

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

## **Revolutions and Civil Wars in the Twentieth Century: a Comparative Analysis**

M.A. Course, 4 Credits, Fall 2016 (from September 19 to December 9)

Prof. Julian Casanova

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Classes: 15:30-17:10 Mon/Wed, Nador 13, 516/A

Office Hours: 14:30-15:30 Mon/Wed, FT804

### COURSE DESCRIPTION:

The comparative historical analysis of revolutions and civil wars calls for interdisciplinary dialogue between sociology, political science, and history. Revolutions and civil wars bring radical changes in social structures as well as in states' functions and political structures that must be studied both internally and internationally. After an introductory overview of the main interpretative frameworks offered by sociology, political science and historiography, the course will turn its focus to a critical review of the most recent socio-historical research and debates concerning revolutions, civil wars and counter-revolutions in the Twentieth Century, with special emphasis on the Peasant Revolutions, the Russian Revolution, Fascism and the Spanish Civil War. 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:

DEFRONZO, James, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 2011

GOLDSTONE, Jack A. ed., *Revolutions. Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Orlando, 1986.

FERGUSON, Niall, *The War of the World. Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West*, Penguin Books, London, 2006

KALYVAS, Stathis N., *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, 2006

LOSURDO, Domenico, *War and Revolution. Rethinking the Twentieth Century*, Verso, London, 2015.

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

POLK, William R., *Violent Politics. A History of Insurgency, Terrorism & Guerrilla War, from the American Revolution to Iraq*, Harper, New York, 2008

SELBIN, Eric, *Revolution, Rebellion and Resistance: The Power of Story*, Zed Books, London, 2010

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.

TILLY, Charles and TARROW, Sidney, *Contentious Politics*, Paradigm Press, Boulder, 2006

ZIMMERMANN, Ekkart, *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolutions: Theories and Research*, Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass, 1983.

#### 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 devoted to the case studies, 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 the ways revolutions and civil wars bring radical changes in social structures as well as in states' functions and political structures that must be studied both internally and

internationally. 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 seminars. The skills to analyze historical events and evaluate them in a comparative perspective are reflected by the final paper. The discussions and final paper will also measure the ability of students to elaborate a critical review of the most recent socio-historical research and debates concerning revolutions and civil wars in the Twentieth Century.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **Week 1**

**Session 1:** Course description, content and works of relevance to the course

**Session 2:** History and Social Sciences

### **Part I: Theories**

### **Week 2: Revolution: Theories and History**

#### 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

-HOBSBAWM, Eric J., "Revolution", in Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich ed., *Revolution in History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 5-46

-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

ZAGORIN, Perez, "Theories of Revolution in Contemporary Historiography", *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXVIII, 1(March 1973), pp. 23-52

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

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

-\*GOLDSTONE, Jack A., "Towards a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory", *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol 4 (2001), pp. 139-187

-\*KUMAR, Krishan, "The Revolutionary Idea in 20<sup>th</sup> Century World", in Moira and Tim Rees, *Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2000, pp. 177-197

-\*LOSURDO, Domenico, "Two Centuries Under Discussion: Historical Revisionism", in *War and Revolution*, pp. 1-30

### **Week 3: Civil Wars. War and Revolution**

#### Readings:

-BROWN, Michael E., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1996, Introduction (pp. 1-29)

-ECKSTEIN, Harry, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars", *History and Theory*, Vol. 4, No.2 (1965), pp. 133-163

-EDMONDS, Martin, "Civil War, Internal War, and Intrasocietal Conflict. A Taxonomy and Typology", in Robin Higham ed., *Civil Wars in the Twentieth Century*, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 1972, pp. 11-26

-HOLSTI, Kalevi J., *The state, war, and the state of war*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1996, Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-40)

-KALYVAS, Stathis N., "Concepts", in *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*, pp. 16-31

-KING, Charles, *Ending Civil Wars*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1997, Introduction and Chapter 1, pp. 11-28

-SAMBANIS, Nicholas, "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*; 48 (Dec 2004), pp. 814-858

-WALT, Stephen M., "Revolution and War", *World Politics*, 44, 3(April 1992), pp. 321-368

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

-\*ARMITAGE, David, "Civil Wars, from Beginning... to End?", *American Historical Review*, 120 (5), 2015, pp. 1829-1837.

-\*KALYVAS, Stathis N., "Civil Wars", in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007

-\*NEWMAN, Edward, "Framing civil war studies", in *Understanding Civil Wars. Continuity and Change in Intrastate Conflict*, Routledge, London, 2014, pp. 58-72

### **Week 4: From Barrington Moore to Theda Skocpol: The Comparative and Historical Study of Revolutions**

#### Readings:

-MOORE, Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1966

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

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

-\*SMITH, Dennis, "Discovering Facts and Values: The Historical Sociology of Barrington Moore", in Theda Skocpol (ed), *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 313-355

-\*SKOCPOL, Theda, "A critical review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", in Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 25-54

-\*SKOCPOL, Theda, "Introduction" and "Conclusion", in *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*, pp. 3-22 and 301-344

## **Part II: History (Case Studies)**

### **Week 5: Peasant Revolutions: From México to Cuba**

#### Readings:

-DEFRONZO, James, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 2011, ("The Cuban Revolution" pp. 203-248)

-SCOTT, James C., *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Yale University Press, 1987

-WOLF, Eric R., *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, Harper & Row, 1969

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

-\*SCOTT, James C., "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 13, 2 (1986), pp. 5-35

-\*SKOCPOL, Theda, "Review: What Makes Peasant Revolutionary?", *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*, pp. 213-239

-\*WOLF, Eric R., "On Peasant Rebellion", in Teodor Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, Penguin Books, London, 1971, pp. 264-276

### **Week 6: War, Revolution and the Rise of Communism**

#### Readings:

-ACTON, Edward, "The Bolshevik Victory Revisited", in *Rethinking the Russian Revolution*, Edward Arnold, London, 1990, pp. 182-209

-DEFRONZO, James, "The Russian Revolutions and Eastern Europe", in *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, pp. 39-93

FITZPATRICK, Sheila, *The Russian Revolution*, Oxford University Press, 2008

-HOBSBAWM, Eric, "The World Revolution", in *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, Abacus Books, London, 1995, pp. 54-84

-OVERY, R.J., "Revolution and Counter-revolution", in *The Inter-War Crisis 1919-1939*, Longman, New York, 1994, pp. 12-23

-SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, Simon, *Stalin: the court of the Red Tsar*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 2003

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

-\*FIGES, Orlando, *A People's Tragedy. The Russian Revolution: 1891-1924*, Penguin Books, New York, 1996, Conclusion (pp. 808-824)

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

-\*READ, Christopher, "The Emergence of Bolshevik Order", *War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-22*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013, pp. 168-194

### **Week 7: Civil War in Europe, 1914-1945**

#### Readings:

-FERGUSON, Niall, "Introduction", in *The War of the World. Twentieth-Century and the Descent of the West*, Penguin Books, New York, 2006, pp. XXXIII-LXXI

-HOSBSBAWM, Eric, "The Age of Total War", in *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, Abacus Books, London, 1995, pp. 21-53.

-KERSHAW, Ian, *To Hell and Back. Europe 1914-1949*, Viking, London, 2015

-MAZOWER, Mark, "The Deserted Temple: Democracy's Rise and Fall", in *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, Penguin Books, London, 1999, pp. 1-39

---"Empires, Nations, Minorities", in *Dark Continent*, pp. 40-76.

-PAYNE, Stanley G., *Civil War in Europe, 1905-1949*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011

-VINEN, Richard, "Civil Wars", in *A History in Fragments. Europe in the Twentieth Century*, Ed. Da Capo, Cambridge, Mass, 2002

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

-\*GERWARTH, Robert, "The Central European Counter-revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Germany, Austria and Hungary after the Great War", *Past and Present*, no.200 (August 2008), pp. 175-209

-\*KALYVAS, Stathis N., "Barbarism", in *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, pp. 52-86.

-\*PRESTON, Paul, "The Great Civil War. European Politics, 1914-1945", in T.C.W. Blanning, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, pp. 148-181

## **Week 8: Fascism: Revolution or Counterrevolution? A comparative perspective**

### Readings:

- BOSWORTH, R.J.B., *Mussolini*, Oxford University Press, Nueva York, 2002
- DE GRAND, Alexander J, *Italian Fascism. Its Origins & Development*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln & London, 1990, Preface and Conclusion.
  - Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The 'Fascist' Style of Rule*, Routledge, 1995.
- EVANS, Richard, "Towards the Seizure of Power", in *The Coming of Third Reich*, Penguin Books, London, 2003, pp. 231-308.
- GEARY, Dick, "Weimar and the rise of Nazism", in *Hitler and Nazism*, Routledge, New York, 1993, pp. 13-36
- KERSHAW, Ian, *The Nazi Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, Edward Arnold, London, 1989
- MOSSE, George L., "Toward a General Theory of Fascism", pp. 1-44, *The Fascist Revolution. Toward a General Theory of Fascism*, Howard Fertig, New York, 2000
- PAYNE, Stanley G., *A history of fascism, 1914-45*, Taylor & Francis Group, London, 1995

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

- \*GRIFFIN, Roger (ed), "Introduction" and "Section I The Lack of Consensus in Fascist Studies", in *International Fascism. Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, Arnold, London, 1998, pp. 1-39
- \*-MANN, Michael, "Conclusion: Fascist, Dead and Alive", in *Fascists*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, (pp. 353-375)
- \*-MORGAN, Philip, "Introduction: the historical problem of fascism", in *Fascism in Europe, 1919-1945*, Routledge, London, 2003 (1-14)

## **Week 9: Civil War and Revolution in Spain 1936-1939**

### 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
- 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, Julián, “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

---\*”Holy War and Anticlerical Hatred”, in *A Short History of the Spanish Civil War*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2013, pp. 44-80

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

**Week 10: 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)**

-\*FEARON, James D. and LAITIN, David D., “Ethnicity, Insurgence and Civil War”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, nº 1(February 2003), pp. 75-90

-\*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 11:**

**Session 1: The Revolutions of 1989. Bosnia 1992-1995 (Discussion)**

Readings:

\*-AUER, Stefan, “The Revolutions of 1989 revisited”

<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-06-14-auer-en.html>

\*-NEWMAN, Edwardm “Bosnia 1992-1995”, *Understanding Civil Wars*, pp. 119-

**Session 2: 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)

**Week 12: Final Paper Due**