



The University of Calgary
Historical Studies (HTST) 333 (01)
THE AGE OF TOTALITARIANISM
Spring 2020

Scheduled class times: MTWR, 9:00 – 11:45 a.m.

Instructor: Brad Rennie

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Course description:

This course will examine Europe during the “Age of Totalitarianism” – from around the turn of the twentieth century into the Cold War. It will pay particular attention to the emergence, development, policies, impact, and demise of the totalitarian regimes of Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler. It will also compare these regimes and analyze the two world wars and their effect on totalitarianism. As well, it will consider differing scholarly views of totalitarianism and its place in history.

Classes:

All lectures (classes) will be “asynchronous” (recorded) and available to you at any time. Details on how to access those lectures will be sent to you in a mass message.

Required Readings:

- Free online readings from the U of C library and the web.
- The History Student’s Handbook: A Short Guide to Writing History Essays. Available at www.hist.ucalgary.ca. Click on “History Student’s Handbook” on the left.

Grading:

Document analysis: 20% Due **May 14**
Research paper: 35% Due **May 25**
Final (take-home) exam: 45% Posted **May 27** and due **June 1**

Grading scheme:

I'll assign a percentage mark for each component of the course and will calculate a final letter grade for the course based on the scale near the end of this course outline (see "Departmental Grading System").

Learning objectives:

- Acquire an understanding and knowledge of the causes, nature, policies, and impact of twentieth-century European totalitarianism.
- Analyze primary-source readings and relate them to their historical context.
- Assess different interpretations of history.
- Write an argument-driven paper, based entirely or mainly on scholarly secondary sources and with proper citations, about a topic related to twentieth-century totalitarianism.

Take-home exam

The (take-home) exam will of course be an open-book exam. It will cover all of the course material, from the beginning of the semester to the end. You will submit the exam by emailing it to me (brennie@ucalgary.ca) AND by sending it to the D2L drop box.

Assignments:

Instructions for the assignments (the document analysis and the research paper) are in this course outline; follow them very carefully. Both assignments must be submitted by emailing them to me (brennie@ucalgary.ca) AND by sending them to the D2L drop box.

Help with the assignments:

We're willing to help with your assignments at any stage of the process. We're even willing to give you feedback on a rough draft if you e-mail it before the due date.

Late policy:

Up to three percent will be deducted for each day an assignment is late without legitimate excuse, and up to three percent will be deducted for each HOUR the take-home exam is late.

Communication:

GIVEN THAT THIS IS A REMOTE-DELIVERY (ON-LINE) COURSE, IT'S ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT YOU CHECK EVERY DAY FOR MESSAGES FROM ME. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THESE MESSAGES WILL TELL YOU WHAT READINGS TO DO AND WILL PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON ASSIGNMENTS. Each message will be posted in the "News" section of D2L and will be sent in a mass email. **IF YOU DECIDE NOT TO LOOK FOR THESE MESSAGES, YOU'LL BE OUT OF THE LOOP AND WILL MESS UP WITH THE COURSE. GUARANTEED. YOU NEED TO STAY IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH ME VIA THESE MESSAGES.**

ALSO, BE AWARE THAT I'M ONLY AN EMAIL AWAY IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR NEED TO TALK TO ME ABOUT ANYTHING COURSE-RELATED. Especially in the current circumstances, I'll be replying to emails more than once a day.

Readings:

Make 100 percent sure you read assigned readings for each class (again, I'll tell you what to read for each class in D2L and via mass e-mails) because the readings and questions I pose to you about them will help you with exam questions.

Schedule:

MAY 6

Introduction to the course and how to do the assignments. What is totalitarianism, and how does it differ from authoritarianism?

MAY 7

The early origins of twentieth-century totalitarianism and dictatorship: The unifications of Italy and Germany; industrialization, modernization, imperialism, militarism, and autocracy; the rise of extreme ideologies; growing fascination with violence and the non-rational.

- Karl Pearson, "National Life from the Standpoint of Science, 1900"
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1900pearsonl.asp>
- "The Jewish Chronicle: Outrages Upon Jews in Russia, May 6, 1881"
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1881JC-pogroms.asp>
- The Futurist Manifesto
<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/manifesto-of-futurism>

MAY 11, 12

World War One, what led to it, its legacy, and its effect on the rise of totalitarian regimes. Russia's destabilization, the Russian Revolution, the Russian Civil War, Lenin's rule and policies, and Stalin's rise to power.

- Vladimir Illyich Lenin, "State and Revolution, 1918"
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/lenin-staterev.asp>

- Woodrow Wilson’s “Speech on the Fourteen Points Jan 8, 1918” <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1918wilson.asp>

MAY 13, 14: Document analysis due May 14

The state of Italy after World War One and Mussolini’s rise to power. Germany under the Weimar Republic, hopes for peace, the impact of the Great Depression, and Hitler’s rise to power. Comparison of the emergence of totalitarianism in Germany, Italy, and Russia.

- James A. Gregor, “The Bolshevik Revolution and the Rise of Italian Fascism,” *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Winter 2016) James A. Gregor, “The Bolshevik Revolution and the Rise of Italian Fascism,” *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Winter 2016)

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A490250733/AONE?u=ucalgary&sid=AONE&xid=d88379a8>

- “The Moment Has Arrived when the Arrow Must Leave the Bow or the Cord Will Break!” pp. 171-179, *Mussolini as Revealed in His Political Speeches* <https://archive.org/stream/mussoliniasrevea00mussuoft#page/322>
- Hitler’s “Munich speech of April 12, 1922” <http://www.hitler.org/speeches/04-12-22.html>

MAY 19, 20

Stalin’s domestic and foreign policies before World War Two and their impact. Mussolini’s domestic and foreign policies and Italy’s expansionism before World War Two.

- “Hymn to Stalin” <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/stalin-worship.asp>
- “Stalin’s Purges, 1935” <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1936purges.asp>

MAY 21

Hitler’s diplomacy and domestic and foreign policies before World War Two. Comparison of the policies of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin. The Spanish Civil War.

- “Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the Church and the German Reich to the venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops of Germany, and other ordinaries in peace and communion with the Apostolic See” http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_14031937_mit-brennender-sorge.html
- Hitler’s “Wilhelmshaven speech of April 1, 1939” <http://www.hitler.org/speeches/04-01-39.html>

MAY 25: Research paper due May 25

World War Two and the involvement of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Stalinist Russia. The war's impact on these regimes.

- Hitler's "Berlin, Reichstag speech of May 4, 1941" <http://www.hitler.org/speeches/05-04-41.html>

MAY 26, 27

The Soviet Union after World War Two. The Cold War and the fall of European communism. The legacy of totalitarianism.

- Excerpts from the "Secret Speech to the Closed Session of the Twentieth Party Congress, February 25, 1956" <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/krushchev-secret.asp>
- "United Nations Cuban Missile Debate, 1962" <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1962-cuba-un1.asp>
- "The Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968" <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1968brezhnev.asp>

Document analysis:

You will write a short analysis (ABOUT 3-4 double-spaced pages of text [roughly 1000 – 1300 words]) of any one of the following three primary-source readings. NO RESEARCH AND NO CITATIONS ARE REQUIRED OR EXPECTED FOR THIS ASSIGNMENT.

1. Excerpt from *Mein Kampf* <https://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111hitler.html>
Carefully discuss/describe Hitler's ideas (this should take about two thirds of your paper), and then consider, based on what you've learned in this class, the extent to which those ideas were original to Hitler and the extent to which they reflected ideas that had been floating around Europe since the late nineteenth century.
2. Excerpt from *What is Fascism?* (1932) <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/mussolini-fascism.asp>
Carefully discuss/describe the Fascist doctrines/ideas in this document (this should take about two thirds of your paper), and then consider the extent to which the ideas in this document were original and the extent to which, based on what you've learned in class, those ideas were borrowed from, or a product of, earlier ideas.
3. Chapter One (The Organization of Society) AND Chapter Ten (The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens) of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1936) <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1936/12/05.htm>

Carefully discuss/describe the organization and rights/ideas outlined in these two parts of the document (this should take about three quarters of your paper) and consider the extent to which these documents are propaganda.

Research paper:

What is required? The paper must be about six (or more) pages of double-spaced text (approximately 1800 or more words), must be based on at least five sources, and must be properly documented with footnotes or endnotes. In compiling your footnotes or endnotes, you must follow the examples in The History Student's Handbook (available at hist.ucalgary.ca -- click on "History Students' Handbook" on the left).

What sources do I use? Your sources must be scholarly (peer-reviewed) books and/or journal articles, that is, books and/or articles written by experts in the field (usually historians).

Don't use lecture notes or encyclopaedias, especially Wikipedia, and don't use websites.

How do I find sources? To find books and/or journal articles, do a library catalogue search. If you don't know how or can't find enough sources on your own, contact a librarian. They're very skilled at locating good sources, and it's their job to help you -- so don't hesitate to ask! If you want help from the library specialist in history (Nadine Hoffman), she has office hours on Tuesday mornings; you can communicate with her at that time through the chat box on the library website.

How do I document my sources? By using footnotes or endnotes. You absolutely must use footnotes or endnotes with the exact page number(s) you got your ideas/specific information/quotes from. Thus, **DON'T** include in your footnotes or endnotes the pages of an entire journal article or a large range of page numbers from a book (eg pp. 3-21). Instead, I need to see something like "p. 13" or "pp. 23-4" in your footnotes/endnotes.

When do I need footnote/endnotes? General information (about well-known events and dates, for example) that can be found in most historical writing on a topic does not require a footnote or endnote. However, the sources of more specific information and historians' interpretations or original ideas, as well as direct quotations, must be acknowledged in footnotes or endnotes. Essays for this assignment should have around 15 or so footnotes or endnotes.

What approach must I take? The paper should not be merely descriptive; nor should it provide needless detail or trivia. Rather, it should be analytical and should make an argument. The argument should be briefly stated in the introductory paragraph and supported throughout the body of the paper. A concluding paragraph should sum up how the paper's main points support the argument.

What do you mean by an argument for this paper? An argument is a debatable assertion, something informed people could disagree about. Here are some examples:

- “Although fascism is commonly considered a far-right ideology, Mussolini’s Fascist ideas were in fact significantly derived from socialism.”
- “Stalin did achieve impressive industrialization in the Soviet Union, but the human costs were enormous.”
- “Although Hitler and the Nazi leadership deserve primary blame for the holocaust, anti-Semitism among officials and in the general population ultimately made the holocaust possible.”

How do I figure out an argument? By doing your research! Let your research guide you in coming up with an argument. In fact, you shouldn’t even think about an argument before you’ve done most if not all of your reading. Don’t put the cart before the horse! **NEVER** decide on an argument before you have gained an understanding of your topic through your research.

How many quotations do I need? Very few or maybe none! Students should avoid (like the plague) using too many quotations; quotes should be used sparingly and only when the author of your source or a person you are writing about said or wrote something in a particularly poignant or interesting way. Plain statements and matter-of-fact information should always be paraphrased in your own words.

What should quotes look like? Short quotations (up to two sentences in length) should be incorporated into the text with quotation marks. Longer quotations should be single-

spaced and offset with margins on the left-hand side. Such longer quotes must not be enclosed with quotation marks.

How do I properly and effectively incorporate quotes? Quotations -- again, use them very sparingly! -- should generally be introduced to the reader (i.e. you should usually indicate who you are quoting and how the quote is relevant). For example:

- Speaking to the Twentieth Party Congress on February 26, 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, accused Stalin of having “practiced brutal violence, not only toward everything that opposed him, but also toward that which seemed to his capricious and despotic character contrary to his concepts.”
- According to historian Bruce Pauley, “in general, Brezhnev’s rule represents a conservative reaction to the reforms of his predecessor.”

All quotations must be smoothly integrated into your narrative in a grammatically correct way. There are three ways to make quotes fit grammatically into a sentence:

1. Paraphrase part of the quote you wish to cite.
2. Remove some words from the quote, but indicate where the missing words are with ellipses (...).
3. Add a word or words to your quote, but enclose what you added with square brackets.

Where do I place punctuation, quote marks, and note numbers? Periods and commas must be placed inside quote marks, and quote marks and punctuation must be placed inside footnote or endnote numbers. For example:

The scholar Eric Brose suggests that “since 1915, if not earlier, Adolf Hitler had spoken about ‘settling scores’ with the Jews.”⁴

"Deport the enemy aliens!"⁵ the crowd shouted.

What topics can I write on? The following are recommended paper topics. Some will need to be narrowed down in scope and/or time frame. Students wishing to write on a subject other than one listed here must first consult with the instructor. Failure to do so will result in a penalty, perhaps a failed grade.

1. Discuss and explain the growth of anti-Semitism in at least one European country in the late nineteenth century.
2. Discuss/compare anti-Semitism in Austria and Germany in the late nineteenth century.
3. Analyze racist thought in Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
4. Analyze the rise of militaristic thought in Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
5. Discuss the peace movement in Europe (late nineteenth century to the interwar years) and explain its ultimate failure. (See the instructor before proceeding.)
6. Discuss the pre-World War One suffrage movement in any European country.

7. Discuss women's volunteer or paid work contributions to the war effort in World War One. (See the instructor before proceeding.)
8. Analyze the conditions/events leading to the Bolshevik Revolution.
9. Was Lenin a totalitarian leader?
10. Explain why/how Stalin, rather than his rivals, became Lenin's successor.
11. Analyze Stalin's cult of the leader.
12. How successful were Stalin's five-year plans?
13. Analyze Stalin's collectivization policy.
14. Analyze women's rights/opportunities in Stalinist Russia.
15. Examine Italy's rule in/administration of one or more of its African colonies.
16. Explain Italy's failure to conquer Ethiopia in 1895-6.
17. Explain Mussolini's rise to power.
18. Analyze Mussolini's propaganda.
19. How successfully did Mussolini handle Italy's economy?
20. Discuss and assess Mussolini's foreign policy.
21. Analyze Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia.
22. Discuss and explain Mussolini's views of, and changing policies toward, Jews.
23. Analyze Fascist Italy's ideas about and treatment of women.
24. Compare Italian Fascist ideals about women with Nazi ideals about women.
25. Was Mussolini's Fascist regime authoritarian or totalitarian?
26. Analyze Italy's and Germany's involvement in the Spanish Civil War.
27. Discuss Hitler's ideas and what led to them.
28. Carefully discuss/analyze the sources that shaped Hitler's ideology. (See the instructor before proceeding.)
29. To what extent did German imperialism in Africa shape the Nazi movement? (See the instructor before proceeding.)
30. Was Friedrich Nietzsche a proto-Nazi – was he partly responsible for Nazi ideology?
31. To what extent was Nazism largely a creation of Hitler, and to what extent was it the result of other factors in Germany's and Europe's history?
32. Examine/explain Hitler's rise to power.
33. Analyze Leni Riefenstahl's pro-Nazi propaganda films.
34. Analyze the propaganda work of Joseph Goebbels.
35. Discuss Hitler's economic policies.
36. Discuss and assess Hitler's foreign policy during the 1930s.
37. Compare the Nazi eugenics movement with eugenics movements in other countries. (See the instructor before proceeding.)
38. Analyze Hitler's attitude toward, and treatment of, people with disabilities.
39. Analyze Hitler's treatment of the Roma/Romani (gypsies).
40. Analyze the Nazis' ideas about and treatment of gays.
41. Analyze women's roles in the Nazi movement.
42. How effective was the S.S. in controlling the German population?
43. Analyze the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and why both sides signed it.
44. Evaluate Hitler as a war planner/strategist.

45. Discuss and critique the Vichy regime in France.
46. Analyze Nazi propaganda during World War Two.
47. Why was Mussolini's military relatively ineffective/weak?
48. Who was responsible for the Holocaust?
49. Why did Hitler decide to invade the Soviet Union, and why did he do so when he did?
50. Evaluate Stalin as a war leader.
51. Discuss Stalin's domestic policies during World War Two.
52. Why did the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union ultimately fail?
53. Discuss women's involvement in the paid workforce during World War Two in any European country or in more than one European country, and consider the possible long-term impact of that involvement.
54. Analyze Stalin's policies after World War Two.
55. Discuss and assess Khrushchev as a Soviet leader.
56. Discuss women's rights and opportunities in the Soviet Union.
57. Analyze the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain.
58. Why did the Nationalists defeat the Republic in the Spanish Civil War?
59. Discuss Franco's dictatorship in Spain.
60. Discuss dictatorship in Austria from 1919 to the Anschluss.
61. Discuss the rule of Quisling in Norway during World War Two.
62. Discuss King Zog's rule in Albania.
63. Was Salazar's Estado Novo regime in Portugal fascist?
64. Analyze the regime of Miklos Horthy in Hungary.
65. Analyze Tito as a revolutionary.
66. Analyze Tito's leadership of Yugoslavia.
67. Analyze Leonid Brezhnev as a Soviet leader.
68. Analyze the collapse of communism in any Soviet satellite state. (See the instructor before proceeding.)

Academic misconduct:

The University treats cheating, plagiarism, and other academic offenses very seriously. Students caught committing an offence will likely face one of several possible penalties such as a grade reduction for an assignment or a failed grade for an assignment or the course. They should therefore familiarize themselves with the various forms of academic offenses and the issues surrounding them. Plagiarism regarding the assignments for our course would include, but not be limited to, the following:

- Handing in a paper written partly or entirely by someone else.
- Failing to indicate, using footnotes/endnotes, the sources (and the specific pages in those sources) from which you took ideas, specific information, and quotations.
- Cutting and pasting material from books, articles, or other sources rather than putting material in your own words.
- Citing sources in your footnotes/endnotes that you didn't specifically use for your paper.

Important Departmental, Faculty, and University Information

Departmental Grading System:

The following percentage-to-letter grade conversion scheme is used in all Canadian Studies, History, and Latin American Studies courses, except for HTST 200.

Percentage	Letter Grade	Grade Point Value	Description
90-100	A+	4.00	Outstanding performance
85-89	A	4.00	Excellent performance
80-84	A-	3.70	Approaching excellent performance
77-79	B+	3.30	Exceeding good performance
73-76	B	3.00	Good performance
70-72	B-	2.70	Approaching good performance
67-69	C+	2.30	Exceeding satisfactory performance
63-66	C	2.00	Satisfactory performance
60-62	C-	1.70	Approaching satisfactory performance.
56-59	D+	1.30	Marginal pass. Insufficient preparation for subsequent courses in the same subject
50-55	D	1.00	Minimal Pass. Insufficient preparation for subsequent courses in the same subject.
0-49	F	0	Failure. Did not meet course requirements.

Program Advising and Student Information Resources:

- For program advising in the Faculty of Arts, contact the Arts Students Centre (ASC) in SS 102, call 403-220-3580, email artsads@ucalgary.ca, or book an appointment with an ASC advisor at <https://arts.ucalgary.ca/current-students/undergraduate>.
- For further information on academic advising and degree planning for arts students, see <https://arts.ucalgary.ca/current-students/undergraduate/academic-advising>.
- For registration issues, paying fees, and assistance with MyUofC, contact Enrolment Services in MacKimmie Tower Room 116, call 403-210-ROCK (7625), or visit <http://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/>.

- **Attention history majors:** History 300 is a required course for all history majors. You should normally take it in your second year.
- Registration Changes and Exemption Requests:
<https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/registration/appeals>

Writing:

All written assignments and written exam responses are assessed partly on writing skills. Writing skills include surface correctness (grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, etc.) and general clarity and organization. Research papers must be properly documented according to the format described in the History Student's Handbook.

D2L: Throughout the course, important material such as lecture outlines and study guides will be regularly posted on D2L. Students are advised to check this regularly.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism occurs when one submits or presents one's work in a course, or ideas and/or passages in a written piece of work, as if it were one's own work done expressly for that particular course, when, in fact, it is not. Please see *The History Student's Handbook*.

Plagiarism may take several forms:

- Failing to cite sources properly
- Submitting borrowed, purchased, and/or ghostwritten papers
- Submitting one's own work for more than one course without the permission of the instructor(s) involved
- Extensive paraphrasing of one or a few sources, even when referenced properly, unless the essay is a critical analysis of those works

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence, and written work that appears to contain plagiarized passages will not be graded. All such work will be reported to the Faculty of Art's associate deans of students who will apply the penalties specified in the *University of Calgary Calendar*, [Section K](#).

Academic Accommodations:

Students needing an accommodation because of a disability or medical condition should contact Student Accessibility Services (<https://www.ucalgary.ca/access/>) in accordance with the Procedure for Accommodations for Students with Disabilities ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.

Students needing an accommodation based on a protected ground other than disability should contact, preferably in writing, the course instructor.

Copyright:

The University of Calgary has opted out of the Access Copyright Interim Tariff proposed by the Copyright Board. Therefore, instructors in all University of Calgary courses will strictly adhere to Copyright Act regulations and the educational exceptions permitted by the Act for both print and digital course material. No copyrighted material may be placed on course D2L or web sites without the prior permission of the copyright holders. In some cases, this may mean that instructors will require you to purchase a print course pack from the University of Calgary bookstore or consult books on reserve at the library. For more information on the University of Calgary's copyright policy, see <http://library.ucalgary.ca/copyright>.

Other Useful Information:

Please see <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/registration/course-outlines> for information on:

- Wellness and Mental Health
- Student Success
- Student Ombuds Office
- Student Union (SU) Information
- Graduate Students' Association (GSA) Information
- Emergency Evacuation/Assembly Points
- Safewalk

- **Department Twitter @ucalgaryhist**

Spring 2020