

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

## **20<sup>th</sup>-Century History of Authoritarianism, Violence, Social Change, and Revolutions**

M.A. Course, 4 Credits, Fall 2024 (from September 16 to December 13)

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, revolutions and authoritarianism in Twentieth-Century Europe.

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, revolutions and authoritarianism, with special emphasis on colonial violence, wars, paramilitarism, sexual violence, ethnic cleansing, fascism and genocide.

Students will be encouraged to develop comparisons with other time periods and other regions of the world.

### **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.
- ARMITAGE, David, *Civil Wars. A History in Ideas*, Yale University Press, 2017
- 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.
- CARMICHAEL, Cathie, *Genocide Before the Holocaust*, Yale University Press, New Haven y London, 2009.
- 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
- GOLDSTONE, Jack A. ed., *Revolutions. Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Orlando, 1986.
- 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
- KALYVAS, Stathis N., *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, 2006
- LEONARD, Carol S., ORLOVSKY, Daniel and PETROV, Jurev, *The Russian Revolution of 1917. Memory and Legacy*, Routledge, London, 2024
- LOSURDO, Domenico, *War and Revolution. Rethinking the Twentieth Century*, Verso, London, 2015.
- MANN, Michael, *Fascists*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004
- NAIMARK, Norman M., *Fires of hatred: ethnic cleansing in twentieth-century Europe*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2001

NEWMAN, Edward, *Understanding Civil Wars. Continuity and Change in Intrastate Conflict*, Routledge, London, 2014

PAXTON, Robert, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, Vintage Books, London, 2005

-PAYNE, Stanley G., *A history of fascism, 1914-45*, Taylor & Francis Group, London, 1995

-PETERSEN, Roger D., *Understanding Ethnic Violence. Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.

SKOCPOL, Theda, *Social revolutions in the modern world*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1994.

TAYLOR, Stan, *Social Science and Revolutions*, St. Martin Press, New York, 1984.

-WEITZ, Eric D., *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003.

WILLIAMSON, D. G., *The age of the dictators: a study of the european dictatoships, 1918-1953*, Harlow, U.K. ; New York : Pearson Longman, 2007

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course is organised into lectures and seminars. Typically, the first meeting of the week is a lecture, while the second is a seminar. 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 25 minutes presentation in a group of 2, 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 historiographic essay (ca. 7-page) to compare and evaluate the viewpoints of three authors on the same subject. The students should be able to elaborate a thesis/argument and support it with evidence taken from the texts. Please note that class attendance is required.

## GRADING:

The final paper will weigh 50 percent of the grade. The remaining 50 percent will be assigned for presentations (30 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 the final paper. 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, Authoritarianism and Revolutions 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: Revolution: Theories and History. From Barrington Moore to Theda Skocpol: The Comparative and Historical Study of Revolutions**

### **Readings:**

-DEFRONZO, James, "Social Movements and Revolutions", in *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, pp. 9-37

-GOLDSTONE, Jack A., "Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation", *World Politics*, XXXII, 3(April 1980), pp. 425-453

-SKOCPOL, Theda, *States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, Introduction, pp. 3-43

---and TRIMBERGER, Ellen Kay, "Revolutions and the World Historical Development of Capitalism", *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, XXII(1977-1978), pp. 101-113

-TARROW, Sidney and TILLY, Charles, "Contentious Politics and Social Movements", in Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, pp. 435-460

-ZIMMERMANN, Ekkart, *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolutions: Theories and Research*, Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass, 1983, "Some Concluding Remarks", pp. 412-434

## **Week 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 2: Violence before World War I: Anarchist Terrorism. Insurrections. Ethno-nationalism and Colonialism.**

### **Readings:**

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

-\*CASANOVA, Julian, "The Dark Face of Spanish Anarchism", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 67, Spring 2005, pp. 79-99

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

### **Week 3: Authoritarianism, Dictatorships, Fascism: A comparative perspective**

#### **Readings:**

-DE GRAND, Alexander J, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The 'Fascist' Style of Rule*, Routledge, 1995

-LINZ, Juan J. and STEPAN, Alfred eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1978.

MANN, Michael, *Fascists*

PAXTON, Robert, *The Anatomy of Fascism*

WILLIAMSON, D. G., *The age of the dictators: a study of the european dictatoships, 1918-1953*

#### **Session 2: Seminar (Discussion):**

-\*MANN, Michael, "Explaining the Rise of Interwar Authoritarianism and Fascism", *Fascists*, pp. 31-91

-\*OVERY, Richard, *The Dictators. Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2004, Conclusion (pp. 635-651).

### **Week 4: War**

-BERGHAHN, 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

-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

#### **Session 2: Seminar (Discussion):**

#### **Readings:**

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

-\*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

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

## **Week 5: Paramilitarism**

### **Readings:**

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

-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.

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

### **Session 2: Seminar (Discussion):**

-\*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.

-\*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

-\*WRÓBEL, Piotr, "The Seeds of Violence. The Brutalization of an East European Region, 1917-1921", *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 1, n°1 (2003), pp. 125-149

## **Part 2: Case Studies**

### **Week 6: The Russian Revolutions of 1917**

-FIGES, Orlando, *People's Tragedy. The Russian Revolution: 1891-1924*, Penguin, 1998

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

-PIPES, Richard, "Reflections on the Russian Revolution", in *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution*, Vintage Books, New York, 1996, pp. 382-406

### **Session 2: Seminar (Discussion):**

-\*BADCOCK Sarah, "Women, Protest, and Revolution: Soldiers' Wives in Russia during 1917", *International Review of Social History*, 49 (2004), pp. 47-70.

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

### **Week 7: Paramilitarism, Fascism and Violence in Italy**

-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

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

#### **Session 2: Seminar (Discussion):**

##### **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.

### **Week 8: Civil War, Revolution and Dictatorship in Spain 1936-1975**

##### **Readings:**

-CASANOVA, Julián, "An International War", in *The Spanish Republic and Civil War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 212-235

--- "The Republic at war", in *The Spanish Republic and Civil War*, 236-274

--- "Civil Wars, Revolutions and Counterrevolutions in Finland, Spain, and Greece (1918-1949): A Comparative Analysis", *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 13, 2(2000), pp. 515-537

-FRASER, Ronald, "The popular experience of war and revolution", in Paul Preston ed., *Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939*, Methuen, London, 1984, pp. 225-242

-PRESTON, Paul, *The Spanish Holocaust. Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, Harper Press, London, 2012

-RICHARDS, Michael, *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-Making Spain since 1936*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013



## **Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)**

-\*CASANOVA, Julian, "Holy War and Anticlerical Hatred", in *A Short History of the Spanish Civil War*, Bloomsbury, London, 2021, pp. 39-70

---\*"Franco's peace", Julian Casanova and Carlos Gil, *Twentieth-Century Spain. A History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 219-248.

-\*GRAHAM, Helen, "Rebellion, revolution, and repression", in *The Spanish Civil War. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, pp. 21-36.

## **Week 9: Postwar. Europe in the Aftermath of World War II.**

### Readings

-DEÁK, István, GROSS, Jan T. and JUDT, Tony, *The Politics of Retribution in Europe. World War II and Its Aftermath*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (NJ), 2000

-LOWE, Keith, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2012, Conclusion

-MACDONOGH, Giles, *After the Reich. The Brutal History of the Allied Occupation*, Basic Books, London, 2009

## **Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)**

-\*DEÁK, István, "The Long Aftermath of Collaboration, Resistance, and Retribution", in *Europe on Trial. The Story of Collaboration, Resistance and Retribution During World War II*, Westview Press/Perseus Book Group, Philadelphia, 2015, pp. 211-223

-\*JUDT, Tony, *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*, Penguin Books, London, 2005, Chapters I and II.

-\*KERSHAW, Ian, "Out of the Ashes", *To Hell and Back. Europe 1914-1949*, pp. 470-522

## **Week 10: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide**

-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*.

-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.

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

## **Session 2: The Armenian Genocide. Seminar (Discussion):**

### **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

-\*WEITZ, Eric D., "Conclusion", in *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, pp. 236-254

## **Week 11:**

### **Session 1: The Revolutions of 1989: Seminar (Presentations)**

\*-AUER, Stefan, "*The Revolutions of 1989 revisited*", <https://www.eurozine.com/the-revolutions-of-1989-revisited/>

-\*ASH, Timothy Garton, "Witness and History" and "The Year of Truth", in *The Magic Lantern. The Revolutions of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague*, Random House, New York, 1990, pp. 11-23 and 131-156.

-\*TISMANEANU, Vladimir, "The Revolutions of 1989: Causes, Meanings, Consequences", in *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 18, No.3, 2009, pp. 271-288.

## **Session 2: War in Bosnia 1992-1995: Seminar (Presentations)**

\*-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,

\*-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, Dzermal, “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

## **Week 12: Wars, Nations and Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe (Discussion):**

### **Readings:**

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

\*-KERSHAW, Ian, “Wars and Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe”, *Contemporary European History*, 14, 1 (2005)

## **Session 2: Final Paper Due**

