

POLS 557**THE POLITICS OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES****FALL 2022-2023/SABANCI UNIVERSITY****AYŞE KADIOĞLU**ayse.kadioglu@sabanciuniv.edu**CLASS HOURS/ROOMS****THURSDAY(S) 12:40-15:30/FASS 1098****OFFICE HOURS** (please make an appointment)**MONDAY(S) 13:30-15:30****COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course aims at the comprehension of the rise of the new right, populism, and new authoritarian regimes in the twenty first century. It not only underlines the historical antecedents of these regimes in the twentieth century but also the family resemblances among today's authoritarian regimes. The classes progress through the following five themes:

1. Introduction: democracy and authoritarianism
2. Populism and polarization
3. Fascism and national socialism
4. New authoritarian regimes
5. Case studies

READINGS

- Erica Frantz, *Authoritarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018)/available as an E-book at Sabancı University Information Center.
- Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)/available for purchase at the Bookstore at the University Center and can be borrowed at the Reserve section of the library.
- Jan-Werner Müller, *What is Populism?* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016)/available for purchase at the Bookstore at the University Center and can be borrowed at the Reserve section of the library.

- Additional articles that are listed in the syllabus and available in SUCourse.
- Readings that are accessible online are indicated in the syllabus.

REQUIREMENTS

- **First Take-Home Examination** (40% of the course grade) ---due on **Thursday, November 24, 2022** (WEEK 8) before the regular class hours.
- **Second Take-home Examination** (40% of the course grade) ---due on **Thursday, December 29, 2022** (WEEK 13) before the regular class hours.
- One class presentation of one of the course readings by each student (10% of the course grade) ---assignments of readings will be announced by the end of the third week of the classes. Please contact the course instructor prior to the announcement if you have a preference among the readings (the readings will be assigned on a first come first serve basis).
- Attendance (10% of the course grade): attendance in classes is mandatory. If you fail to attend 60% of the classes (8 out of 14 weeks of classes) you will get an NA grade for the course.

SABANCI UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC INTEGRITY STATEMENT (please read and learn):

<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/academic-integrity-statement>

SABANCI UNIVERSITY INFORMATION CENTER ON COPYRIGHT, FAIR USE, PLAIGARISM, AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY (please read and learn):

<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/bm/en/copyrights>

CLASS SCHEDULE

WEEKS 1, 2 and 3

1. INTRODUCTION: DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

Readings:

Immanuel Kant, “On the Common Saying: This May be True in Theory but it Does Not Hold in Practice Part 2,” in *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, edited by Pauline Kleingeld (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006 [1793]).

pp. 44-60

Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971).

Chp 1/pp. 1-17

Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015 [1998]).

Chp 4/pp. 35-44

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, “What Democracy Is...and Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy*, 2/3, 1991, pp. 75-88.

Amartya Kumar Sen, “Democracy as a Universal Value,” *Journal of Democracy*, 10/3, 1999, pp. 3-17.

Adam Przeworski et al, “What Makes Democracies Endure?” *Journal of Democracy*, 7/1, 1996, pp. 39-55.

Erica Frantz, *Authoritarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright and Erica Frantz, *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse* (Cambridge, New York, Port Melbourne, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Chp 2/pp. 25-44

WEEKS 4, 5

2. POPULISM AND POLARIZATION

Readings:

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Jan-Werner Müller, *What is Populism?* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Manuel Anselmi, *Populism: An Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2018).

Chp 10, 11/pp. 55-66,

Matthijs Rooduijn, “The Nucleus of Populism: In Search of the Lowest Common Denominator,” *Government and Opposition*, 49/4, 2014, pp. 572-598.

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, “The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy,” *Democratization*, 19/2, 2012, pp. 184-208.

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, “Latin American Populism: Some Conceptual and Normative Lessons,” *Constellations*, 21/4, 2014, pp. 494-504.

Takkis Pappas, “The Specter Haunting Europe: Distinguishing Liberal Democracy’s Challengers,” *Journal of Democracy*, 27/4, 2016, pp. 22-36.

Orçun Selçuk “Strong presidents and weak institutions: populism in Turkey, Venezuela and Ecuador.” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16/4, 2016, pp. 571-589.

WEEKS 6, 7, and 8

FIRST TAKE-HOME EXAMINATION DUE BEFORE THE CLASS HOURS ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 2022 (WEEK 8)

3. FASCISM AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Readings:

Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, Future* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Chp 1/pp. 13-90

Francis Ludwig Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980[1967]).

Chp 3/pp. 82-121

Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Effects of National Socialism* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

Chp 4/pp. 169-229

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Orlando: A Harvest Book, Harcourt Inc, 1976 [1951]).

Chp 12/pp. 389-460

Umberto Eco, “Ur-fascism,” *The New York Review of Books*, 22 June 1995.

Michael Mann, *Fascists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Chp 1/pp. 1-31

Sheri Berman, *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Chp 11/pp. 214-234

Erich Matthias, "The Downfall of the Old Social Democratic Party in 1933" in Hajo Holborn (ed.) *Republic to Reich: The making of the Nazi Revolution, Ten Essays* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

WEEK 9

4. NEW AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

i. Introduction

Readings:

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, 13/1, 2002, pp. 5 – 21.

Arch Puddington, "The Pushback against Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, 18/2, 2007, pp. 125-137.

Ayşe Kadioğlu, "[New Authoritarian Zeitgeist: family resemblances](#)," *openDemocracy*, 6 December 2019 (available online).

ii. Illiberal democracy

Readings:

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, 76/6, November-December 1997, pp. 22-43.

[Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's speech](#) at the 29th Bálványos Summer Open University and Student Camp, July 28, 2018 (available online).

WEEK 10

iii. Competitive authoritarianism

Readings:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
Chp 1/pp. 3-37

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "The New Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, 3/1, 2020, pp. 51-65.

Sebnem Gumuscu and Berk Esen, "Rising Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly*, 37/9, 2016, pp. 1581-1606.

WEEK 11iv. Electoral AuthoritarianismReadings:

Andreas Schedler (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition* (Boulder, New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 2006).

Chp 1/pp. 1-27

Jennifer Gandhi and Ellen Lust Okar, "Elections under Authoritarianism," *The Annual Review of Political Science*, 12, 2009, pp.403-422.

WEEK 12v. Autocratic LegalismReadings:

Javier Corrales, "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela," *Journal of Democracy*, 26/2, 2015, pp. 37-51.

Kim Scheppele, "Autocratic Legalism," *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 85/2, March 2018, pp. 545-584.

Ayşe Kadioğlu, "Autocratic Legalism in New Turkey," *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 88/2, 2021, pp. 445-471.

Turkuler Isiksel, "Between Text and Context: Turkey's Tradition of Authoritarian Constitutionalism," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 11/3, 2013, pp. 702-726.

WEEK 13, 14

SECOND TAKE-HOME EXAMINATION DUE BEFORE THE CLASS HOURS ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 2022 (WEEK 13)

5. CASE STUDIES

i. Poland

Readings:

European Stability Initiative, [European tragedy – the collapse of Poland's Rule of Law](#), 29 May 2018 (available online).

Anne Applebaum, "[A Warning From Europe: The Worst Is Yet To Come](#)," *The Atlantic*, October 2018 (available online).

Timothy Garton Ash, "[Jesus Rex Poloniae](#)," *The New York Review of Books*, 16 August 2018 (available online).

Daniel Tilles and Tom Junes, "[Poland's Opposition Has Nobody to Blame but Itself](#)," *Foreign Policy*, 26 October 2018 (available online).

ii. Venezuela

Readings:

Moisés Naím and Francisco Toro, "Venezuela's Suicide: Lessons From a Failed State," *Foreign Affairs*, 97/6, 2018, pp. 126-138.

Boris Munoz, "[More Chavismo than Chávez: Letter From Caracas](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, 7 December 2013 (available online).

Harold Trinkunas, "[The Tragedy of the Venezuelan Opposition](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, 5 January 2018 (available online).

Ivan Briscoe, "[Power and Paranoia in Caracas](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, 2 July 2019 (available online).