Everyday Totalitarianism

History 239/239W

Tuesday, Thursday, 12:30-1:45

LeChase 161

Matthew Lenoe

Rush Rhees 370A

Email: [matthew.lenoe@rochester.edu](mailto:matthew.lenoe@rochester.edu)

Office Hours: Tuesdays 11:00 – 12:30 (in person in RR370A), Wednesdays, 10:00 a.m.-11:00 a.m. (Zoom, link on Blackboard site), or by appointment.

History Department Office – Rush Rhees 364

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Th, 1/13 | Introduction |  |
| **MODELS OF TOTALITARIANISM** | | |
| T, 1/18 | Totalitarianism,  Part I | Book 1, Parts 1,2; Book 3, parts 7-18 of Aristotle’s *Politics*  at <https://historyofeconomicthought.mcmaster.ca/aristotle/Politics.pdf> .Friedrich and Brzezinski, “The General Characteristics of Totalitarian Dictatorships,” on electronic reserves. Total reading … about 37 pages |
| Th, 1/20 | Ideology: Marxism | Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/> (Skip Preface, read only Preamble and Parts I and II). Brief lecture on imperialism, nationalism, and end of WWI in Europe. |
| T, 1/25 | Totalitarianism, Part II | Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (e-book, find in Rush Rhees catalogue), 305 – top of p. 318. Last paragraph of 470 -first paragraph of 474.  Mussolini/Gentile, “The Doctrine of Fascism,” at <http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Germany/mussolini.htm> .Total reading = about 31 pages. |
| **STALINIST SOVIET UNION** | | |
| Th, 1/27 | Lecture: The USSR to 1937 | **First draft of Paper One due.** |
| T, 2/1 | The Soviet 1930s, Party and Society | Fitzpatrick, Acknowledgments, Introduction, Ch. 1. Total reading … 40 pages. |
| Th, 2/3 | Hard Times and Utopian Dreams | Fitzpatrick, Chs. 2-3. Total reading .. 48 pages. |
| T, 2/8 | Repression; Family | Fitzpatrick, Chs. 5-6. Total reading … 49 pages. **Final draft of Paper One due.** |
| Th, 2/10 | Surveillance | Fitzpatrick, Ch. 7, Conclusion. Total reading … 30 pages. |
| T, 2/15 | Diaries Under Stalin | Garros, Introduction. Skim Garros, 11-58 (Frolov diary and *Izvestiia* chronology). |
| Th, 2/17 | Diaries Under Stalin II | Garros, “Arzhilovskii,” 111-163. Total reading … 52 pages. |
| T, 2/22 | Diaries Under Stalin III | Garros, “Potyomkin,” 251-290. Total reading … 39 pages. |
| **NAZI GERMANY** | | |
| Th, 2/24 | Lecture: Nazi Germany | **Paper Two due.** |
| T, 3/1 | Peukert: Method, “Grumbling” | Peukert, 11-66. Total reading … 55 pages. |
| Th, 3/3 | Fuhrer Myth, Middle Class, Working Class | Peukert, 67-144. Total reading … 77 pages. |
| *SPRING BREAK* | | |
| T, 3/15 | Youth, Public Show, Private Perceptions | Peukert, 145-196. Total reading … 51 pages. **Special (W) paper due.** |
| Th, 3/17 | Terror, Racialism, and Atomization | Peukert, 197-248 Total reading … 51 pages. |
| T, 3/22 | Primary Sources – Intelligence Reports on Popular Mood in Nazi Germany | Excerpts from Noakes, *Nazism, 1919-1945* on e-reserve, under “Nazi and Soviet Intelligence Reports” |
| Th, 3/24 | Intelligence Reports on Popular Mood in Nazi Germany, USSR | Excerpts from Sax, *A Documentary History of Life in the Third Reich* and Siegelbaum, on e-reserve under “Nazi and Soviet Intelligence Reports.” Also Nazi Security Service report on attitudes of young people at <https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/English76_Exeter.pdf> . |
| **FASCIST ITALY** | | |
| T, 3/29 | Fascism / Lecture | **Paper Three due.** |
| Th, 3/31 | Motherhood | De Grazia, xi-xiii, 1-17, 41-76 … 53 pages. |
| T, 4/5 | Family vs. the State | De Grazia, 77-115 … 38 pages. |
| Th, 4/7 | Growing Up / Working | De Grazia, 116-200 … 84 pages. |
| T, 4/12 | Going Out, Militarization | De Grazia, 201-233, 272-288, … 48 pages |
| Th, 4/14 | Oral History: Popular Culture/Official Culture | Passerini, 1-16, 67-112. 61 pages. |
| T, 4/19 | Oral History: Everyday Life and Resistance | Passerini, 127-182. 55 pages. |
| Th, 4/21 | Summing Up | Ronald Deibert, Road to Digital Unfreedom” at <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/the-road-to-digital-unfreedom-three-painful-truths-about-social-media/>  Rachel Kleinfeld, „The Rise of Political Violence in the United States,” at <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/the-rise-of-political-violence-in-the-united-states/>  Possible additional short reading. |
| T, 4/26 | Evaluations and Final Business |  |
| Th, 4/28 |  | **Paper Four due.** |

GRADING AND ASSIGNMENT SUMMARY

For regular section –

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| COMPONENT | WEIGHTING FOR FINAL GRADE |
|  |  |
| One 3-4 page paper | 15% |
| (3) 6-7 page papers | 25% each |
| Class Discussion | 10% |
|  |  |

For Writing Intensive section

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| COMPONENT | WEIGHTING FOR FINAL GRADE |
|  |  |
| One 3 page paper | 10% |
| (4) 6-7-page papers | 80% |
| Class Discussion | 10 % |

SUBMISSION OF ASSIGMENTS: You must submit assignments *in MS Word format* to my email, [matthew.lenoe@rochester.edu](mailto:matthew.lenoe@rochester.edu). I require MS Word format because its “Track Changes” function makes it straightforward for me to provide you feedback on papers.

BOOKS:

We will be reading the following books (in some cases you are not required to read certain chapters). All will be on sale at the university bookstore, and some are also available as e-books in the Rush Rhees Library catalogue (Fitzpatrick, De Grazia). Passerini, Peukert and Garros are only available in hard copy. You’ll have to buy them at the bookstore, order them online, or get them some other way.

Victoria De Grazia.  *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1923-1945*.  Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.  (Available as e-book in Rush Rhees catalogue.)

Luisa Passerini.  *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class.*  New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Detlev Peukert.  *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*.  New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Sheila Fitzpatrick.  *Everyday Stalinism*. Oxford University Press, 2000. (Available as e-book in Rush Rhees catalogue.)

Veronique Garros, et al, editors.  *Intimacy and Terror*.  The New Press, 1997.

**GOALS OF THE COURSE**

1. To learn what historians do:
   1. Analysis of primary sources, including authorship, audience, and connections to historical context.
   2. Analysis of secondary works by academic historians – discerning arguments, understanding the sources used by author and their contexts.
2. Improvement of writing skills, with emphasis on focused response to prompts, clear presentation/organization of main points, concise and clear style, and grammatical accuracy.
3. Familiarize students with application of abstract models (in particular models of “totalitarianism”) to concrete historical circumstances. Teach the importance of defining key words/concepts in argument.
4. Learn the history of the term “totalitarianism,” and some of the definitions scholars have attached to it.
5. Learn about the dynamics of everyday life in the Stalinist Soviet Union (in particular the 1930s), Nazi Germany (the 1930s) and Fascist Italy (1920s-1943). Ask whether any of the models of “totalitarianism” apply to these societies?

**Academic honesty:** All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. *I will not accept Paper One from students who have not signed the “Acceptance of Academic Honesty Policy” on the course Blackboard site.*

**I DO NOT TOLERATE CHEATING OR PLAGIARISM (PRESENTING SOMEONE ELSE’S SCHOLARLY WORK AS YOUR OWN). I WILL PURSUE THE UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINARY PROCESS AGAINST STUDENTS WHO PLAGIARIZE OTHERS’ WORK. AT A MINIMUM, STUDENTS WHO PLAGIARIZE WILL RECEIVE A “0” ON THE ASSIGNMENT IN QUESTION.**

You are required to read the American Historical Association’s “Defining Plagiarism” at <https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/teaching-resources-for-historians/plagiarism-curricular-materials-for-history-instructors/defining-plagiarism> before the second class meeting.

The College’s credit hour policy on undergraduate courses is to award 4 credit hours for courses that meet for the equivalent of 3 periods of 50 minutes each week.  Students enrolled in History 208/208W are expected to devote at least several hours each week outside of class to reading, identifying the main lines of argument in readings, preparing for class discussion, writing papers, etc.

**MASKING:** As per university policy, it is required that all students wear a mask covering mouth **and nose** during class. I will be doing the same. Masking is mostly to protect others from infection (you can be a carrier without symptoms). So it is a matter of concern *for others*. The usefulness of masks in preventing COVID spread is very well-documented in the scientific literature (as opposed to rumors on FB or websites that focus on politics or are run by hucksters of quack health products).

**COVID CONTINGENCIES:** The course will meet in person. Given the fluid nature of the COVID pandemic, it is possible that we will have to meet online. We will follow university guidance in this matter.

**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR READING.** For a number of discussion classes there are several different documents assigned. Keeping track of these sources for the class discussions is one of the biggest challenge of reading for the course. I would recommend noting down for yourself the date and authorship/provenance of each source, so you can place each in context and differentiate one from another during class discussions.

**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STUDYING IN GENERAL.** Because there are no tests for the course, you may have the impression that you can skate through or nor turn up for discussions, and just do readings when it is time to write your papers. This would be a mistake. I would take notes on lectures. I would also do so for discussions, not as dense as you would on lectures, but on anything particularly interesting that pops up (you don’t need to transcribe all of class discussion!!). I will expect you to show mastery of all course materials in your papers, including the short tlectures and concepts that we explore during discussion

**ATTENDANCE:** You need to attend class regularly and contribute to discussion. My experience shows that students who do not do these things get substantially lower grades, because they do poorly on class assignments.

**CLASS PARTICIPATION:** Class participation is 10% of your grade. You don’t have to be the most active student in class to get full credit (100%) for this, but you do need to contribute a several comments per class. I will often ask students early in discussion to offer any thoughts at all they had about the reading. This is your chance, if you are shy, to have formulated something beforehand and to offer it for discussion.

If you never say a word in class, you will get a “zero” for class participation and you will have lost one full-grade grade step right there.

If you have real difficulties speaking up in class, contact me to discuss.

In my experience students almost never ask “stupid” questions or make “stupid” comments. So don’t fear doing this. Moreover, your classmates may be grateful to you if you ask a very basic question – they may have also been confused, but afraid to ask. Also, do not be intimidated if some class members show superior background knowledge about events we are discussing. The course is designed for students with very little background in the events we study, and such students generally do as well as any others. Moreover, students with weaker background knowledge will often make very perceptive comments.

**Students with disabilities:**The University of Rochester respects and welcomes students of all backgrounds and abilities. In the event you encounter any barrier(s) to full participation in this course due to the impact of disability, please contact the Office of Disability Resources. The access coordinators in the Office of Disability Resources can meet with you to discuss the barriers you are experiencing and explain the eligibility process for establishing academic accommodations. You can reach the [Office of Disability Resources](http://www.rochester.edu/college/disability/index.html" \t "_blank) at: [disability@rochester.edu;](mailto:disability@rochester.edu;" \t "_blank) (585) 276-5075; Taylor Hall.

Lenoe Criteria for Grading Papers:

In general I look for the following when I grade papers. This list is not exhaustive and is *not* in order of priority.

**ABOVE, ALL, MAKE SURE THAT YOU ARE ANSWERING THE QUESTION OR RESPONDING TO THE PROMPT I HAVE GIVEN YOU**. **IF YOU FAIL TO DO SO YOU WILL MOST LIKELY RECEIVE A “C” OR A “D”**. Assuming that you do respond to the prompt, I look for the following.

1. Original insights into documents read (issues not discussed in readings or class).
2. Clear presentation of insights into documents (whether or not they are original). Another way of putting this is clear organization (one paragraph per discrete idea, logical links between each idea).
3. Clear statement of main points/thesis s in the first paragraph, *or* of a question you will ask, with follow-through in the rest of the paper. IMPORTANT NOTE: “Topic X is interesting” or “Topic Y is important,” or “Many people have different views about topic Z” are not adequate thesis statements. They are so general as to be meaningless.
4. Relatively simple, but not childish, writing style. I would like you to use words who meaning you already know clearly to express ideas as concisely as possible. You do not to need to use long “academic” words or sentence structures to earn a good grade. Of course there is a happy medium here. I also don’t want you to write like a first-grader (“Charlemagne was king. He had a lot of power. He conquered many lands.”) A hint: use active voice verbs in your writing whenever possible. Here are three of the basic principles for clear style (there are others).
   1. Cut words that do not add to meaning. For example, the phrase “the dark, obscure night.” “Dark” and “obscure” are sufficiently close in meaning that you could cut “dark” and make the phrase “the obscure night.”
   2. Use active voice verbs whenever possible. For a guide to the difference between active and passive voice verbs, see <https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/general_writing/academic_writing/active_and_passive_voice/active_versus_passive_voice.html> .
   3. Avoid nominalizations whenever possible. For a guide to nominalizations and the reason to avoid them, see <https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/english_as_a_second_language/esl_students/nominalizations_and_subject_position.html> .
5. Correct grammar. Most common errors seem to be:
   1. Incomplete sentences. Every sentence must contain at a minimum, a subject or verb.
   2. Pronoun does not agree in number or gender with the noun it is standing in for.
   3. Improper capitalization of nouns. In modern English, only proper nouns (names of places, people, months, days of the week, etc.) are capitalized. Words like “fate,” “revolution,” (unless you’re talking about a specific revolution) are not.
   4. Comma splices. You cannot splice together two independent clauses with a comma. For example, the following is an error: “Ivan the Terrible established the *oprichnina*, he intended it to crush the power of the *boyars*.” You need two sentences, broken after *oprichnina*, or a semi-colon after *oprichnina*. There are also other solutions.
   5. Confused apostrophes. The plural form in English contains NO APOSTROPHES. Possessive does.
   6. Special case of confused apostrophes: “its” and it’s”. “Its” is the possessive form, similar to “his,” “hers,” “mine,” and like other possessive pronouns, contains NO APOSTROPHE. “It’s” is the contraction of “It is,” and does contain an apostrophe. Just remember possessive form always equals NO APOSTROPHE.
   7. Dangling modifiers, whether words or phrases. This means that an adjective or adverb, or a phrase that is supposed to modify a noun, does not actually modify a noun. For example, “Eating the rabbit, its bones were strewn across the lawn.” Here the phrase “eating the rabbit” appears to modify ‘bones’, but is clearly intended to modify the eater of the rabbit (\*who\* ate the rabbit), who might be a fox or hawk.
   8. Failure of verb to agree in number with its subject – “We runs”. Students are prone to this when a number of words or a phrase separate the verb from its subject.
   9. Logical connections between ideas, evidence, etc. Make sure that you don’t argue one thing in one paragraph, and the exact opposite in the next. The evidence you use should back up the claims you make.

Factual accuracy. You need to have the facts right and to show that you understand the historical context (social structures, religious beliefs, political systems, etc.) of the time when particular primary sources were written. This includes, very importantly, getting the chronological (time) order of events right.

Number values of letter grades.

A+ = 100 %

A = 95 %

A- = 92 %

B+ = 88 %

B = 85 % etc.

Calculating final grade averages:

92.5 and up = A.

90-92.49 = A-

87.5-89.99 = B+

82.5-87.49 = B

80.00-82.49 = B-

Etc.