

Boston University Study Abroad
Washington, DC



Boston University Washington Programs
1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 650
Washington, DC 20036
www.bu.edu/abroad

DRAFT:
Political Science / International Relations 595
SPECIAL TOPICS COURSE

Democratization and Global Development

TUESDAY AND THURSDAYS, 6:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.
BUWAC Library

INSTRUCTORS:

Dr. Alexander Sokolowski
Democracy & Governance Team Leader
Bureau for Europe & Eurasia, DGST, USAID Washington
PH: (202) 567-4025 e-mail: asokolowski@usaid.gov

Dr. Michael Signer
Visiting Professor
School of Public and International Affairs, Virginia Tech
PH: (703) 870-3782 e-mail: m signer@vt.edu

OFFICE HOURS: After Class 9:00 – 9:30 p.m., and by Appointment

BRIEF COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides a comparative perspective on the global rising tide of greater levels of democracy and development. Taught by Alexander Sokolowski, a political scientist and development practitioner, and Michael Signer, a political theorist and lawyer, this course explores conceptions of democracy and development, the preconditions, catalysts, and processes of democratic change, and the evidence linking democratization to longer term sustainable development. The course puts particular focus on the 'third wave' and former communist transitions of the 1980s and 1990s, but also considers the prospects for sustained transitions in the Middle East, China, and around the world.

ABOUT THE COURSE

There are immense regional variations in processes of democratization and yet the impulse toward democracy seems universal. While democracy and economic development once seemed limited to a relatively small group of Western countries, both processes have spread across the globe. While democracy once seemed a purely Western political construct, most countries now at least claim to be democracies – or to be moving towards becoming democracies. The course will provide a deeper understanding of democratic systems, what factors promote democratization, the processes of democratic change, and how they have played out in key waves of democratization. The course also explores the relationship between democracy and development, examining the competing goals of social order, economic growth, modernization, freedom, and individual rights. The course examines debates on democracy's salience for sustainable long term development and the improvement of people's lives.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

Course objectives include learning how to:

- Compare and contrast economic and political science perspectives on development and democratization.
- Discuss debates over the “clash of civilizations” and waves of democratization.
- Explain the concepts of democratic consolidation and degradation.
- Explain differences between regime types and how these are thought to impact democracy.
- Understand and describe the major causes of democratic transitions.
- Discuss the tools of constitutional engineering, and parliamentary and political party strengthening, electoral oversight, as well as efforts to bolster the rule of law, civil society, and an open information environment.
- Describe U.S. foreign policy approaches to democratization and economic development, including the variety of U.S. agencies involved in these initiatives.
- Compare the United Nations Millennium Development goals and those of other major international aid agencies and their approach to development and democratization.
- Explain the major regional differences in democratization and development.

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION

This course will be conducted as a seminar where students are responsible for active participation. This means bringing insights and perspectives to class that critique and enlarge on the readings. Class meetings are thus both an opportunity to test your growing understanding of the literature and to share your views. It is also an opportunity to interpret and move beyond the readings, not to review what you have already read. While attendance is not monitored, it is nevertheless mandatory. If you must miss a lecture, we advise you to seek out the notes of a classmate.

The course will be graded on 100 points. There will be four written assignments a short quiz, a midterm, and two strategy/policy papers.

Short quiz	10 Points
Midterm Exam	25 Points
Paper 1	25 Points
Paper 2	25 Points
Participation	15 Points
TOTAL	100 POINTS

ACADEMIC CONDUCT CODE AND ACADEMIC ASSISTANCE

Students taking this class are expected to maintain Boston University’s high standards of professionalism and academic honesty and integrity. Student are expected to be familiar with these policies located in the Academic Conduct Code which is available on the web at: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>

If you experience academic difficulties in this course, please do not hesitate to consult with the instructors. We are happy to meet with students at any point to further discuss the course or the readings. If you have difficulty speaking or reading English, please contact us right away. If you have a disability and might require accommodations in this course, please notify us with a letter from DSS or ASC as soon as possible in the semester so that we can arrange to meet your needs. Many services are available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements and to stay healthy.

TEXTS

- *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd Edition, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.) Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- *George Bush's Foreign Aid*, Carol Lancaster, Center for Global Development, 2008.
- *Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can*, by Michael McFaul, Rowman Littlefield, New York, 2010.

Course texts with substantial readings will be available for purchase at the Politics and Prose bookstore and on Amazon.com. Other readings will be available on Blackboard for the class. A copy of these books will be at the Boston University Washington Academic Center (BUWAC) Office for use at the office. Politics and Prose is located at 5015 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC. This is one mile north of the Van Ness stop on the Metro Red Line at Van Ness (you can also take the L1, L2, or L4 bus from the Van Ness Metro Station). (<http://www.politics-prose.com/>) In addition, students will be responsible for materials distributed in class, including articles, charts, tables, and other materials.

ABOUT THE INSTRUCTORS

Michael Signer, Ph.D., J.D. is Visiting Full Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs at Virginia Tech and directs Madison Law & Strategy Group, PLLC. He is the author of *Demagogue: The Fight to Save Democracy from Its Worst Enemies* (Palgrave Macmillan 2009) and is currently at work on *Becoming Madison: The Making of an American Statesman*, to be published by PublicAffairs. He has presented to USAID's Democracy and Governance Group and Georgetown University's Center for Democracy and Civil Society. He was Senior Policy Advisor at the Center for American Progress, chief national security advisor to the 2008 John Edwards for President campaign, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Truman National Security Project. He was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant Governor of Virginia in 2009. He has published in *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, and *The New Republic*, among others. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from U.C., Berkeley, a J.D. from the University of Virginia, and a B.A. from Princeton University.

Alexander Sokolowski, Ph.D. is Democracy and Governance Team Leader to the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia at USAID, Washington. In this capacity, he advises the Department of State, USAID leadership, missions, US Embassies throughout Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union on democracy and governance and human rights programs and leads a team of six advisors. Prior to joining USAID in June 2003, he taught Comparative Politics at George Washington University as an adjunct professor. He received his Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University in November 2002, writing his dissertation on the structural and political determinants of fiscal and social policy failures in Yeltsin's Russia. He was a Foreign Policy Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution (2000-2001). He also holds master's degrees from Princeton (2000) and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (1994) and a B.A. from Amherst College. He has published articles on Russian politics and democratization in academic journals (*Europe-Asia Studies*, *Demokratizatsiya*) and opinion pieces (*The Moscow Times*).

COURSE SCHEDULE

PLEASE NOTE: The following class schedule is based up a 10 week summer program and will provide for 42 contact hours. Course dates may be adjusted slightly due to speaker availability. This course may also be adjusted to fit a typical 14-week semester schedule.

Tuesday, June 4th Democracy and Development: Introduction and Overview of the Course

[Sokolowski]

Topics: How are development and democracy inter-related? What are major debates about the relationship between the two? How central is democracy to development over the long term? What is more crucial for development, freedom or order? Has the transition to democracy driven global development?

Readings:

- Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail* (2012) Preface and Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-95).
- Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, No. 1. (March 1959) 69-105.
- Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Chapter 1 (pp. 1-92, but especially 1-24, 39-59)

**Thursday, June 6: Defining Democracy and other Regime Types
[Signer]**

Topics: What are the requisites of democracy? How expansive should our conceptions of democracy be? Must democracies 'deliver' economically for their citizens? What are the key elements and institutional spheres of democracy? What distinguishes democracy from other regime types?

Readings:

- Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, Book III, Chapters 6-13 (The Classifications of Constitutions; Democracy and Oligarchy; Kingship), Book IV, Chapters 1-10 (Variations of the Main Types of Constitutions), pp., 136-56, 168-188
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Chapters 6 ("What Are the Real Advantages that American Society Derives from the Government of Democracy"), 7 ("On the Omnipotence of the Majority in the United States and Its Effects"), 8 ("On What Tempers the Tyranny of the Majority in the United States"), and 9 ("On the Principal Causes Tending to Maintain a Democratic Republic in the United States"), pp. 220-298.
- Federalist Papers #10, #51
- *Global Resurgence of Democracy*: Schmitter and Karl, "What Democracy Is... and Is Not," Chapter 4 (pp. 49-62).

**Tuesday, June 11: Democratic Institutions and Democratic Systems:
[Sokolowski]**

Topics: What institutions are most central to democratic systems? How do the institutional spheres of democracy interact with one another? How do democratic systems rely on and mutually reinforce one another in consolidated democracies?

Readings:

- Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. pp. 1-16
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) Chapters 1 and 3.

- Alexander Sokolowski, “Nests of Democracy: The Institutional Interdependence of People’s Rule in Europe and Eurasia,” *Demokratizatsiya* (Winter 2013) pp. 3-32.
- (on Political Competition) Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments,” in Peter Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 91-111.

**Thursday, June 13: Democratic Institutions and Democratic Systems (continued)
[Signer]**

Topics: What are the goals of “republican” democracy? What are pluralism and constitutionalism what are their positive (what they hope to build) and negative (what they hope to prevent) aims?

Readings:

- (on Civil Society) Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, Chapters 1 and 4 (pp 3-16; 83-120).
- **(on Rule of Law) Thomas Carothers, “Rule of Law Temptations,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol.33:1 Winter/Spring 2009, pp. 49-61.**
- (on Constitutionalism) Signer, *Demagogue: The Fight to Save Democracy from Its Worst Enemies* pp. 207-231

*****SHORT QUIZ [DURING LAST 30 MINUTES OF SESSION]*****

**Tuesday, June 18: Preconditions of Democracy and Moments of Democratic Transition
[Sokolowski]**

Topics: What conditions are necessary for democracy to come about? How has the salience of these factors changed over time? What accounts for waves of democratization – and counter-waves? What precipitates democratic change? What factors catalyze democratic transitions or breakthroughs? Why are we so frequently surprised by democratic breakthroughs? Why have observers fared so poorly at predicting democratic change?

Readings:

- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*. Chapters 1 -2 (pp. 3-108)

**Thursday, June 20: Preconditions of Democracy and Moments of Democratic Transition [Continued]
[Signer]**

Readings:

- Will Kymlicka, “Civil Society and Government—A Liberal-Egalitarian Perspective,” in Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post, *Civil Society and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 79-110
- **Michael McFaul, “Transitions from Post-Communism,” *Journal of Democracy* 16:3 (2005) pp. 5-19.**
- **Timur Kuran, “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989,” *World Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (October 1991), pp. 7-48.**

**Tuesday, June 25: Processes of Democratic Transition during the ‘Third Wave’ & ‘Color Revolutions’
and Prospects for Developmental Reform**

[Sokolowski]

Topics: How do democratic transitions happen? What are the specific dynamics of change in democratic transitions? What are key variations in the modes of change? How do splits in the elite and other key groups account for different patterns of transition? What are the tensions or tradeoffs between the competing goals of economic reform and democratization?

Readings:

- Huntington, *The Third Wave*, Chapter 3 & 4 (109-207)
- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, Chapter 2 (pp. 51-99)
- **Joel Hellman, “Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-Communist Transitions” *World Politics* 50 (January 1998), pp. 203-234.**
- **Recommended: Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries*. (2011)**

**Thursday, June 27: Processes of Democratic Transition during the ‘Third Wave’ & ‘Color Revolutions’ and Prospects for Developmental Reform [Continued]
[Signer]**

*****MIDTERM EXAM DURING SECOND HALF OF SESSION*****

**Tuesday, July 2: Forms of Government after Transition: Institutional Choice and Democracy
‘Derailed’
[Sokolowski]**

Topics: Presidential versus Parliamentary systems. Plurality versus Proportional Representation. Open versus Closed Lists. De-centralization versus re-centralization. What are the trade-offs associated with institutional choice? What are the implications for economic reform? What are patterns of ‘lower quality’ or ‘imitation’ democracies? How does the authoritarian consolidation of power re-emerge?

Readings:

- Diamond and Plattner, *Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Chapters 8-16, (pp. 111-193.)
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 5, Number 1, January 1994, pp. 55-69.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapter 1 (pp. 1-37).

July 4 Holiday: No Class

**Tuesday, July 9: ‘New Frontiers’ In Democratization: East Asia
[Sokolowski]**

Topics: What are the prospects for the further spread of democracy to the Middle East and China? What are the key obstacles for democratization in each region? How is the Arab Spring similar or different from ‘third wave’ transitions? What role will religion play in the Middle East? Has China

showed capitalism is possible without democracy? What social forces in China provide challenges to the Chinese political system?

Readings:

- Minxin Pei, "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 1, January 2012, pp. 27-41.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The Patterns of History," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 1, January 2012, pp. 14-26.
- Andrew J. Nathan, "Foreseeing the Unforeseeable," *Journal of Democracy*, Number 1, January 2013, pp. 20-25.
- *Recommended*: Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*, (2009).

Thursday, July 11: 'New Frontiers' In Democratization: The 'Arab Spring'
[Signer]

Topics: With the events of 2011 and the so-called Arab Spring, what lessons can we draw for the prospects for democracy in Arab states? What is the relationship between "failed states" and democracy? Why have Arab states historically had so little democracy? What is the future of democracy in a post-Arab Spring region?

Readings:

- Fareed Zakaria, "Illiberal Democracy" and "The Islamic Exception," *The Future of Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), pp. 89-159.
- **Olivier Roy, "The Transformation of the Arab World," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 3, July 2012, pp 5-18.**
- **Roy/Fradkin debate, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, No. 1, pp. 5-19**
- Stephen Grand, "Democratization 101: Historical Lessons for the Arab Spring," pp. 21-29, Kenneth Pollack, "Democratizers?" *The Pursuit of Pluralism*, pp. 87-93, in Kenneth Pollack et al, *The Arab Awakening* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2011).

*****FIRST PAPER ASSIGNMENT DUE *****

Tuesday, July 16: Russia: 'Managed Democracy' and the Drive for Modernization
[Sokolowski]

Topics: How did the state reassert greater control over political competition, the oligarchs and civil society under Putin? Was greater state authority needed for more rapid development and economic growth? Has the push for 'modernization' under the 'tandem' been successful? What are the prospects for 'managed democracy' in Putin's third term?

Readings:

- Ivan Krastev, "Democracy's Doubles" *Journal of Democracy* (Volume 17, Number 2 (April 2006) pp. 52-62.
- Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner Weiss, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 87, Number 1, pp. 68-84.
- Daniel Treisman, *The Return*, Chapter 10, pp. 340-390.

- Stephen Holmes, “What Russia Teaches Us Now,” *The American Prospect* (July – August 1997)

The Debate over Democracy and the “End of History”

[Signer] [*PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS SESSION WILL BE SCHEDULED ON A SATURDAY OR “DOUBLED-UP” WITH ANOTHER CLASS.***]**

Topics: What is the famous “end of history” thesis and what does it mean for democracy? Is democracy the final answer to the world’s problems? Should the U.S. pursue democracy at all costs around the world?

Readings:

- Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History,” *The National Interest* (Summer 1989)
- George W. Bush, Second Inaugural Address, <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres67.html>
- John Arquilla, “The (B)end of History: Francis Fukuyama was Wrong, and 2011 Proves It,” *Foreign Policy*, December 27, 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/27/the_bend_of_history?page=0,0
- “Why Promoting Democracy is Smart and Right” (Bipartisan Statement of Principles by Center for American Progress and CSIS) January 18, 2013. <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/progressive-movement/report/2013/01/18/50085/democracy-democratic-governance-and-transparent-institutions-in-the-american-interest/>

Tuesday, July 23: The Debate over Democracy as the Best Path for Development [Continued] [Sokolowski]

Readings:

- Morton Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle and Michael Weinstein, *The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace*, (New York: Routledge, 2010).
- Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, Chapter 13.
- *Recommended*: Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1999).

***** SECOND PAPER ASSIGNMENT DUE *****

Thursday, July 25: US Foreign Assistance Policymaking in the Bush and Obama Administrations [Signer]

Topics: How has assistance policy related to broader foreign policy goals? How is the priority of foreign assistance balanced against other priorities? What attempts have been made to rationalize and clarify assistance policy? How have administrations reacted to perceived existing problems and sought to ‘make their mark’?

Readings:

- Carol Lancaster, *George Bush’s Foreign Aid*, Center for Global Development, 2008.(All)
- Gerald Hyman, *Foreign Policy and Development, Structure, Process, Policy, and the Drip-by-Drip Erosion of USAID*. CSIS Report (September 2010) http://csis.org/files/publication/100923_Hyman_ForeignPolicyAndDevel_Web.pdf

Tuesday July 30: Foreign Assistance Policy-Making [Continued] and How the US Promotes Democracy Internationally: Policy and Politics [Sokolowski]

Topics: Instruments of democracy promotion and the democracy promotion ‘industry.’ Rhetoric versus policy: What are the consistency challenges? What are the links between diplomacy and assistance? How much continuity or change has there been across the Bush and Obama Administrations?

Readings:

- Thomas Carothers and Diane de Gramont, *Development Aid Confronts Politics: The Almost Revolution*, (2013), Chapter 1, pp. 3-20.
- Michael McFaul, *Advancing Democracy Abroad*, Chapters 5-6, pp. 147-233;

Thursday, August 1: Democracy Promotion [Continued] and Course Wrap-Up [Signer]

Topics: Where does democracy promotion fit into the current administration’s agenda? Where *should* it fit in? What is the relationship between democracy promotion and America’s national security, particularly in a time of “austerity” and increasingly pressured development budgets?

Readings:

- Brian Katulis, “Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and the Obama Administration,” The Century Foundation, 2009, <http://www.tcf.org/assets/downloads/tcf-Katulis.pdf>
- Barack Obama, “On a New Beginning,” University of Cairo, June 4, 2009, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>
- Thomas Carothers, *Democracy Policy Under Obama: Revitalization or Retreat?* Carnegie Endowment, (January 2012) http://carnegieendowment.org/files/democracy_under_obama.pdf

SUGGESTED READINGS

The Global Resurgence of Democracy, 2nd Edition, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.) Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century, by Samuel Huntington. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

George Bush's Foreign Aid, by Carol Lancaster, Center for Global Development, 2008.

Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can, by Michael McFaul, Rowman Littlefield, New York, 2010.

Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War, by Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries, by Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, (2011)

The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks, edited by Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005.

China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation, by David Shambaugh, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Washington, D.C. and University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 2009.

The Political Economy of Democratic Transition, by Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1995.

The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks, Edited by Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005

Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Chapters 1, 2, and 3 (pp. 4-89)