

Professor Sheri Berman

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## **POLS 3505: Making Democracy Work**

Tuesday 2:10-4pm, 421 Lehman Hall

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 colloquium 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.

**Course Requirements:** Students are expected to attend all class sessions, participate actively in discussions, give presentations, and complete all readings before class. In addition, students will complete two short papers and a final research paper of 25-35 pages. For this final paper students will choose a country that is formally democratic but not yet fully consolidated 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 short papers 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.

- 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.

In addition, all readings will be on reserve at Barnard's Lehman library and online via courseworks.

### **Week 1 (September 4): Introduction**

### **Week 2 (September 11): Defining Democracy and Consolidation**

- 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 3 (September 18): 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.
- Carlos Boix, "The Roots of Democracy," Policy Review, February/March 2006.
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," World Politics, 49, January 1997.
- George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, "China's Coming Transformation," Foreign Affairs, 80, 4, July/August 2001.
- Thomas Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," Foreign Policy, May/June 2006.
- Bruce Beuno de Mesquita and George Downs, "Development and Democracy," Foreign Affairs, September/October, 2005.

### **Week 4 (September 25): 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)
- 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.
- Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Toward Muslim Democracies," Journal of Democracy, 18, 2 April 2007.

### **Week 5 (October 2): 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.
- 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 6 (October 9): The State and Democracy**

- Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 1-32, 78-92.
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis," in Journal of Modern African Studies, 24, 1, 1986.
- Minxin Pei, "The Dark Side of China's Rise," Foreign Policy, March/April 2006.

### **Week 7 (October 16): 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")
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," American Political Science Review, 97, 1, February 2003.
- 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.
- [Mark Beissinger, "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," Journal of Democracy, 3, 19, July 2008]

**First Short Paper Due!**

### **Week 8 (October 23): America's Role**

- George Bush, "Inaugural Address," (plus commentaries).
- "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America" (March 2006), esp. pages 1-10.
- 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.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2006.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Democracy Crusade Myth," The National Interest, July/August 2007.
- Fareed Zakaria, The Future of Freedom, Introduction, chapter 3, conclusion.
- 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.

### **Week 9 (October 30): Previous Interventions**

- 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.

### **Week 10 (November 13): 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
- David Adesnik and Michael McFaul, "Engaging Autocratic Allies to Promote Democracy," The Washington Quarterly, Spring 2006.

### **Week 11 (November 20): Current Research on Democracy Assistance**

- Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad, chapters 5-8.

### **Second Short Paper Due!**

### **Week 12 (November 27): Current Research on Democracy Assistance**

- Sarah Mendelson and John Glenn, eds., The Power and Limits of NGOs, chapters 1 and 9.
- "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.

### **Week 13 (December 4): Iraq and Afganistan**

- Carnegie Endowment, "From Victory to Success," Foreign Policy, July/August 2003, especially pieces by Mathews, Pei, Lieven, Ottaway and Chow.
- Kathy Gannon, "Afganistan Unbound," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2004.
- "Afganistan," in Dobbins et al, America's Role, pp. 129-148.
- Larry Goodson, "Bullets, Ballots, and Poppies in Afganistan," 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.
- 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.]
- "Iraq," in Dobbins, et al, America's Role, pp. 167-221.
- Kenneth Pollack, "The Seven Deadly Sins of Failure in Iraq," The Middle East Review of International Affairs, December 2006 (and also available at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy).