# Democracy and the International System

POL486 / POL2205 Summer 2016 M/W 6-8pm, 100 Health Sciences Building

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This course examines the role of the international system in shaping the evolution of democracy. Theories of democratization have traditionally focused on how domestic forces inside the state – economic growth, civil society, or class relations – help explain regime change. In this course we will instead step outside the state, and examine how wars, globalization, sanctions, cross-border diffusion, and international institutions shape domestic reforms.

#### **Course Requirements**

• Short Response Papers (20%) Each student will write two short response papers (4-5 pages) discussing the readings, and occasionally present these papers at the beginning of 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 information.

• Discussion posts (10%) In each course session except the first one, students will write a brief comment (1-2 paragraphs) discussing the day's readings, to be posted on the Blackboard site for the course. These are due by midnight the day before our meetings.

• Participation (20%) As a class for advanced students, this course will focus on discussion of the readings, although I will occasionally start with a brief presentation of the day's themes.

• Final Paper (50%) – 12-15 pages, includes rough draft (20%, due August 3) and final draft (30%, due August 13). For the final paper, select a country of your choosing (country must be finalized by July 11) and write a paper examining how external factors have shaped the evolution of the country's domestic institutions.

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

**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. Lateness will be reflected in your participation grade. All absences must be prenegotiated 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. June 27 Introduction and Course Overview
- 2. June 29 Domestic Theories of Democracy
- 3. July 4 Democracy and War
- 4. July 6 Democracy and Globalization *Group 1 short paper 1 due*
- 5. July 11 Democracy Promotion and Intervention
- 6. July 13 Democracy and Colonial Legacies *Group 2 short paper 1 due*
- 7. July 18 Democracy and International Institutions
- 8. July 20 Economic Tools of Democracy Promotion
  - Group 1 short paper 2 due
- 9. July 25 Democracy in a Global System: Diffusion and Socialization
- 10. July 27 Democracy and the Great Powers
  - Group 2 short paper 2 due
- 11. August 3 Democracy Beyond the State Final paper rough draft due
- 12. August 8 The Future of Democracy in the International System

### Session 1 – June 27 – Introduction

Overview and themes of the course.

#### Session 2 – June 29 – Domestic Theories of Democracy [76p]

• 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 [9p]

• Sheri Berman (2013) "The Promise of the Arab Spring" Foreign Affairs [12p]

• Abraham Lowenthal and Sergio Bitar (2016) "Getting to Democracy: Lessons from Successful Transitions." *Foreign Affairs* 95(1), p.134-44 [11p]

• Thomas Carothers (2002) "The End of the Transitions Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13(1):5-21. [16p]

• Grigore Pop-Eleches and Graeme Robertson (2015) "Structural Conditions and Democratization." *Journal of Democracy* 26(3):144-56 [12p]

#### Session 3 – July 4 – Democracy and War [79p]

• Selections from Charles Tilly (1985) "War-Making and State-Making as Organized Crime," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge UP, pp.169-191. [15p]

• Selections from Robert Bates (2001) *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. W.W. Norton, pp.50-51, 56-69, 77-83. [23p]

• Mancur Olson (1993) "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576. [9p]

- Jeffrey Herbst (1990) "War and the State in Africa" International Security 14.4, p.117-39 [23p]
- Bruce Porter (1994) "The Myriad Political Effects of War." [9p]

#### Session 4 – July 6 – Democracy and Globalization [76p]

• Norman Angell (1913) Selections from The Great Illusion [2p]

• Michael Doyle (1997) "Commercial Pacifism: Smith and Schumpeter" in Ways of War and Peace, p.230-250 [21p]

• 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]

• John Markoff (1999) "Globalization and the Future of Democracy." [26p]

### Session 5 – July 11 – Intervention and Democracy Promotion [78p]

• John Owen (2010) Ch.1 from from Clash of Ideologies [30p]

• Dower, John W. 2003. "A Warning from History: Don't Expect Democracy in Iraq." *Boston Review* 28(1). [6p]

• Alexander B. Downes (2011) "Regime Change Doesn't Work" *Boston Review* September/October 2011 [8p]

• Thomas Carothers (2006) "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion" Foreign Affairs 85.2, p.55-68 [14p]

• Walter Russell Mead (2015) "The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion" *The American Interest*, June 9 2015. [12p]

• 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 6 – July 13 – Democracy and Colonial Legacies [60p]

• 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]

• Dinesh D'Souza (2002) "Two Cheers for Colonialism" The Chronicle of Higher Education, May 10 [8p]

• 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]

• Ola Olsson (2009) "On the Democratic Legacy of Colonialism" *Journal of Comparative Economics* 37, p.534-545 [12p]

#### Session 7 – July 18 – Democracy and International Institutions [58p]

• Ikenberry, G. John. 2000. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton University Press. [19p]

• Jon C. Pevehouse (2002) "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization" *International Organization* 56.3, p.515-531, 542-543 [19p]

• 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]

• 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]

## Session 8 – July 20 – Economic Tools of Democracy Promotion [71p]

On sanctions:

• Nikolay Marinov and Shmuel Nili (2015) "Sanctions and Democracy" International Interactions 41(4):765-87. [12p]

• Emma Ashforfd (2015) "No-so-Smart-Sanctions" Foreign Affairs January 2016 [10p]

• Natasha Bahrami and Trita Parsi (2012) "Blunt Instrument: Sanctions Don't Promote Democratic Change" *Boston Review*, February 6 [5p]

• Daniel Drezner (2011) "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice" International Studies Review 13, p. 96-108 [10p]

## On foreign aid:

• Robert Blackwill and Jennifer Harris (2016) "The Lost Art of Economic Statecraft." Foreign Affairs March/April 2016 [12p]

• 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 9 – July 25 – Democracy in a Global System: Diffusion and Socialization [70p]

• 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]

• 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]

• Kurt Weyland (2012) "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4):917-34. [13p]

#### Session 10 – July 27 – Democracy and the Great Powers [113p]

• Carles Boix. 2011. "Democracy, development, and the international system." *American Political Science Review* 105(4):809-828. [16p]

• Kevin Narizny. 2012. "Anglo-American primacy and the global spread of democracy: an international genealogy." *World Politics* 64(2):341-373. [32p]

• Seva Gunitsky. 2014. "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century." *International Organization* 68(3):561-597. [34p]

• Patrick J McDonald. 2015. "Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace." *International Organization* 69(3):557-588. [31p]

## Session 11 – August 3 – Democracy Beyond the State [55p]

• Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "The True Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2003) [8p]

• Samuel Huntington (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, p.72-85 [14p]

• Ian Bremmer (2010) "Democracy in Cyberspace" Foreign Affairs November/December 2010 [7p]

• Evgeny Morozov (2011) "Political Repression 2.0" The New York Times, September 1 [2p]

• Seva Gunitsky (2015) "Corrupting the Cybercommons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." Perspectives on Politics [9p]

• Darin Christensen and Jeremy Weinstein (2013) "Defunding Dissent: Restrictions on Aid to NGOs." *Journal of Democracy* 24(2) [15p]

## Session 12 – August 8 - The Future of Democracy in the International System [53p]

• Michael Ignatieff (2014) "The New World Disorder." New York Review of Books, September 25, 2014 [13p]

• Francis Fukuyama. 2015. 'Why is democracy performing so badly?' *Journal of Democracy* 26(1):11-20. [10p]

• Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Erica Frantz (2015) "Mimicking Democracy to Prolong Autocracies." *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2015 [6p]

• Eric Li (2013) "The Life of the Party: The Post-Democratic Future Begins in China" Foreign Affairs [12p]

• Yascha Mounk (2014) "Pitchfork Politics: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy." Foreign Affairs Sep/Oct [12p]