

PS 149W: DICTATORSHIP AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Version July 7, 2019

Summer 2019

Lecture: M-W 9am-12pm, 120 Latimer Hall

Section: 101: Th 8am-10pm, 229 Dwinelle

Section: 102: Th 10am-12pm, 103 Genetics and Plant Bio

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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 (40% each) 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 Zee Zee Copy, 2431C Durant Ave (510-705-8411). Readings available on bCourses are marked as such.

MATERIALS 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).

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

iClicker+ ISBN 9781319149246

For instructions on setting up your iClicker, see:

<https://www.ets.berkeley.edu/services-facilities/clickers/students-getting-started>

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, but we will engage in an extensive review of the material and answer any questions you might have.
5. Please report any suspected errors in the grading of an assignment within one day of receiving the grade. I reserve the right not to effect a grade change if an issue is reported after more than one day 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.
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)

Yascha Mounk and Roberto Stefan Foa, "The End of the Democratic Century," *Foreign Affairs* May/June 2018, pp. 29-36. (bCourses)

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

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 (Skim).

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: Maintaining and Transferring Power

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, Chaps. 2-6.

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.

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)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OpCb_Yg_qjA (Mobutu: King of Zaire. From minute 26 to minute 51:23)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdhp5JeZkKY> (Documentary: The Africans: A Triple Heritage: A Commentary. Part 6: In Search of Stability, 58 mins. Also DVD X6377)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0iH20Le8cWQ> (King of Communism Nicolae Ceausescu, 55 minutes)

Topic 5: 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. (bCourses)

Documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YgHh6f1GYx0> (Never before seen real life footage inside North Korea).

Midterm Exam (July 24th)

Topic 6: Autocracy and Prosperity: China

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

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

Yuen Yuen Ang, "Autocracy with Chinese Characteristics," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2018, pp. 39-46. (bCourses)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OubM8bD9kck> (Xi Jinping: Last Week Tonight With John Oliver, 20 minutes).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSFcAK5s4nU> (China from the Inside 1: Power and the People, 55 minutes)

Topic 7: 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. (bCourses)

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)

Documentary: Chile: Defeat of a Dictator (DVD 1956, 34 mins)

Topic 8: Coping with Autocratic Legacies

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)

View online at:

<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/video/catalog/JOYsVeV76BG9iovxJqdvSA/cEd6QVbd6BGzO4ILMpR6nA/1541022317>

Topic 9: Nascent Dictatorship? Hungary

Ivan Krastev, "Eastern Europe's Illiberal Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2018, pp. 49-56. (bCourses)

János Kornai, "Hungary's U-Turn: Retreat from Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 2015, pp. 34-48. (bCourses)

George Schöpflin, "Hungarian Elections and After," *Hungarian Review*, July 2014, pp. 8-15. (bCourses)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q7cHap-cGfM> (Rise of Illiberalism in Hungary, 33 minutes)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_7EjaMu0ic (Political chaos on the streets of Budapest, 28 minutes)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrftUpW0sc> (Viktor Orbán's 'illiberal democracy', 14 minutes).

Topic 10: Nascent Dictatorship? United States

Sheri Berman, "Populism is not Fascism," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2016, pp. 39-44. (bCourses)

Yascha Mounk, "The Undemocratic Dilemma," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 29, No. 2, April 2018, pp. 98-112. (bCourses)

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, "Subverting Democracy," in *How Democracies Die* (Crown, 2018), pp. 72-96. (bCourses)

Tom Ginsburg and Aziz Huq, "How We Lost Constitutional Democracy," in Cass R. Sunstein, ed., *Can It Happen Here? Authoritarianism in America*. (Harper Collins, 2018), pp. 135-156. (bCourses)

Topic 11: The Future of Dictatorship (If there is time.)

Review Session (August 7th)

No class August 12th

Midterm Exam (August 13th)