

Professor Sheri Berman

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

Monday 2:10-4pm

Beginning in the mid-1970s a democratic wave swept the globe. It started in Southern Europe, spread throughout Latin America, parts of East Asia and Africa, and engulfed the former Soviet bloc. In all, dozens of new democracies emerged during the late twentieth century. More recently many of these new democracies have run into trouble, and quite a number of them have “slid” back towards authoritarianism, or something close to it. This colloquium will examine the problems new democracies face and what, if anything, outsiders can do to help them.

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%.

#### **Barnard Speaking Fellows**

Barnard Speaking Fellows work with groups of students in speaking intensive courses to develop their presentation and leadership skills. One of the requirements of this course is participating in two Speaking Fellow sessions:

-Session One: Fundamentals

-Session Two: Political Science.

Speaking Fellows sessions (which are two hours in duration) are offered at a variety of times every week, throughout the semester; sign up is online through the Speaking Fellows website, [www.barnard.edu/speaking](http://www.barnard.edu/speaking). Scroll down to the bottom of the homepage for the link to the online scheduler. The sign-up period for the Fall 2010 semester is Tuesday, September 14 through Tuesday, October 12. Please note that you will only be allowed to sign up for sessions within this interval. The sessions take place throughout the entire semester.

All sessions start promptly, so be on time. The learning is experiential, cumulative, and based on the group dynamic, so it’s important that everyone is there from the start. If you arrive after the scheduled start time, you may not be permitted into the session.

If you have any questions about the program, please contact the program’s coordinator, Ditty Vick, at [jvick@barnard.edu](mailto:jvick@barnard.edu).

Student Learning Objectives: By the end of this course students should be able to:

1. Identify the key issues and debates in the study of democratic consolidation and democracy promotion.
2. Identify and use some of the key theories about democratic development developed by social scientists to analyze the dynamics of particular cases.
3. Identify some of the most important features of the United States' democracy promotion efforts during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.
4. Evaluate some key cases of American intervention/ democracy promotion during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.
5. Develop and present their own arguments about the nature and consequences of democracy promotion by outside actors.
6. Apply the knowledge gained in the course to analyze the problems a newly democratized country faces, the potential solutions to those problems, and offer recommendations about whether the U.S. should intervene in this country and if so, how.

Course Readings: The following books have been ordered for your convenience and are available at Book Culture.

- Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve .
- Larry Diamond, Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation.
- Larry Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy.
- 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 13): Introduction**

### **Week 2 (September 20): Defining Democracy and Consolidation**

- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," in Journal of Democracy, April 1996, Volume 7, Number 2.
- Essay by Schumpeter ("The Classical Doctrine of Democracy) in The Democracy Sourcebook.
- Larry Diamond, Developing Democracy, pages 7-19 and 64-73.
- Larry Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy, pages 6-14, 17-26, 39-87.

### **Week 3 (September 27): Economic Development and Democracy**

- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, pp 31-53.
- Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," in The Democracy Sourcebook, pp. 71-75 (or Huber, et al, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," Journal of Economic Perspectives, 7, 3, 1993).
- Ronald Inglehart, "Values, Economic Development and Political Change," in The Democracy Sourcebook, pages 66-91 or "Changing Values, Economic Development and Political Change," International Social Science Journal, 145, September 1995.
- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, "How Development Leads to Democracy," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2009.
- 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.
- Thomas Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," Foreign Policy, May/June 2006.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs, "Development and Democracy," Foreign Affairs, September/October, 2005.
- Larry Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy, pages 94-105.

### **Week 4 (October 4): Culture and Democracy**

- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, chapter 1, pp. 1-12.
- M. Steven Fish, "Encountering Culture," in Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser, eds., Is Democracy Exportable?
- 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 The Democracy Sourcebook, 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, Volume 10, Number 3.
- Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Toward Muslim Democracies," Journal of Democracy, 18, 2, April 2007.
- 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 5 (October 11): Civil Society and Democracy**

- Robert Putnam, "Democracy," in The Democracy Sourcebook, pp. 157-167.
- Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, 83-91, 171-185.
- Larry Diamond, "Toward Democratic Consolidation," in Journal of Democracy, 5, 3, July 1994.
- Michael Foley and Bob Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," Journal of Democracy, Volume 7, Number 3, July 1996.
- Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone," Journal of Democracy, January 1995, Volume 6, Number 1.
- 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.

**First Short Paper Due!****Discussion of Final Paper Topics****Week 6 (October 18): 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.
- Jeff Herbst and Greg Mills, "There is No Congo," Foreign Policy, online, March 2009 ([http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story\\_id=4763](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4763))

**Week 7 (October 25): Nationalism and Democracy**

- Donald Horowitz, "Democracy in Divided Societies," in The Journal of Democracy, October 1993, Volume 4, Number 4.
- Robert Dahl, Polyarchy, pp. 105-121 ("Subcultures, Cleavage Patterns and Government Effectiveness").
- Daniel Chirot, "Does Democracy Work in Deeply Divided Societies?" in Barany and Moser, eds., Is Democracy Exportable?
- 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, "Consociational Democracies," and Donald Horowitz, "The Contest of Ideas," in The Democracy Sourcebook.
- Donald Horowitz, "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers," Journal of Democracy, 14, 4, October 2003.
- Mark Beissinger, "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," Journal of Democracy, 3, 19, July 2008.

## Election Day Holiday

(Please use the extra time you have this week to get started on next week's reading since it is heavier than normal.)

### Week 8 (November 8): 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.
- Joe Biden, Speech at the 45th Munich Security Conference, 02/07/2009  
[http://www.securityconference.de/konferenzen/rede.php?menu\\_2009=&sprache=en&id=238&](http://www.securityconference.de/konferenzen/rede.php?menu_2009=&sprache=en&id=238&)
- Marc Plattner, "Introduction" (pp. 1-4) and Thomas Pangle, "The Morality of Exporting Democracy: A Historical-Philosophical Perspective," in Barany and Moser, eds., Is Democracy Exportable?
- Robert Tucker, "Exemplar or Crusader?: Reflections on America's Role," The National Interest, Fall 1986.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2006.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Democracy Crusade Myth," The National Interest, July/August 2007.
- Thomas Carothers, "Stepping Back from Democratic Pessimism," Carnegie Papers, No. 99, February 2009 .  
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=22781>
- 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 Journal of Democracy, Volume 10, Number 3, July 1999.
- Larry Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy, pages 28-38.

### Student Presentations

### Week 9 (November 15): 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.

### Second Short Paper Due!

### Student Presentations

### Week 10 (November 22): 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.
- Craig Whitlock, "Despite its Troubles, Kosovo Offers Model for Nation-Builders," Washington Post, December 1, 2009.
- David Adesnik and Michael McFaul, "Engaging Autocratic Allies to Promote Democracy," The Washington Quarterly, Spring 2006.

### Student Presentations

**Week 11 (November 29): Current Research on Democracy Assistance**

- Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad, chapters 5-8.
- Larry Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy, pages 106-34, 314-44.
- Dinorah Azpuru, Steven E. Finkel, Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, and Mitchell A. Seligson, "What Has the U.S. Been Doing?" Journal of Democracy, April 2008, Volume 19, Number 2.
- Thomas Carothers, "Democracy Assistance," Journal of Democracy, January 2009 Volume 20, Number 1.

**Student Presentations****Week 12 (December 6): 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 13): Iraq and Afganistan**

- Carnegie Endowment, "From Victory to Success," Foreign Policy, July/August 2003, especially pieces by Mathews, Pei, Lieven, Ottaway and Chow.
- "Afganistan," in Dobbins et al, America's Role, pp. 129-148.
- Kathy Gannon, "Afganistan Unbound," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2004.
- Larry Goodson, "Bullets, Ballots, and Poppies in Afganistan," Journal of Democracy, 16, 1, January 2005.
- Rory Stewart, "The Irresistible Illusion," London Review of Books, 31, 13, July 9, 2009.
- Stephen Biddle, Fontini Christia, and J. Alexander Their, "Defining Success in Afghanistan," Foreign Affairs, July/August 2010.
- "Iraq," in Dobbins, et al, America's Role, pp. 167-221.
- Eva Bellin, "The Iraqi Intervention and Democracy in Comparative Perspective," Political Science Quarterly, 119, 4, 2004-5.
- Daniel Byman, "Constructing a Democratic Iraq: Challenges and Opportunities," International Security, 28, 1, Summer 2003.
- Daniel Byman, "An Autopsy of the Iraq Deback: Policy Failure or Bridge too Far?" Security Studies, 17, 2008.
- 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.
- Kenneth Pollack, "The Seven Deadly Sins of Failure in Iraq," The Middle East Review of International Affairs, December 2006.

**FINAL PAPERS DUE**