Central European University, Budapest  
Doctoral School of Political Science, Public Policy, and International Relations

**Course convenor:** Matteo Fumagalli, University of St Andrews, UK  
**Level:** PhD  
**AY:** 2017/18  
**Semester:** Winter 2018  
**Credits:** 2 (4 ECTS)  
**Email:** mf29@st-andrews.ac.uk  
**Office hours:** Wednesday 1.30-3.30pm  
**Office:** TBA (Vigyazo F. u. 2)

**Class time:**
*Week 1:* Tuesday 3.30-5.10pm; Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 5.20-7pm; Friday 9-12.40pm
*Week 3:* Thursday 3.30-5.10pm; Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 5.20-7pm; Friday 9-12.40pm

**Class venue:** TBA

**Course outline**

Why did the Tatmadaw (Myanmar’s Armed Forces) allow transition from direct military to civilian rule in 2011? Will North Korea’s regime ever collapse and if so what would change look like? What caused Russia’s de-democratization? What explains the roll-back (democratic backsliding)? How important are economic and non-economic factors in sustaining authoritarian rule? Do authoritarian states promote autocracy? These are some of the questions explored in this course.

With over half of the world’s population living under authoritarian rule and almost half of the countries understanding what authoritarian regimes are, how they function, why they endure and how they collapse are crucial questions to comparative political science. The course offers a comparative outlook to the study of authoritarianism, focusing on the varieties of this form of government, the factors sustaining it in terms of durability, resilience and governance, as well as the causes that might bring its breakdown. Attention will be paid to forms of neo-patrimonial rule and the institutional turn in the study of authoritarianism. Pathways from authoritarianism and the international dimension of authoritarianism will also be discussed. While striving to be global in outlook, empirically the course concentrates on the post-Soviet and Asian varieties of authoritarianism.
Aims
The course’s main aim is to enable students to:
- acquire a strong understanding of the difference between regime types (totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic);
- become familiar with the varieties of authoritarian rule;
- learn about how authoritarian regimes exercise their power and sustain themselves;
- become exposed to a wide range of cases of authoritarian.

Learning outcomes
By the end of the course students will:
- acquire a firm understanding of the scholarship on non democratic rule, being able to distinguish between sub-types of authoritarianism;
- critically engage with the literature on (authoritarian) regime formation, consolidation and change;
- apply their knowledge of the theoretical concepts to empirical cases;
- distinguish between institutions and practices sustaining authoritarian governance.

Workload and assessment
- 20% Class participation. This requires you to have done the required reading and actively participate to the discussion. Class attendance is mandatory (1 unexcused absence is permitted).
- 20% (10%*2): Online threaded discussion. Each week you should reply to one of the questions posed by the course convenor on cuelarning and respond to one of the posts by your fellow class mates.
- 10% paper outline (500 words).
- 50%: 4,000-word research paper (you can swap the paper with 4 additional reaction papers, to be submitted weekly).

Deadlines
Paper outline: 19 January 2017 4pm
Paper: 19 February 2017 5pm

Background readings
This is not a requirement or a pre-requisite. However, familiarising yourself with the work below will help you get a sense of some of the issues discussed in the course.

The following novels are interesting literary reflections on totalitarianism:
G. Orwell, *1984* (1949)
G. Orwell, *Animal Farm* (1945)
R. Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451* (1953)

In fact… read this too, as it might come handy later on in the course (or in life):
G. Orwell ‘Politics and the English Language’
http://www.orwell.ru/library/essays/politics/english/e_polit

**Additional resources**
This course makes use of the CEU e-learning platform
(http://ceulearning.ceu.edu/login/index.php)

### Weekly schedule

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### Session 1: Course overview and the origins of authoritarianism

This session introduces the course. Are the origins of authoritarianism cultural? Is authoritarian rule rooted in under-development?

**Readings**
Additional reading
Linz, Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes, ch. 1, pp. 49-63

Session 2 Totalitarianism

Does ideology matter in authoritarian regimes? How different are totalitarianism and authoritarianism? What does totalitarianism look like in the 21st century?

Readings

Additional readings
H. Arendt (1951) The Origins of Totalitarianism, Part III
Linz, ch. 2
P. Brooker, Non-democratic Governments, ch 2, pp. 7-21

Session 3 Varieties of Authoritarianism

Who governs in authoritarian regimes? How many varieties of authoritarianism are there? Why does it matter? And to whom?

Required reading


Additional reading


Additional reading


M. Weber, Charismatic Authority, in Economy and Society Vol 1, pp. 241-249


Bureaucratic Authoritarianism

M. Weber, Traditional Authority, pp. 226-241


**Session 4 Authoritarian stability**

Why do regimes resort to repression? What role does the military play in the making and unmaking of authoritarian regimes? What are the sources of regime legitimacy and strategies of legitimation?

**Core readings**


**Additional readings**


Session 5 Institutions

The session discusses the role of seemingly democratic institutions in sustaining authoritarian rule, such as parties, elections, legislatures. Do they sustain or undermine autocracy? And how? How do dictators survive? How do authoritarian rulers use developments in information technology?

Readings

Additional readings
**Session 6 Debates**

*What are the prospects for Chinese democracy?*

Lisheng Dong, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Daniel Kühler (eds), 2015. Urban Mobilizations and New Media in Contemporary China, Farnham, Ashgate.

*Should we re-impose sanctions on Myanmar? How should democracies engage with non-democracies? Should sanctions be imposed on Myanmar in light of the Rohingya crisis?*

Ian Holliday (2014) Addressing Myanmar’s Citizenship Crisis, Journal of Contemporary Asia, 44:3, 404-421,
Session 7 The political economy of authoritarianism

What’s the relationship between regime types and economic development? Can authoritarian regimes ensure economic growth and development? The session focuses on the debate on the economic dimension of authoritarian durability, most notably the notion of patronage and the globalization of authoritarianism.

Required reading

Additional reading

Session 8 Civil society and social contention

What role does civil society have under authoritarian rule? Does the notion of pro-regime civil society even make sense? What is informal activism and how different is it from the politics of survival? Why are some authoritarian regimes contentious whereas others are not? What is ‘online politics’ and how does it work? What’s the relationship between online and offline politics? Under what circumstances do revolutions happen?

Core readings

Additional readings
J. Scott Weapons of the Weak

Session 9 The International dimension of authoritarianism

Do authoritarian regimes promote autocracy? Do they even care about regime types? If so, through what mechanisms does autocracy diffusion occur?

Core Readings

Additional readings
Ambrosio, Thomas, 2010. Constructing a Framework of Authoritarian Diffusion:


Special issue of the *APSA-Comparative Democratization Newsletter*, 13(1), 2015 on ‘The international dimension of authoritarianism’). Essays of Wang, Tansey, Tolstrup, Ambrosio, Tao, Bunce and Hozic.

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Session 10 Hybrid regimes

Apart from concluding the course, this session discusses the concept of hybrid regimes and explores possible pathways out of authoritarian rule. Succession and transfer of power are also discussed.

Readings


Additional readings


Gill, G., A new turn to authoritarian Rule in Russia? Democratization, 13(1), 2006

Session 11 Pathways from authoritarian rule

Apart from concluding the course, this session discusses the concept of hybrid regimes and explores possible pathways out of authoritarian rule.

Readings
M. Bratton; N. Van de Walle, Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in

Additional readings


Gill, G., A new turn to authoritarian Rule in Russia? Democratization, 13(1), 2006

J.H. Herz, On Reestablishing Democracy after the Downfall of Authoritarian or

Session 12 Pathways from authoritarian rule. Course wrap-up

Backsliding, reversal, and non-transitions are also discussed.

Core readings