

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

Revolutions and Civil Wars in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative Analysis

M.A. Course, 4 Credits, Fall 2020 (from September 28 to December 18)

Prof. Julian Casanova

Classes: Tuesday and Thursday, 15:30/17:10

Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday, 14:00/15:30

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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 and the later episodes of war and politics of extermination in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The course also focusses on violence, with special emphasis on paramilitarism, sexual violence, ethnic cleansing 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:

ARMITAGE, David, *Civil Wars. A History in Ideas*, Yale University Press, 2017

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

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.

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

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.

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

HERZOG, Dagmar (ed), *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, Nueva York, 2009.

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.

MARTEL, Gordon (ed), *Twentieth-Century War and Conflict. A Concise Encyclopedia*, Wiley Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2015.

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

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

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

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

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, 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. 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

-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

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

-*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

Week 3: Civil Wars. War and Revolution

Readings:

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

-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

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

-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, "Worlds of Civil War. The Twentieth Century", in David Armitage, *Civil Wars. A History in Ideas*, pp. 196-231 (Notes, pp. 275-282)

-*KALYVAS, Stathis N., "Civil Wars", in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, pp. 416-434

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

Part II: History (Case Studies)

Week 4: 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 5: 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

-SMITH, S.A., *Revolution and the People in Russia and China: A Comparative History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008

-WADE, Rex A., *The Russian Revolution, 1917*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000

Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)

-* 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, pp. 733-749.

-*PIPES, Richard, "1917 and the Revisionists", *The National Interest*, Spring 1993, pp. 68-79.

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

Week 6: Civil War in Europe, 1914-1945. Civil War and Revolution in Spain 1936-1939

Readings:

- CASANOVA, Julian, *A Short History of the Spanish Civil War*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2013, pp. 44-80
- 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
- PRESTON, Paul, *The Spanish Holocaust. Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, Harper Press, London, 2012
- VINEN, Richard, "Civil Wars", in *A History in Fragments. Europe in the Twentieth Century*, Ed. Da Capo, Cambridge, Mass, 2002

Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)

- *CASANOVA, Julian, "Holy War and Anticlerical Hatred", in *A Short History of the Spanish Civil War*, pp. 44-80
- *-GERWARTH, Robert, "The Central European Counter-revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Germany, Austria and Hungary after the Great War", *Past and Present*, n. 200 (August 2008), pp. 175-209
- *-GRAHAM, Helen, "Rebellion, revolution, and repression", in *The Spanish Civil War. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, pp. 21-36.

Week 7: Fascism and Paramilitarism: Revolution or Counterrevolution? A comparative perspective

Readings:

- BOSWORTH, R.J.B., *Mussolini*, Oxford University Press, Nueva York, 2002
- DE GRAND, Alexander J, *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

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

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

Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)

-*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: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012, pp. 85-106

-*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)

Week 8: 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

-DEÁK, István, *Europe on Trial. The Story of Colaboration, Resistanbce and Retribution During World War II*, Westview Press/Perseus Book Group, Philadelphia, 2015

-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

-NAIMARK, Norman M., *The Russians in Germany. A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1995

Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)

-*GROSS, Jan T., "Social Consequences of War: Preliminaries to the Study of Communist Regimes in East Central Europe", *Eastern European Politics and Society*, Vol. 3, N.2, Spring 1989, pp. 198-214.

-*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 9:

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.

*-NEWMAN, Edward "Bosnia 1992-1995", *Understanding Civil Wars*, pp. 119-135

Week 10: Ethnic Cleansing, Genocide and Sexual Violence

Readings:

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

-BÖHLER, Jochen; BORODZIEJ, Vlodzimierz; and VON PUTTKAMER, Joachim, *Legacies of Violence. Eastern Europe's First World War*, Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, 2014.

-HERZOG, Dagmar (ed), *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009.

-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.

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

Session 2: Seminar (Presentations)

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

*-PETÖ, Andrea, “Memory and the Narrative of Rape in Budapest and Vienna in 1945”, en Richard Bessel y Dirk Schumann (ed), *Life and Death. Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2003, pp. 129-148.

*WEIT, Eric D., “Introduction” and “Conclusion”, in *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, pp. 8-15 and 236-254.

Week 11: Fractured Past, Divided Present: History and Memory

Readings:

-ASSMANN, Aleida, “From Collective Violence to a Common Future: Four Models for Dealing with a Traumatic Past”, in Ruth Wodak y Gertraud Auer Borea (eds.), *Justice and Memory. Confronting traumatic pasts. An international comparison*, Passagen Verlag, Vienna, 2009, pp. 33-34.

-EVANS, Martin, “Memories, Monuments, Histories: The Re-thinking of the Second World War since 1989”, *National Identities*, vol. 8, nº 4, 2006, pp. 317-348

-NIZNIC, József (ed), *Twentieth Century Wars in European Memory*, Peter Lang Edition, Frankfurt am Main, 2013.

-STAN, Lavinia (ed), *Transitional Justice in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Reckoning with the communist past*, Routledge, London, 2009.

-STONE, Dan, “Memory Wars in the ‘New Europe’”, in D. Stone (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012, pp. 714-731

-VATAN, Florence and SILBERMAN, Marc, “Introduction. After the Violence: Memory”, in M. Silberman y F. Vatan (eds.), *Memory and Postwar Memorials. Confronting the Violence of the Past*, Palgrave Macmillan, Nueva York, 2013.

-WINTER, Jay, *Remembering War. The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press, New Haven y London, 2006.

**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