “Conclusions”, pp. 1-6 and 130-142.

-BESSEL, Richard, *Violence. A Modern Obsession*, “Introduction”, pp. 1-18

-Ian Kershaw, “War and Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe”, *Contemporary European History*, Vol 14, 1 (February 2005), pp. 110-112

-MAZOWER, Mark, “Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century”, *The American Historical Review*, 107, 4 (2002), pp. 1158-1178

**Session 3: Violence before World War I: Anarchist Terrorism. Insurrections.
Ethno-nationalism and Colonialism.**

Readings:

-BERGHAHN, Volker R., *Europe in the Era of Two World Wars*, Chapter I, pp. 7-32.

-EVANS, Richard J., “The Wages of Empire”, *The Pursuit of Power. Europe 1815-1914*, Viking, New York, 2016, pp. 626-716.

- CARMICHAEL, Cathie, *Genocide Before the Holocaust*, pp. 1-26.

-POMPER, Philip, “Russian Revolutionary Terrorism”, in Marta Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in context*, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pa, 1995, pp. 63-105

-CASANOVA, Julián, “The Dark Face of Spanish Anarchism”, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 67, Spring 2005, pp. 79-99

- JENSEN, Richard Bach, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism. An International History, 1878-1934*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014

---“Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16, 1 (2004),

-PILBEAM, Pamela, "Chasing Rainbows: the Nineteenth-Century Revolutionary Legacy", in Moira Donald y Tim Rees (ed), *Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Macmillan, London, 2001, pp. 19-40

-DONALD, Moira, "Russia 1905: the Forgotten Revolution", Moira Donald and Tim Rees (ed), *Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 41-54

-MARIN, Irina, *Peasant Violence and Antisemitism in Early Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan (Springer Nature), Cham, Switzerland,, 2018

Session 4: War

Readings:

-MCMILLAN, James, "War", in BLOXHAM, Donald and GERWARTH, Robert (ed), *Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 40-86

-BERGHAIN, Volker R., *Europe in the Era of Two World Wars*, "Violence Unleashed, 1914-1923" (pp. 33-57) and "Terroristic Warfare" (pp. 99-112).

-BESSEL, Richard, *Violence. A Modern Obsession*, pp. 133-166

-GERWARTH, Robert, "The continuum of violence", en Jay Winter (ed), *The Cambridge History of the First World War. Volume II: The State*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 638-662

-OVERY, Richard, "Warfare in Europe since 1918", in T.C.W. Blanning (ed), *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, pp. 214-233

-MOSSE, George L, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990

-JONES, Heather, "The Great War: How 1914-18 Changed the Relationship Between War and Civilians", *The RUSI Journal*, 159, 4, 2014, pp. 84-91

Session 5: Revolution and Counterrevolution

Readings:

-CONWAY, Martin and GERWARTH, Robert, "Revolution and Counter-revolution", in BLOXHAM, Donald and GERWARTH, Robert (ed), *Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 140-175.

-HOLQUIST, Peter, *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914-1921*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 2002

--- Violent Russia, Deadly Marxism? Russia in the Epoch of Violence, 1905-21", *Kritika: Explorations in Russia And Euroasia History*, 4 (3), Summer 2002, pp. 627-52.

-READ, Christopher, *War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-22. The Collapse of Tsarism and the Establishment of Soviet Power*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2013

-ARMITAGE, David, "Every Great Revolution is a Civil War", en Keith Michael Baker y Dan Ellstein (ed.), *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*", Standford University Press, Stanford, 2015, pp. 57-68.

-BEYRAU, Dietrich., “The Long Shadow of the Revolution: Violence in War and Peace in the Soviet Union”, en Jochen Böhrer et al (eds.), *Legacies of Violence*, pp. 285-316

-SMITH, S.A., “The Historiography of the Russian Revolution 100 Years On”, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 16, n. 4, Fall 2015.

-CASANOVA, Julián, “Civil Wars, Revolutions and Counterrevolutions in Finland, Spain, and Greece (1918-1949): A Comparative Analysis”, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 13, 3, 2000, pp. 515-537

--- “Viejos y nuevos relatos sobre las revoluciones de 1917”, *Historia Social*, 88, 2017, pp. 87-103.

-BESSEL, Richard, *Violence. A Modern Obsession*, pp. 65-98.

-EICHENBERG, Julia and, NEWMAN, John Paul, “Introduction: Aftershocks: Violence in the Dissolving Empires after the First World War”, *Contemporary European History*, vol. 19, n° 3 (2010), pp. 183-194

-GATRELL, Peter, “War after the War: Conflicts, 1919-23”, in John Horne (ed), *A Companion to World War I*, Blackwell Publishing, London, 2010

Session 6: Paramilitarism. Fascism.

Readings:

-BODO, Bela, “The White Terror in Hungary, 1919-1921: The Social World of Paramilitary Groups”, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 42 (2011)

-WRÓBEL, Piotr, “The Seeds of Violence. The Brutalization of an East European Region, 1917-1921”, *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 1, n°1 (2003).

-GERWARTH, Robert and HORNE, John, “Vectors of Violence: Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War, 1917-1923”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 83 (September 2011), pp. 489-512

-GERWARTH, Robert, “The Central European Counter-Revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Germany, Austria and Hungary after the Great War”, *Past & Present*, 200 (2008), pp. 185-186.

-GENTILE, Emilio, “Paramilitary Violence in Italy: The Rationale of Fascism and the Origins of Totalitarianism”, in Robert Gerwarth y John Horne (ed), *War in Peace*, pp. 85-106

-MILLAN, Matteo, “The Institutionalization of *Squadristo*. Disciplining Paramilitary Violence in the Italian Fascist Dictatorship”, *Contemporary European History*, 22, 4 (2013).

-CORNER, Paul, “The Road to Fascism: An Italian Sonderweg”?, *Contemporary European History*, vol. 11, n° 2 (2002), pp. 273-295.

-EICHENBERG, Julia, “The Dark Side of Independence: Paramilitary Violence in Ireland and Poland after the First World War”, *Contemporary European History*, 19, 3 (2010), pp. 231-248.

Week 2

Session 7: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide

Readings:

-BLOXHAM, Donald and MOSES, A. Dirk, "Genocide and ethnic cleansing", in Donald Bloxham y Robert Gerwarth, *Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 87-139.

-BLOXHAM, Donald, *The Great Game of Genocide. Imperialism, Nationalism and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005.

--- "The Armenian Genocide of 1915-1916: Cumulative Radicalization and the Development of a Destruction Policy", *Past & Present*, 181 (2003), pp. 141-191

NAIMARK, Norman M., *Fires of hatred: ethnic cleansing in twentieth-century Europe*.

-MANN, Michael, *The Dark Side of Democracy. Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, Chapters 1-13

-PETERSEN, Roger, *Understanding Ethnic Violence. Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*.

WEITZ, Eric D., *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*

-PETROVIC, Drazen, "Ethnic Cleansing", en Gordon Martel (ed), *Twentieth-Century War and Conflict*.

-SUNY, Ronald Grigor, "They can live in the desert but nowhere else". *A History of the Armenian genocide*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2015

-STONE, Dan, *The Historiography of Genocide*, Palgrave Macmillan, Nueva York, 2008.

-GESSLER, Myriam, "The Ultimate Horror. Reflections on Total War and Genocide", in Roger Chickering, Stig Förster y Bernd Greiner, *A World of Total War. Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937-1945*, German Historical Institute (Washington D.C)-Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, pp. 53-68.

NAIMARK, Norman, M., *Stalin's Genocides*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2010.

Session 8: Sexual Violence

Readings:

-GERWARTH, Robert, "Sexual and Nonsexual Violence against Politicized Women in Central Europe after the Great War", in HEINEMAN, Elisabeth D.(ed), *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones. From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*", University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011, pp. 122-136.

-KOVAC, Matthew, "'Red Amazons'? Gendering Violence and Revolution in the Long First World War, 1914-23", *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 20, 4 (2019),

-HERZOG, Dagmar (ed), *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*.

-HEINEMAN, Elisabeth D., "Introduction: The History of Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones", in E.D. Heineman (ed), *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones*.

-JONES, Adam, "Gendercide and Genocide", *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. II, n° 2 (2000), pp. 185-211.

-BRANCHE, Raphaëlle Branche and VIRGILI, Fabrice (ed), *Rape in Wartime*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2012.

-VIRGILI, Fabrice, *Shorn Women. Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*, Berg, Oxford, 2002

Seminars: Case Studies

Session 9: Seminar: The Armenian Genocide

Readings:

*-BLOXHAM, Donald and MOSES, A. Dirk, "Genocide and ethnic cleansing", in Donald Bloxham y Robert Gerwarth, *Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 87-139.

*-BLOXHAM, Donald "The Armenian Genocide of 1915-1916: Cumulative Radicalization and the Development of a Destruction Policy", *Past & Present*, 181 (2003), pp. 141-191

Session 10: Seminar: Russian Revolutions of 1917

Readings:

*-HOLQUIST, Peter, "Violent Russia, Deadly Marxism? Russia in the Epoch of Violence, 1905-21", *Kritika: Explorations in Russia And Eurasia History*, 4 (3), Summer 2002, pp. 627-52.

*-BEYRAU, Dietrich,, "The Long Shadow of the Revolution: Violence in War and Peace in the Soviet Union", en Jochen Böehler et al (eds.), *Legacies of Violence*, pp. 285-316.

Session 11: Seminar: Paramilitarism, Fascism and Violence in Italy

Readings:

*-GENTILE, Emilio, "Paramilitary Violence in Italy: The Rationale of Fascism and the Origins of Totalitarianism", in Robert Gerwarth y John Horne (ed), *War in Peace*, pp. 85-106

*-MILLAN, Matteo, "The Institutionalization of *Squadrismo*. Disciplining Paramilitary Violence in the Italian Fascist Dictatorship", *Contemporary European History*, 22, 4 (2013), pp. 551-573.

Session 12: Seminar: War in Bosnia

Readings:

*-IACOBELLI, Teresa, “The ‘Sum of Such Actions’. Investigating Mass Rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina through a Case Study of Foca”, in Darmag Herzog (ed), *Brutality and Desire*, pp. 261-283.

*-SOKOLOVIC, Dzemal, “How to Conceptualize the Tragedy of Bosnia: Civil, Ethnic, Religious War or...?”, *War Crimes, Genocide & Crimes Against Humanity*, vol. 1, n° 1, 2005, pp. 115-130

*-CARMICHAEL, Cathie, “Brothers, Strangers and Enemies: Ethno-Nationalism and the Demise of Communist Yugoslavia”, in Dan Stone, *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012,