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POLS W 4414y: Making Democracy Work

For the past thirty years a democratic revolution has been sweeping the globe. Beginning in the mid-1970s in Southern Europe, it has spread throughout Latin America, parts of East Asia and Africa, and the former Soviet bloc. In all, dozens of new democracies have emerged in the last three decades. This course will examine the problems they face and what, if anything, outsiders can do to help.

The course will begin with the literature on democratic consolidation, giving students an overview of the most important theories about what makes democracies work. We will then explore historical cases of intervention and debates about America's role in promoting democracy. Finally, we will examine some of the research on democracy promotion, asking what can and should be done in this area in the future.

Prerequisites: One course in comparative politics.

Course Requirements: Students are expected to attend all class sessions, participate actively in discussions, give presentations, and complete all readings before class. *Be warned: The reading for this course is heavy and you are expected to do all of it.* In addition, students will have two exams and a final research paper (of approximately 15 pages). For this paper students will choose a country that is formally democratic but not yet fully consolidated or one that has not yet made the transition to democracy and analyze the problems democracy faces, the potential solutions to those problems, and offer recommendations as to whether the U.S. should intervene and if so, how.

The two exams will each be worth 20% of the final grade, the final research paper 40%, and class participation 20%.

Course Readings: The following books have been ordered for your convenience and are available at Labyrinth Books. You need not purchase any of them. The Democracy Sourcebook, The Global Resurgence of Democracy, and The Global Divergence of Democracy are collections of articles or book chapters that have been published elsewhere. I have therefore listed the original publication data so that you can get the articles online or the book chapters on reserve. The other books (by Dobbins, et al, Zakaria, Carothers and Diamond) are not available online. However, copies of these books will be on reserve at the Barnard library.

- Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve .
- Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and José Antonio Cheibub, eds., The Democracy Sourcebook (DS).
- Larry Diamond, Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation.
- Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, The Global Resurgence of Democracy (GRD).
- Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, The Global Divergence of Democracies (GDD).
- James Dobbins, et al., America's Role in Nation-Building.
- Fareed Zakaria, The Future of Freedom .

Week 1 (January 17, 19): Introduction

- Samuel Huntington, "After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave," Journal of Democracy, 8, 4, October 1997.
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," in GDD.
- Larry Diamond, Developing Democracy, chapter 1, pp. 1-19 and chapter 3, pp. 64-73.
- Essay by Schumpeter ("The Classical Doctrine of Democracy) in DS.

Week 2 (January 24, 26): Economic Development and Democracy

- Seymour Martin Lipset, "Political Man: The Social Basis of Politics," in DS, pp. 56-64 (or S. M. Lipset, Political Man, pp 31-53).
- Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," in DS, pp. 71-75 (or Huber, et al, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," Journal of Economic Perspectives, 7, 3, 1993).
- Ronald Inglehart, "Changing Values, Economic Development and Political Change," International Social Science Journal, 145, September 1995.
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," World Politics, 49, January 1997.

Case Study:

- George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, "China's Coming Transformation," Foreign Affairs, 80, 4, July/August 2001.
- Minxin Pei, "China's Governance Crisis," Foreign Affairs, 81, 5, September/October 2002.
- An Chen, "The New Inequality," Journal of Democracy, 14, 1, January 2003.

Week 3 (January 31, February 32): Culture and Democracy

- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, chapter 1, pp. 1-12.
- Ronald Inglehart, "Culture and Democracy," in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, eds., Culture Matters (NY: Basic Books, 2000).
- Adam Przeworski, et al, "Culture and Democracy," in DS, pp. 181-189 (or World Culture Report: Culture, Creativity, and Markets (UNESCO 1998)).
- Larry Diamond, Developing Democracy, chapter 5 (pages 161-74, skim 174-200, 200-218)

Case Studies:

- Abdou Filali-Ansary, "Muslims and Democracy," Journal of Democracy, July 1999 and also in GDD, pp. 37-49.
- Bernard Lewis, "A Historical Overview," Journal of Democracy, April 1996.
- Fareed Zakaria, "Culture is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew," Foreign Affairs, 73, 2, March/April 1994.
- Kim Dae Jung, "Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values," Foreign Affairs, 73, 6, November/December 1994.

Week 4 (February 7, 9): Civil Society and Democracy

- Robert Putnam, "Democracy," in DS, pp. 157-167.
- Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, 83-91, 171-185.
- Larry Diamond, "Toward Democratic Consolidation," in GRD (or Journal of Democracy, 5, 3, July 1994).
- Michael Foley and Bob Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," Journal of Democracy, 7, 3, 1996.

Case Studies:

- Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone," Journal of Democracy, January 1995 and in GRD, pp. 290-302.
- Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society," World Politics, 53, April 2001.
- David Rieff, "The False Dawn of Civil Society," The Nation, Feb 22 1999.
- Thomas Carothers, "Civil Society: Think Again," Foreign Policy, Winter/1999-2000.

Week 5 (February 14, 16): The State and Democracy

- Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 1-32, 78-92.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The Imperative of State Building," Journal of Democracy, 15, 2, April 2004 or Francis Fukuyama, "'Stateness' First," Journal of Democracy, 16, 1, January 2005.

Case Studies:

- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis," in Journal of Modern African Studies, 24, 1, 1986.
- Shaoguang Wang, "The Problem of State Weakness," Journal of Democracy, 14, 1, January 2003.

Week 6 (February 21, 24): Nationalism and Democracy

- Donald Horowitz, "Democracy in Divided Societies," in The Journal of Democracy, October 1993.
- Robert Dahl, Polyarchy, pp. 105-121 ("Subcultures, Cleavage Patterns and Government Effectiveness")
- M. Steven Fish and Robin Brooks, "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" in The Journal of Democracy, 15, 1, January 2004.
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," American Political Science Review, 97, 1, February 2003.

Case Studies:

- Kanchan Chandra, "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability," Perspectives on Politics, 3, 2, June 2005.
- Arend Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies, chapter 1, pp. 1-5 and 16-52.
- Arend Lijphart, "Consociation Democracies," and Donald Horowitz, "The Contest of Ideas," in DS.

Week 7 (February 28, March 2): Institutional Choices for Democracy

- Larry Diamond, Defending Democracy, 99-111.
- Andrew Reynolds, "Constitutional Medicine," in Journal of Democracy, 16, 1, January 2005
- Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism, in GRD or DS.
- Donald Horowitz, "Comparing Democratic Systems, in GRD.
- Arend Lijphart, Constitutional Choices for New Democracies, in GRD.
- Guy Lardeyret, "The Problem with PR," in GRD.
- Quentin Quade, "PR and Democratic Statecraft," in GRD.
- Donald Horowitz, "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers," Journal of Democracy, 14, 4, October 2003.

First Exam!

Week 8 (March 7, 9): America's Role and Postwar Interventions

- George Bush, "Inaugural Address," (plus commentaries)
- Robert Tucker, "Exemplar or Crusader?: Reflections on America's Role," The National Interest, Fall 1986.
- Thomas Carothers, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror," Foreign Affairs, 82, 1, January/February 2003.

- James Dobbins, et al, America's Role in Nation-Building, chapters 1-3.
- Tony Smith, America's Mission, chapter 6.
- Joshua Muravchik, Exporting Democracy, chapter 8.

Spring Break!

Week 9 (March 21, 23): Previous Interventions

- Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad, chapter 2.
- Tony Smith, America's Mission, chapters 8-10.
- James Dobbins, et al, America's Role in Nation-Building, executive summary, chapters 5-7

Week 10 (March 28, 30): Current Research on Democracy Assistance

- Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad, chapters 5-7.
- Larry Diamond, "Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: actors, instruments and issues," in Axel Hadenius, ed., Democracy's Victory and Crisis (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Joel Barkan, "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad?" in Hadenius, ed., Democracy's Victory and Crisis.

Week 11 (April 4, 6): Current Research on Democracy Assistance

- Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad, chapter 8.
- Sarah Mendelson and John Glenn, eds., The Power and Limits of NGOs, chapters 1 and 9.

Week 12 (April 11, 13): Current Research on Democracy Assistance

- “Debating Democracy Assistance,” (articles by Ottaway and Chung, Clark, Gyimah-Boadi, and Lasota), Journal of Democracy, 10, 4, 1999.
- “Lessons Learned,” in Dobbins et al, America’s Role.
- Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad, chapters 9-12.

Second Exam!

Week 13 (April 18, 20): Iraq and Afghanistan

- Carnegie Endowment, “From Victory to Success,” Foreign Policy, July/August 2003, especially pieces by Mathews, Pei, Lieven, Ottaway and Chow.
- Kathy Gannon, “Afghanistan Unbound,” Foreign Affairs, May/June 2004.
- “Afghanistan,” in Dobbins et al, America’s Role, pp. 129-148.
- Larry Goodson, “Bullets, Ballots, and Poppies in Afghanistan,” Journal of Democracy, 16, 1, January 2005

- Daniel Byman, “Constructing a Democratic Iraq: Challenges and Opportunities,” International Security, 28, 1, Summer 2003.
- Eva Bellin, “The Iraqi Intervention and Democracy in Comparative Perspective,” Political Science Quarterly, 119, 4, 2004-5.
- Donald Horowitz, “The Sunni Moment,” WSJ, December 14, 2005.
- Larry Diamond, “What Went Wrong in Iraq,” Foreign Affairs, 83, 5, September/October 2004.
- [-Larry Diamond, “Lessons from Iraq,” Journal of Democracy, 16, 1, January 2005.]
- Jamal Benomar, “Constitution Making After Conflict: Lessons for Iraq,” Journal of Democracy, 15, 2, April 2004, pp. 81-95.
- “Iraq,” in Dobbins, et al, America’s Role, pp. 167-221.

Week 14 (April 25, 27): Debating Democracy

- Fareed Zakaria, The Future of Freedom, Introduction, chapter 3, and conclusion.
- Thomas Carothers, “Zakaria’s Complaint,” The National Interest, 72, Summer 2003.
- Joseph Siegle, Michael Weinstein, and Morton Halperin, “Why Democracies Excel,” Foreign Affairs, 83, 5, September/October 2004.
- Amartya Sen, “Democracy as a Universal Value,” in GDD, pp. 3-16.
- David Held, “The Transformation of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of Globalization,” in DS.
- Thomas Carothers, “Promoting Democracy in a Postmodern World,” Dissent, Spring 1996.