

Democracy and the International System

POL486 / POL2205

Winter 2012

Wednesdays 6-8pm, 213 Gerard Larkin Building

Professor Vsevolod Gunitskiy

OH: Thursdays 11-1, 3052 Sidney Smith Hall

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Course Description: This course examines the role of the international system in the development and consolidation of democratic regimes. Theories of democracy have traditionally focused on domestic factors like economic development, civil society, and class relations to explain democratic reforms. Over the course of the past two decades, however, external factors have played an increasingly important role in influencing the evolution of domestic institutions. In this course we will step outside the state to examine how factors such as interstate wars, globalization, sanctions, cross-border diffusion, and international institutions shape domestic reforms.

Course Requirements: As a seminar for advanced students, this course will emphasize discussion, independent research, and critical engagement with the readings. Course grades will be based on:

- *Short Response Papers* (30/50%) Each week (except weeks 1, 11, and 12) you will write short response papers (2-4 pages) critiquing the weekly readings, and occasionally present these papers at the beginning of each class as a means of facilitating discussion. The papers should not merely summarize the readings but critique the arguments and draw parallels or contrasts among them. Please see the short response handout for more info.
- *Participation* (20/0%)
- *Research Paper* (50%) The research paper (25-30 pages) is an opportunity to conduct independent research on a topic of your own choosing. Due on April 10, it should address an issue related to any aspect of democratization and the international system.

Course Reading: All required readings will be posted on Blackboard. Please read these before each session and be ready to discuss them in class.

Short Response Papers: The short response papers are due by the start of each class, except in the first week and the two last weeks of class. The papers should be double-spaced, 2-4 pages, size 12 font and standard margins. You will write nine of these over the course of the semester. The paper with the lowest grade will be dropped at the end of the semester.

Short response papers will be graded on a three-tiered system: check-pluses (exceptional critique, 5/5 points), checks (good critique, 4/5 points) and check-minuses (inadequate critique, 2/5 point). Papers will not be accepted and will automatically receive a zero after class starts.

As mentioned above, it's not enough for the papers to summarize the readings. The authors you read are often engaged in a conversation with each other, whether implicitly or explicitly. Your goal is to take part in that conversation by attacking the arguments when you see weaknesses, supporting them with specific examples when you see strengths, and most importantly by making comparisons or contrasts between these arguments. Think beyond "is this right or wrong?" and more about "under what conditions and assumptions is this right, and why?" Making an outline and avoiding vague statements will be a great help in this regard.

Lateness and Absence: Since this is a relatively small course, arriving late disrupts the discussion. Please come in on time, and in return, I promise to always end the class on time. Persistent tardiness will be reflected in your participation grade. All absences must be pre-negotiated on an individual basis, and I may request additional documents (such as a doctor's note) to verify legitimate absences.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a serious offense and will be penalized harshly. You are certain to fail the assignment and, depending on the nature of the offense, may also fail the class and be referred to the Dean's Office for further sanctions. If you are running out of time, keep in mind that you are much better off turning in a late paper than a plagiarized one.

Course Outline

1. January 11 – Introduction
2. January 18 – Domestic Theories of Democratization (140p)
3. January 25 – Democracy and War (119p)
4. February 1 – Democracy and Globalization (98p)
5. February 8 – Democracy and Colonial Legacies (102p)
6. February 15 – Democracy and International Institutions (144p)
7. March 2 – Democracy and International Law (130p)
8. March 7 – Democracy Promotion and External Intervention (168p)
9. March 14 – Economic Tools of Democracy Promotion (111p)
10. March 21 – Democracy Beyond the State (135p)
11. March 28 – Democracy in a Global System: Diffusion and Socialization (131p)
12. April 4 – The Future of Democracy in the International System (100p)

Session 1 – January 11. Introduction.

Course overview.

Session 2 – January 18. Domestic Theories of Democratization.

Modernization theory. Class relations, civil society, and other domestic sources of reforms. [140p]

- Barbara Geddes (2007) "What Causes Democratization?" p.317-339 in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press [20p]
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs (2005) "Development and Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* September/October 2005 [7p]
- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (2009) "How Development Leads to Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* 88.2, p. 33-48 [16p]
- Herbert Kitschelt (1992) "Review: Political Regime Change: Structure and Process-Driven Explanations?" *American Political Science Review* 86.4, p.1028-1034 [7p]
- Michael McFaul (2002) "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Non-Cooperative Transitions in the Post-Communist World" *World Politics* 54.2, p.212–244 [33p]
- Sheri Berman (1997) "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" *World Politics* 49.3, p.401-429 [29p]
- Daniel Ziblatt (2006) "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58.2, p.311-338 [28p]

Session 3 – January 25. Democracy and War.

Interstate conflict and domestic reforms. Bellicist theory. [119p]

- Paul Starr (2011) "Dodging a Bullet: Democracy's Gains in Modern War" p.50-66 in Elizabeth Kier and Ronald Krebs, eds., *In War's Wake: International Conflict and the Fate of Liberal Democracy*, Cambridge University Press [17p]
- Miguel Centeno (2011) "What Wars Do" p.253-270 in Elizabeth Kier and Ronald Krebs, eds., *In War's Wake: International Conflict and the Fate of Liberal Democracy*, Cambridge University Press [18p]
- William Thompson (1996) "Democracy and Peace: Putting the Cart before the Horse?" *International Organization* 50.1, p. 141-74 [32p]
- Ronald Krebs (2009) "In the Shadow of War: The Effects of Conflict on Liberal Democracy" *International Organization* 63.1, p.177-210 [29p]
- Jeffrey Herbst (1990) "War and the State in Africa" *International Security* 14.4, p.117-39 [23p]

Session 4 – February 1. Democracy and Globalization.

The regime effects of trade, globalization, and foreign direct investment.
Democracy, neoliberalism, and the international political economy. [98p]

- Selections from Joseph Stiglitz (2002) *Globalization and Its Discontents*, W.W. Norton and Co., p.133-136, 167-170, 193-194, 247-248 [12p]
- Selections from Jagdish Bhagwati (2004) *In Defense of Globalization*, Oxford University Press, p.21-22, 92-105 [15p]
- Manfred B. Steger (2010) "From Market Globalism to Imperial Globalism: Ideology and American Power After 9/11" in Manfred B. Steger, ed., *Globalization: The Greatest Hits. A Global Studies Reader*, Paradigm Publishers, p.185-90 [6p]
- Jan Aart Scholte (2005) "Globalization and (Un)Democracy" in *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd edition, Palgrave Macmillan, p.348-354, 361-370, 380-381 [19p]
- Quan Li and Rafael Reuveny (2003) "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis" *British Journal of Political Science* 33.1, p.29-54 [22p]
- Emilie Hafner-Burton (2005) "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression" *International Organization* 59, p.593-614, 623-624 [24p]

Session 5 – February 8. Democracy and Colonial Legacies.

The institutional effects of colonial rule. Post-colonial ties and democratic consolidation. Dependency theory. [102p]

- Excerpts from Fareed Zakaria (2008) *The Post-American World*, W.W. Norton, p.140 and Zakaria (2003) *The Future of Freedom*, W.W. Norton, p.106-107 [3p]
- Luc Sante (1998) "Leopold's Heart of Darkness" *San Francisco Gate*, September 1998 [3p]
- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James Robinson (2001) "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation" *The American Economic Review* 91.5, p.1369-1375, 1395-1396 [9p]
- *The Economist* (2006) "Winds of Change", November 2 [2p]
- Michael Bernhard, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom (2004) "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival" *International Studies Quarterly* 48, p.225-250 [23p]
- Dinesh D'Souza (2002) "Two Cheers for Colonialism" *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 10 [8p]
- Ola Olsson (2009) "On the Democratic Legacy of Colonialism" *Journal of Comparative Economics* 37, p.534-545 [12p]
- Tony Smith (1979) "The Underdevelopment of Development Literature: The Case of Dependency Theory" *World Politics* 31.2, p.247-88 [42p]

Session 6 – February 15. Democracy and International Institutions.

The role of regional and international organizations. [144p]

Research Proposal Due

- Jon C. Pevehouse (2002) "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization" *International Organization* 56.3, p.515-549 [35p]
- Edward Mansfield and Jon C. Pevehouse (2008) "Democratization and the Varieties of International Organizations" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.2, p.269-294 [25p]
- *The Economist* (2011) "Justice in Central America: Parachuting in the Prosecutors" October 15 [3p]
- Dan Reiter (2001) "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy" *International Security* 25.4, p. 41–67 [27p]
- Daniela Donno (2010) "Who is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms" *International Organization* 64, p. 593-625 [30p]
- Philip Levitz and Grigore Pop-Eleches (2010) "Why No Backsliding? The European Union's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession" *Comparative Political Studies* 43.4, p. 457–485 [24p]
- Joseph Nye (2011) "Globalization's Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable" *Foreign Affairs* July/August, [4p]
- Andrew Moravcsik (2011) "Affirming Democracy in International Organizations" in Joshua Goldstein, ed. *International Relations*, Pearson Longman [1p]

Session 7 – March 2. Democracy and International Law.

International law and global norms. Human rights, global jurisprudence. Transitional justice and international election monitoring. [133p]

Research Outline Due

- Brian Greenhill (2010) "The Company You Keep: International Socialization and the Diffusion of Human Rights Norms" *International Studies Quarterly* 54, p.127-145 [17p]
- Jeffrey Toobin (2005) "Annals of Law: Swing Shift" *The New Yorker*, September 12, 2005 [13p]
- *The Economist* (2011) "International Justice in Africa: The International Criminal Court Bares Its Teeth" May 12 [3p]
- Kathryn Sikkink (2011) "Making Tyrants Do Time" *The New York Times*, September 15 [3p]
- Kathryn Sikkink and Carrie Booth Walling (2007) "The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.4, p.427-445 [17p]

- Tom Ginsburg & Gregory Shaffer (2010) "How Does International Law Work? What Empirical Research Shows" in Peter Cane & Herbert Kritzer, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Empirical Legal Studies*, Oxford University Press [22p]
- Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri (2003) "Trials and Errors: Principles and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice" *International Security* 28.3, p.5-44 [40p]
- Susan Hyde (2011) "International Dimensions of Elections" in Nathan Brown, ed., *Dynamics of Democratization*, Johns Hopkins University Press [14p]
- Susan Hyde and Judith G. Kelley (2011) "The Limits of Election Monitoring" *Foreign Affairs* June 28, 2011 [4p]

Session 8 – March 7. Democracy Promotion and External Intervention.

Peacekeeping, nation-building, and humanitarian Intervention. Occupation and external regime promotion. [168p]

- John Owen (2002) "The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions" *International Organization* 56.2, p.375-409 [30p]
- Alexander B. Downes (2011) "Regime Change Doesn't Work" *Boston Review* September/October 2011 [8p]
- Jason Brownlee (2007) "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics* 59.2, p.314-340 [27p]
- Steven Finkel, Anibal Perez Linan, Mitchell Seligson (2007) "The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2003" *World Politics* 59.3, p.404-440 [37p]
- *The Economist* (2011) "No Visa, no Cry: An American Diplomatic Weapon" June 2, 2011 [1p]
- Jakob Tolstrup (2009) "Studying a Negative External Actor: Russia's Management of Stability and Instability in the Near Abroad" *Democratization* 16.5, p.922-944 [19p]
- Thomas Carothers (2009) "Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental" *Journal of Democracy* 20.1, p.5-19 [15p]
- Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik (2007) "Bringing Down Dictators: American Democracy Promotion and Electoral Revolutions in Postcommunist Eurasia" Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, Working Paper Series 5-07 [18p]
- Susan Hyde and Angela O'Mahony (2010) "International Scrutiny and Pre-Electoral Fiscal Manipulation in Developing Countries" *Journal of Politics* 72.3, p.690-704 [13p]

Session 9 – March 14. Economic Tools of Democracy Promotion.

The role of sanctions and foreign aid. [111p]

- Nikolay Marinov (2005) "Do Economic Sanctions Destabilize Country Leaders?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49.3, p.564-576 [12p]
- Dursun Peksen and A. Cooper Drury (2010) "Coercive or Corrosive: The Negative Impact of Economic Sanctions on Democracy" *International Interactions* 36.3, p.240-264 [20p]
- Abel Escriba-Folch and Joseph Wright (2010) "Dealing with Tyranny: International Sanctions and the Survival of Authoritarian Rulers" *International Studies Quarterly* 54, p.335-359 [25p]
- *The Economist* (2011) "As Effective as Bullets, Maybe" December 3, p.61 [2p]
- Ivan Eland (2011) "Sanctions Against Iran are Overrated" *The National Interest*, December 29, 2011 [3p]
- Stephen Knack (2004) "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48, p.251-266 [16p]
- Joseph Wright (2009) "How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes" *American Journal of Political Science* 53.3, p. 552-571 [20p]
- Richard Nielsen, Michael Findley, Zachary Davis, Tara Candland, Daniel Nielson (2011) "Foreign Aid Shocks as a Cause of Violent Armed Conflict" *American Journal of Political Science* 55.2, p.219-232 [13p]

Session 10 – March 21. Democracy Beyond the State.

The role of transnational non-state forces – religion, NGOs, MNCs, and global mass media. [135p]

Annotated Bibliography Due

- M. Steven Fish (2002) "Islam and Authoritarianism" *World Politics* 55.1, p.4-37 [34p]
- Samuel Huntington (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, p.72-85 [14p]
- Daniel Philpott (2004) "The Catholic Wave" *Journal of Democracy* 15.2, p.32-46 [15p]
- Sidney Tarrow (2001) "Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics" *Annual Review of Political Science* 4, p.1-20 [16p]
- David Vogel (2008) "Private Global Business Regulation" *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, p.261-282 [17p]
- Evgeny Morozov (2011) "Political Repression 2.0" *The New York Times*, September 1 [2p]
- Ian Bremmer (2010) "Democracy in Cyberspace" *Foreign Affairs* November/December 2010 [7p]
- Henry Farrell (2011) "The Internet's Consequences for Politics" forthcoming in the 2012 *Annual Review of Political Science* [22p]
- Marc Lynch (2011) "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State" *Perspectives on Politics* 9.2, p.301-310 [8p]

Session 11 – March 28. Democracy in a Global System.

Waves of Democracy. Diffusion and socialization. [131p]

- Samuel Huntington (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, p.3-26, 31-46 [40p]
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2006) "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change" *Comparative Politics* 38.4, p.379-400 [18p]
- Zachary Elkins and Beth Simmons (2005) "On Waves, Clusters, and Diffusion: A Conceptual Framework" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 598, p.33-51 [15p]
- Beth Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett (2006) "The International Diffusion of Liberalism" *International Organization* 60, p.781-810 [25p]
- Lucan Way (2011) "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Lessons of 1989" *Journal of Democracy* 22.4, p.13-23 [10p]
- Kurt Weyland (2010) "The Diffusion of Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830-1940" *Comparative Political Studies* 43.8, p.1148-1176 [23p]
- G. John Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan (1990) "Socialization and Hegemonic Power" *International Organization* 44.3, p.283-315 [33p]
- Alastair Iain Johnston (2008) *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*, Princeton University Press, p.1-26 [26p]

Session 12 – April 4. The Future of Democracy in the International System. [100p]

- Fareed Zakaria (1997) "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* 76.6, p.22-43 [22p]
- Michael Mandelbaum (2007) "Democracy without America: The Spontaneous Spread of Freedom" *Foreign Affairs* 86.5, p.119-31 [13p]
- Larry Diamond (2008) "The Democratic Rollback" *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2008 [7p]
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley (2011) "The Arab Counterrevolution" *The New York Review of Books*, September 29 [10p]
- Richard Haass (2008) "The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance" *Foreign Affairs* May/June [7p]
- Azar Gat (2007) "The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers" *Foreign Affairs* 86, Jul 2007, p.59-70 [12p]
- Joshua Kurlantzick, "State Inc." *The Boston Globe*, March 16, 2008 [6p]
- Hedley Bull (2005) "Beyond the State System" p.577-582 in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, 2nd edition, Polity Press [6p]

- Robert Kaplan (2007) "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 2007 [17p]