

PS 149W: DICTATORSHIP AND ITS DISCONTENTS

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Summer 2017

Lecture: M-Th 10-12, 390 Hearst Mining

Section: 101: Fri 10-12, 219 Dwinelle

Section: 102: Fri 12-2, 182 Dwinelle

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COURSE DESCRIPTION: The overwhelming majority of governments throughout history have been dictatorial. Even the recent spread of democracy has not extirpated authoritarian rule: as of 2017 Freedom House rates on 45% of countries as fully free. Whatever the benefits of democracy, it seems dictatorship is here to stay. This course explores the characteristics and dynamics of non-democratic regimes: how and why they come about, what sustains them, why some people resist them and others do not, and how and why they decline and fall. We will explore a variety of examples from across the world. Using films and novels in addition to political science literature, we will investigate how dictators maintain their power, how ordinary people react to repression, and the links between dictatorship and security and economic development.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS: Students are expected to attend class regularly, do the assigned reading, complete all exams, and participate in any in-class discussions. The grade for this course will be based on two midterms (30% each), one paper (20%), and class/section participation (20%). You are not competing with your classmates for A's. Everyone who does A-level work will receive an A. But you must attend class and section, write the paper, and take all exams to get a passing grade in the course.

Academic misconduct, also known as cheating and/or plagiarism, will not be tolerated. If you are caught cheating I reserve the right to fail you in the course. For information on what constitutes misconduct please see: <http://sa.berkeley.edu/conduct>

COURSE READER: The reader for this course is available at University Copy, 2425 Channing Way (549-2335). Readings available on bCourses are marked as such.

BOOKS FOR PURCHASE: The following books are REQUIRED and available for purchase at the ASUC bookstore.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith, *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*. (Public Affairs, 2011).

Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017).

Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*. (Modern Library, 2006).

Both the reader and required books will also be available on reserve.

IMPORTANT NOTE: New and better readings are always coming to my attention. I therefore reserve the right to add and subtract from the syllabus.

Class Rules

1. I realize we live in a wired world, but personal technology is a distraction during lecture. Please keep your laptops, smartphones, and other electronic gadgetry off during lecture. For note-taking you will need to bring paper and a writing implement. If you have a disability that necessitates electronic assistance, please see me to request an exception. A doctor's note will be required.
2. I do not post my lecture notes online, but lecture slides will be posted on bCourses.
3. I do not allow students to make announcements to the class regarding any extracurricular activity.
4. I do not hand out study sheets before exams. Part of mastering the material is learning to distinguish between important themes and incidental facts, a process the GSI and I are happy to assist you with.
5. Please report any suspected errors in the grading of an assignment within one week of receiving the grade. I reserve the right not to effect a grade change if an issue is reported after more than one week has passed.
6. Syllabi are wonderful documents with lots of information on the time and place of office hours, the dates of exams, and course requirements. Please do not ask for information contained in the syllabus. If you do, the answer will be RTFS.
7. Unless otherwise specified no appointment or prior warning is necessary to come to my office hours. Please do not ask if you can come to office hours because the answer is always "yes." Come as often as you like.

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES/READING

Topic 1: Introduction and a Premonition

Jason Wittenberg, Syllabus for POLITICAL SCIENCE 149W: Dictatorship and its Discontents.

Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*. (Modern Library, 2006).

Topic 2: The Origins and Dilemmas of Dictatorship

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, Chap. 1 (also on bCourses).

Stephen Haber, "Authoritarian Government," in Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. (Oxford University Press, 2006).

Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity: Outgrowing Communist and Capitalist Dictatorships*. (Basic Books, 2000), pp. 1-14.

Ronald Wintrobe, "How to understand, and deal with dictatorship: an economist's view," *Economics of Governance* 2 (2001), pp. 35-58. Skip part 3: "Dealing with dictatorship."

Topic 3: The Temptations of Tyranny (Paper topics handed out)

Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. (Secker & Warburg, 1957), pp. 1-32.

Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*. (Avon Books, 1964 [1941]), pp. xii-38. (bCourses)

Mark Lilla, "The Lure of Syracuse," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, Issue 14, Sept. 2001.

Arthur Koestler, "Arthur Koestler," in Richard Crossman, ed., *The God That Failed*. (Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 15-75.

Short video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dK6GdrZ4rSg>

Short video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eAprW14F-8k>

Short Film: The Wave (DVD X5610: 46 mins)

Topic 4: Taking and Transferring Power

Natasha Ezrow and Erica Frantz, *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and their Leaders*. (Continuum, 2011), pp. 81-112.

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, Chap. 2.

Jason Brownlee, "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics*, Vol. 59, July 2007, pp. 595-628. (bCourses)

John H. Herz, "The Problem of Successorship in Dictatorial Régimes: A Study in Comparative Law and Institutions," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 1952, pp. 19-40. (bCourses)

Documentary: The Africans: A Triple Heritage: A Commentary. Part 6: In Search of Stability (DVD X6377: 58 mins)

Topic 5: Maintaining Power

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, Chaps. 3-6.

E.A. Rees, "Leader Cults: Varieties, Preconditions and Functions," in Balázs Ápor et al., eds., *The Leader Cult in Communist Dictatorships: Stalin and the Eastern Bloc*. (Palgrave, 2004), pp. 3-26.

Gale Stokes, "The Purge Trials," in Gale Stokes, ed., *From Stalinism to Pluralism*. (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 66-77.

Michael Bratton and Eldred Masunungore, "Zimbabwe's Long Agony," *Journal of Democracy*, 19, 4 (October 2008), pp. 41-55. (bCourses)

Documentary: The Cult of Personality (Video/C 5699: 51 mins)

On Nicolae Ceausescu: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U_PP0dRbMFI

Topic 6: Totalitarian Aspirations: North Korea

Robert Collins, *Marked for Life: Songbun, North Korea's Classification System*. (Washington, DC: The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2012), excerpts. (bCourses)

B.R. Myers, *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves – and Why it Matters*. (Melville House, 2009), pp. 25-66.

Barbara Demick, *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea*. (Spiegel & Grau, 2009), pp. 36-73; 174-184.

UNHRC, "Report of the commission of inquiry on human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea." Summary, February 7, 2014, pp. 1-21. (Should take this with a grain of salt given Human Rights Council's membership.) (bCourses)

Documentary: TBD

Review Session

Midterm Exam

Topic 7: Making Autocracy Work: China

James C.F. Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction*. Seventh Edition. (Prentice Hall, 2002), pp. 1-68.

Andrew J. Nathan, "Authoritarian Impermanence," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20,

No. 3, July 2009, pp. 37-40.

Minxin Pei, "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, No. 1, January 2012, pp. 27-41. (bCourses)

Documentary: China from the Inside, Part I: Power and the People (DVD 7397: 60 mins)

Topic 8: Strategies of Popular Resistance (and the Dictator's Response)

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, Chap. 8.

James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Resistance," in Forrest D. Colburn, ed., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (M.E. Sharpe, 1989), pp. 3-33.

Jason Wittenberg, *Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary*. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), selections.

Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44, October 1991, pp. 7-48. (bCourses)

Topic 9: Islam and Authoritarianism?

M. Steven Fish, *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence*. (Oxford, 2011), Chap. 7. (bCourses)

Tarek Masoud, "Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy*, January 2015. (bCourses)

E. Jahn, "Democratization of the Restoration of Dictatorship as the Outcome of the Arab Rebellion," *World Political Challenges*, Springer Verlag, 2015. (bCourses)

Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index 2016.

Topic 10: Coping with the Legacy of Dictatorship

Jan Elster, "On Doing What One Can: An Argument Against Post-Communist Restitution and Retribution," *East European Constitutional Review* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 1992), pp. 15-17. (bCourses)

Naomi Roht-Arriaza, "From Amnesty to Accountability: Transitional Justice in Latin America," *World Politics Review*, Dec 23, 2014.

African Union Panel of the Wise, "Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges in the Fight Against Impunity," The African Union Series, New York: International Peace Institute, February 2013, pp. 10-46. (bCourses)

Documentary: Malajunta (Video/C5179: 58 mins)

Topic 10: Nascent Dictatorship?

János Kornai "Hungary's U-Turn," *Capitalism and Society*, Vol. 10, Issue 2, Article 1, pp. 3-24. (bCourses)

Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_7EjaMu0ic (Hungary, 28 minutes)

Topic 11: Future of Dictatorship

Review Session (Paper due)

Midterm Exam