

Professor C. Arvanitopoulos Office: C304a

From Authoritarian Regimes to Illiberal Democracies

Course Description and Objectives

This is a seminar on the «reverse waves» to democratic rule. In 1922, the coming to power of Mussolini in Italy marked the first «reverse wave» that by 1942 had reduced the number of democratic states. The triumph of the Allies in WWII and the consequent expansion of democratic rule were followed by a second «reverse wave» in the Soviet space, and dictatorships in Latin America, Southern Europe and elsewhere.

The triumph of liberal democracies in the Cold War is now threatened by a third «reverse wave» with the rise of illiberal democracies and the resuscitation of authoritarianism. This seminar will offer a broad taxonomy of authoritarian regimes in different times and will analyze the causes of this recurring phenomenon.

Assessment

Students will be evaluated on the basis of class participation and individual assignments (50%), and a final exam (50%).

Students are expected to attend all classes, actively participate in the course and read the assigned readings before coming to class. Each student will be asked to write a research paper. They are expected to give oral presentations of their research papers. There will be a final exam on the topics discussed during the course.



Course Structure and Readings

1. The Foundations of Liberal Democracy

Aristotle, *Politics* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998 [c. 330 BC]). Book III, Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 75-78.

Montesquieu, *The Spirits of the Laws* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989 [1748]). Book II, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 10-15.

a. Foundations of State Power

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*. Introduction and Chapters 1-7, 10-22, 24, 28, 31.

b. Foundations of Liberal Institutions

John Locke, Second Treatise of Government. Chapters 1-19.

James Mill, 'Government,' Supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (London: J. Innes, 1825 [1820]). Sections I, II and III (pp. 1-8) and Section VI (pp. 16-17).

c. Foundations of Economic Justice

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discourse on the Origin of Inequality.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*. Parts 1 and 2.

2. Authoritarian Regimes

Arendt, H. (1951) *The origins of Totalitarianism*. Schocken Books.

Linz, J.J. (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.



3. Fascism

Browning C. R. (1993) Ordinary Men. Harper Collins. Chapters 7 and 9.

Linz, J.J. (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 2.

4. Weimar Germany

Berman, S. (1997) 'Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic'. *World Politics* 49(3): pp. 401-429.

Peukert, D. J.K. (1987) *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*. New York: Macmillan. Chapters 12-14.

- 5. Communism
 - a. Communism in Theory and Practice

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848) *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

b. Modern Variants of Communism

Hill, R. J., ed. (2013) *Beyond Stalinism: Communist Political Evolution*. New York: Routledge. Chapter 1.

6. The Triumph of the Allies in WWII and the Second Wave of Democratization

Conway, M. (2002) 'Democracy in Postwar Western Europe: The Triumph of a Political Model'. *European History Quarterly* 32(1): 59-84, January.



7. The Second Reverse Wave to Authoritarianism (1960-1975)a. Coups d' états and Military Regimes

Perlmutter, A. (1980) 'The Comparative Analysis of Military Regimes: Formations, Aspirations, Achievements'. *World Politics*, 33:1.

Arvanitopoulos, C. (2019) 'A Comparative Framework of Authoritarian Regimes' in Arvanitopoulos, C. et al. eds. *The Greek Dictatorship and the International System: A Comparative Study of Southern European Authoritarian Regimes*. London: Routledge.

b. Personalistic Dictatorships and Monarchical Regimes

Linz, J.J. (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 3.

8. Transitions to Democracy and the Third Wave (1974-1990)

O' Donnell, G., Schmitter, P. C. and Whitehead, L. eds. (1986) *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*. USA: The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Chapter 3.

Schedler, A. (1998) 'What is Democratic Consolidation?'. *Journal of Democracy* 9(2): 91-107.

Huntington, S. (1991) 'Democracy's Third Wave'. *Journal of Democracy* 2, 2: 12-34.

Clark, W.R., Golder, M. and Golder, S.N. eds. (2018) 'Democratic Transitions'. *Principles of Comparative Politics*. USA: Sage Publications, Inc, 3rd edition.

Diamond, L. (2008) 'The Democratic Boom' Chapter 2, in Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy. The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*. New York: Times Books.

Fukuyama, F. (1989) 'The End of History?'. *The National Interest*, 16 (Summer): 3-18.



9. Contemporary Challenges to Democratic Governments

Levitsky, St. And Ziblatt D. (2018) *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown. Chapters 8 and 9.

Mounk, Y. (2018) *The People Vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

'Is Democracy Dying. Global Report' *Foreign Affairs* vol. 97, no. 3, May/June 2018.

Zakaria, F. (1997) 'The Rise of Illiberal Democracy'. *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 6: 22-43.

Norris, P. (2017) 'Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks'. *Journal of Democracy* 28(2): 1-24.

Brancati, D. (2014) 'Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects'. *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 17:313-326 (Volume publication date May 2014).

Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2017: Populists and Autocrats: The Dual Threat to Global Democracy* (2017), pp. 24.

Making Democracy Work
a. Social Norms, Political Culture and Growth

Putnam, R. (1993) *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

b. Can Governments Manage Market Economics?

Alesina, A. and Glaeser, E.L. (2004) *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. Oxford University Press.

Boix, C. (2003) *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5.



Przeworski, A. and Wallerstein M. (1986) 'Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads,' in Przeworski, A. *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 205-211.