

Democracy and the International System

POL486 / POL2205

Winter 2013

Thursdays 4-6pm, 24 Trinity College

Professor Seva Gunitsky

OH: Thursdays 11-1pm, 3052 Sidney Smith Hall

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Course Description: This course examines the role of the international system in shaping the development and consolidation of democratic regimes. Theories of democracy have traditionally focused on domestic factors like economic growth, 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 affect domestic reforms. The main goal of the course is to connect two prominent trends in modern politics – convergence among states, and democratization within them – in order to promote a better understanding of each.

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

- *Short Response Papers* (30% for undergraduate students; 50% for graduate students)
Each week (except weeks 1, 11, and 12) you will write short response papers (2-4 pages) analyzing 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% for undergraduates)
- *Research Project* (50%).

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. They will be graded on a 5-point system (see the Short Response Guidelines handout for details).

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.

Research Project: The research project consists of a 20-25 page paper on a topic related to issues concerning democratization and the international system. See the Research Project Guidelines handout for details.

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 10 – Introduction
2. January 17 – Domestic Theories of Democratization (94p)
3. January 24 – Democracy and War (119p)
4. January 31 – Democracy and Globalization (98p)
5. February 7 – Democracy and Colonial Legacies (102p)
6. February 14 – Democracy and International Institutions (82p)
7. February 28 – Democracy and International Law (98p)
8. March 7 – Democracy Promotion and External Intervention (92p)
9. March 14 – Economic Tools of Democracy Promotion (67p)
10. March 21 – Democracy Beyond the State (81p)
11. March 28 – Democracy in a Global System: Diffusion and Socialization (82p)
12. April 4 – The Future of Democracy in the International System (77p)

Session 1 – January 10. Introduction.

Course overview.

Session 2 – January 17. Domestic Theories of Democratization.

Modernization theory. Class relations, civil society, and other domestic sources of reforms. [94p]

- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (2009) "How Development Leads to Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* 88.2, p. 33-48 [16p]
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs (2005) "Development and Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* September/October 2005 [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 (2003) "Islamism, Revolution, and Civil Society" *Perspectives on Politics* 1.2, p.257-272 [10p]
- Daniel Ziblatt (2006) "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58.2, p.311-338 [28p]

Session 3 – January 24. 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 – January 31. 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 7. 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 14. Democracy and International Institutions.

The role of regional and international organizations. [82p]

Research Proposal Due

- Joseph Nye (2011) "Globalization's Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable" *Foreign Affairs* July/August, [4p]
- Jon C. Pevehouse (2002) "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization" *International Organization* 56.3, p.515-531, 542-543 [19p]
- Edward Mansfield and Jon C. Pevehouse (2008) "Democratization and the Varieties of International Organizations" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.2, p.269-276, 289-290 [10p]
- *The Economist* (2012) "Chinese Politics and the WTO: No Change" December 10, 2011. [2p]
- Andrew Moravcsik (2011) "Affirming Democracy in International Organizations" in Joshua Goldstein, ed. *International Relations*, Pearson Longman [1p]
- Thomas J. Bassett and Scott Straus (2011) "Defending Democracy in Cote d'Ivoire: Africa Takes a Stand" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2011 [7p]
- Daniela Donno (2010) "Who is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms" *International Organization* 64, p. 593-604, 613, 621-622 [15p]
- 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. 457-480 [24p]

Session 7 – February 28. Democracy and International Law.

International law and global norms. Human rights, global jurisprudence. Transitional justice and international election monitoring. [98p]

Research Outline Due

- *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]
- Jeffrey Toobin (2005) "Annals of Law: Swing Shift" *The New Yorker*, September 12, 2005 [13p]
- 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]
- 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 and Response by Stremlau and Carroll [8p]

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

Peacekeeping, nation-building, and humanitarian Intervention. Occupation and external regime promotion. [92p]

- G. John Ikenberry (1999) "Why Export Democracy?" *The Wilson Quarterly* 23.2, p.56-65 [10p]
- Thomas Carothers (2006) "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion" *Foreign Affairs* 85.2, p.55-68 [14p]
- Nicholas Galetti and Marc Lemieux (2010) "The Dismantling of Canadian Democracy Promotion" *The Globe and Mail*, December 30 [3p]
- Alexander B. Downes (2011) "Regime Change Doesn't Work" *Boston Review* September/October 2011 [8p]
- John Owen (2002) "The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions" *International Organization* 56.2, p.375-409 [30p]
- Jon Western and Joshua Goldstein (2011) "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age: Lessons from Somalia to Libya" *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2011 [8p]
- 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]

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

The role of sanctions and foreign aid. [67p]

On sanctions:

- Ivan Eland (2011) "Sanctions Against Iran are Overrated" *The National Interest*, December 29, 2011 [3p]
- *The New York Times* (2012) "Iran's Middle Class on Edge as World Presses In", February 6 [4p]
- *The Economist* (2011) "As Effective as Bullets, Maybe" December 3, p.61 [2p]
- Natasha Bahrami and Trita Parsi (2012) "Blunt Instrument: Sanctions Don't Promote Democratic Change" *Boston Review*, February 6 [5p]
- Reed Wood (2008) "'A Hand Upon the Throat of the Nation': Economic Sanctions and State Repression" *International Studies Quarterly* 52, p.489-496 [8p]

- Daniel Drezner (2011) "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice" *International Studies Review* 13, p. 96-108 [10p]
- "Anthropology of and Idea: Smart Sanctions" (2012) *Foreign Policy* May/June 2012, p.28-29 [2p]

On foreign aid:

- Stephen Knack (2004) "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48, p.251-266 [13p]
- Thad Dunning (2004) "Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and Democracy in Africa" *International Organization* 38, p. 409-23 [13p]
- Carol C. Adelman (2003) "The Privatization of Foreign Aid: Reassessing National Largesse" *Foreign Affairs* November/December 2003 [5p]
- *The Economist* (2011) "Charity Begins Abroad" August 13 [4p]

Session 10 – March 21. Democracy Beyond the State.

The role of transnational non-state forces – religion, NGOs, and global media. [81p]

Annotated Bibliography Due March 25

- Samuel Huntington (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, p.72-85 [14p]
- M. Steven Fish (2002) "Islam and Authoritarianism" *World Politics* 55.1, p.4-37 [34p]
- Clare Mercer (2002) "NGOs, Civil Society, and Democratization: A Critical Review of the Literature" *Progress in Development Studies* 2.5, p.5-22 [16p]
- 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]
- 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, international linkages, and democratic diffusion. [82p]

- Samuel Huntington (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, p.13-26 [14p]

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2006) "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change" *Comparative Politics* 38.4, p.379-400 [18p]
- Beth Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett (2006) "The International Diffusion of Liberalism" *International Organization* 60, p.781-810 [25p]
- Mark R. Beissinger (2007) "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions" *Perspectives on Politics* 5.2, p.259-276 [15p]
- Lucan Way (2011) "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Lessons of 1989" *Journal of Democracy* 22.4, p.13-23 [10p]

Session 12 – April 4. The Future of Democracy in the International System. [77p]

- 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]
- 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]
- Robert Kaplan (2007) "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 2007 [17p]
- 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]
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley (2011) "The Arab Counterrevolution" *The New York Review of Books*, September 29 [10p]
- *The Economist* (2012) "The Rise of State Capitalism", January 21 [5p]