

Global Resurgence of Democracy (POSC 233)

Paul
 Dosh
 Tuesdays & Thursdays, 8:15-10:00 am
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Course Description

Good morning and welcome!

Beginning with the liberalization of authoritarian rule in Portugal in 1974 and extending into the 1990s, dozens of countries around the world completed transitions to democracy. Scholars marveled at this latest resurgence of democracy. Some characterized it as an inexorable "wave" of democratization. But just as soon as these new democracies made their way through Southern Europe, Latin America, Eastern Europe, Russia, and East Asia, the "consolidation" of these regimes faltered. Upon closer examination, scholars found several illiberal aspects to these new democracies. Some were threatened by the persistence of authoritarian interests who remained disloyal to the democratic order. Others were weakened by poorly organized civil societies, anemic political parties, and electoral rules that favored personalist leadership at the cost of elite accountability to the electorate. Although these polities remained formally democratic - they held periodic elections and maintained laws defining and defending civil rights - in practice they continued to suffer from extrajudicial challenges to democratic procedures.

Both the successes and failures of this latest global resurgence of democracy are the focus of study in this course. The purpose of this course is to train students to think critically about the "global resurgence of democracy," its antecedents, and its lessons for future democracies. The course will challenge students to analyze complex political problems in different regional contexts (Europe, Latin America, Russia, East Asia, and Africa).

Class Engagement

To get the most out of our diverse class, we will need to be respectful of the views others have to offer, and of the fact that each of us has something to teach the rest of the class. Everyone's full engagement is needed to get the most out of the course.

You will earn a letter grade in Class Engagement based on attendance, careful reading of assigned texts, participation in one class debate and two role-played simulations, completion of four Single-Point Papers, and your engagement of course materials and your classmates.

Different people have different ways in which they best engage course materials and classmates. Some of these methods of engagement include active listening, thoughtful preparation for class, sharing a well-formulated idea with reference to another person's ideas, off-the-top-of-your-head reactions to new ideas, helping a classmate understand a difficult concept, coming to office hours, bringing relevant news articles to class to share, and creative completion of assignments.

You get the picture: different people have different learning styles. Some are listeners, some are more visual, some need to speak or write things down to understand them. I am always open to suggestions as to how we can make our class a better environment for you to learn and teach with each other.

Single Point Papers

You will write four Single Point Papers (1-2 pages each) in response to a reading or group of readings. As you read and take notes, think about what key ideas are emerging. Formulate one key assertion. The assertion may be substantive, analytic, methodological, or theoretic.

Here are three examples of Single Point Paper topic sentences: 1) "In her analysis of Guatemala's peace process, Jonas sets too high a standard for success and overlooks the important gains that were made"; 2) "O'Donnell's concept of delegative democracy helps us understand the collapse of party systems in Peru and Venezuela"; and 3) "Chalmers, Martin, and Piester break new ground with their approach to representation, but the evidence doesn't support their theory." In other words you are constructing a mini-argument.

Don't be afraid to be overly bold with your topic sentence (in fact, put it in bold font!). The goal is to raise an interesting point; don't feel you have to be able to definitively prove it. Following your topic sentence, spend 1-2 pages (double-spaced) discussing evidence both for and against your assertion.

Your first two Single-Point Papers are due Tuesday, April 8, and Tuesday, April 15. In subsequent weeks I will point out good opportunities to write "SPPs," but it will be up to you to decide when and on what you will write your other two SPPs.

Debate and Simulations (Role-Plays)

There are never any reading assignments due on the last day of a study cycle. Instead, you will spend time preparing for the study cycle's Capstone. The first and second Capstone exercises are organized debates. The third and fourth Capstones are role-played simulations. You will be a Participant in one debate and one simulation. During the two Capstone exercises in which you are not a Participant, you will play the role of Observer and you will write a Capstone Paper. Thus, each study cycle you are either a Participant in a debate/simulation or you write a Capstone Paper.

Optional Workshops

Two evening or weekend workshops will be offered. The first will focus on public speaking and the second will focus on writing a political science research paper. Dates and details will be discussed later. Attendance is optional.

Special Needs

Students that need learning tools/special schedules approved by Student Support Services should contact me during the first week of class.

Classroom Leadership

Students will routinely fulfill many responsibilities in the classroom, but you must also fulfill a formal Classroom Leadership requirement. ♦ Your Classroom Leadership work will be evaluated in writing and will earn a letter grade. ♦ There are two standard ways to fulfill this requirement: an individual Mini-Lecture or Co-Directing a Debate or Simulation with a partner. ♦ In addition to these standard ways, I am open to your creative alternative ideas! ♦

Mini-Lectures

During the course, there will be opportunities for about six students to give tight, well-prepared 10-minute lectures on assigned topics, following by a question & answer session. ♦ Preparation will involve a bit of extra reading, as well as a "dress rehearsal" during my office hours. ♦ You are not required to turn in your lecture notes. ♦ Only your presentation in class will earn a letter grade. ♦ Possible topics will be presented during the second week of class. ♦

Co-Directing a Debate or Simulation

Although I have set the parameters for our Debate and our two Simulations, the Debate and the second Simulation will be led by teams of two students. ♦ The two-person teams will work with me to design the details of the debate or simulation. ♦ This is a lot of fun and requires creative energy. ♦

Capstone Papers

Following both the first and second sections of the course, you will write a 5-6 page "Capstone Paper." ♦ The principal objective of a Capstone Paper is to creatively demonstrate mastery of course readings, discussions, lectures, and films. ♦ Each Capstone Paper will earn a letter grade. ♦

You are encouraged to build upon ideas developed in Single Point Papers and/or to experiment with ideas that may contribute to your Research Paper. ♦ A handout with suggested topics will be distributed one week in advance of the due date, but your own topics are also welcome, so long as they follow the parameters described on the handout. ♦

If you are dissatisfied with the grade earned by your first Capstone Paper, you may submit a revised draft within five days. ♦ The grades of the two drafts will be averaged. ♦ Only the first Capstone may be re-written. ♦

Research Paper

One of the principal course requirements is an independent research paper. ♦ More details will be forthcoming, but briefly:

- 1) a one-page Research Prospectus;
- 2) a Rough Draft (15+ pages);
- 3) your Final Draft (15-20 pages). ♦

If two students would like to co-author a paper, please talk to me prior to turning in the Prospectus. ♦

Evaluation of Student Work

Course Grades

Course grades are earned on the basis of Class Engagement (20%), Classroom Leadership (15%), two Short Papers (15% each), Rough Draft of Paper (5%), and Final Draft of Paper (30%). ♦

Late Policy

Late work will be penalized one-third of a letter grade per day. ♦

Expectations

I expect all of us to make this class a high priority. ♦ This means devoting quality time to reading all texts and preparing for active engagement in each class. ♦

You can expect me to work very hard with you and for you. ♦ I will hand back work promptly, I will make time for you, and I will provide constructive and encouraging feedback on both written and non-written assignments. ♦

I expect you to do our best to arrive on time....but....for your Courage and Sacrifice in taking an 8:15 am class, the infrequent arrival of a zombie-like late-riser will not be taken personally (but you will probably be teased). ♦ If you must be absent, please respect my preparation work by e-mailing me the day before. ♦ Thank you! ♦

This course requires a lot from you, but you receive a lot as well, both from me and from your classmates. ♦ We are going to work very hard this term. ♦ We will all have our off days (and hopefully a few days off!), but I hope that the energy and enthusiasm we each contribute will make this class one of the best you take at Carleton. ♦

At the Bookstore

The following three required books are available for purchase at the bookstore. ♦ We will make heavy use of each one, so I recommend you buy all three. ♦ All other readings will be placed on closed reserve in two course binders, except for the first week's readings, which will be distributed in class. ♦

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe Schmitter. ♦ 1986. ♦ *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. ♦ Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. ♦ \$15/\$11 used. ♦

Linz, Juan, and Alfred Stepan. 1996. ♦ *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. ♦ Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. ♦ \$21 new only. ♦

Diamond, Larry, Marc Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien, eds. 1997. ♦ *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. ♦ Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. ♦ \$17/\$13 used. ♦

SECTION ONE:

The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes

Section One of the course introduces the "pre-resurgence" period in the 20th century with an investigation of why democracies around the world have faltered. ♦ This section will examine how nascent democracies in places as distinct as Weimar Germany, Republican Spain, and Latin America during the 1960s and early 1970s, were overthrown by authoritarian leaders. ♦ We will also cover the dynamics of these authoritarian regimes. ♦

♦ Tuesday, April 1 ♦

Course Introduction

♦ Thursday, April 3 ♦

Sen, Amartya. 2002. "Civilizational Imprisonments." *The New Republic* (June 10): 28-33.
 Huntington, Samuel. 1997. "Democracy for the Long Haul." in Diamond et al. (pp. 3-13).
 Occhipinti, John. 2003. "Active and Accountable: Teaching Comparative Politics Using Cooperative Team Learning." *PS: Political Science and Politics* (January): 69-74.
 In-Class Film: "Caudillo: History of the Spanish Civil War" (Part 1).

◆ Tuesday, April 8 ◆

The Collapse of Democratic Regimes & the Rise of Authoritarianism

In-Class Film: "Caudillo" (Part 2).
 Linz, Juan. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins (pp. 14-50).
 Single-Point Paper #1 Due

◆ Thursday, April 10 ◆

Types of Authoritarian Regimes

Linz & Stepan, chapter 3 (pp. 38-54).
 Chehabi, H.E., and Juan Linz. 1998. "A Theory of Sultanism: A Type of Nondemocratic Rule." *Sultanistic Regimes*, eds. H. E. Chehabi and Juan Linz. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

◆ Tuesday, April 15 ◆

What is "Legitimacy" for Authoritarian Regimes?

Laqueur, Walter. 1996. *Fascism: Past, Present, Future*. New York: Oxford (pp. 21-27, 56-76).
 Single-Point Paper #2 Due (think of it as a rough draft of your first Capstone Paper)

**SECTION TWO:
Transitions to Democracy**

Section Two focuses on the regime transitions that initiated the recent, global resurgence of democracy. The section examines the factors that led to the erosion of authoritarian rule and its replacement by democratic elites and institutions. The section also outlines the travails of these newly democratic societies as they dealt with their authoritarian past and engineered more open political regimes.

◆ Thursday, April 17 ◆

When is Liberalization of Authoritarianism Possible?

O'Donnell & Schmitter, chapters 1-3 (pp. 3-36).
 Linz & Stepan, chapters 4-5 (pp. 55-83).
 In-Class Film: "A Force More Powerful" (Part 1: South Africa).

◆ Monday, April 21 ◆

Capstone Paper #1 Due by 4:00 pm

◆ Tuesday, April 22 ◆

How Can Democratic Elites turn Liberalization into Democratization?

O'Donnell & Schmitter, chapter 4 (pp 37-47).
 Linz & Stepan, read one Southern Europe chapter (6-Spain, 7-Portugal, or 8-Greece).
 Linz & Stepan, read one Latin America chapter (10-Uruguay, 11-Brazil, 12-Argentina, or 13-Chile).
 In-Class Film: "A Force More Powerful" (Part 2: Chile).

◆ Thursday, April 24 ◆

Linz & Stepan, chapter 17 (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria).
 Herbst, Jeffrey. 1997-98. "Prospects for Elite-Driven Democracy in South Africa." *Political Science Quarterly* 112:4 (Winter): 595-615.
 Research Prospectus Due in Class

◆ Tuesday, April 29 ◆

Simulation #1: "The Transition Game" (directed by Instructor).

◆ Thursday, May 1 ◆

What is the Role of Civil Society in Transitions to Democracy?

O'Donnell & Schmitter, chapter 5 (pp. 48-56).
 Linz & Stepan, chapter 16 (Poland, pp. 255-292).
 In-Class Film: "A Force More Powerful" (Part 3: Poland).

◆ Tuesday, May 6 ◆

Can Civil Society Govern a Transition to Democracy?

O'Donnell & Schmitter, chapter 6 (pp. 57-64).
 Diamond, Larry. 1996. "Toward Democratic Consolidation." *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd Ed., eds. Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
 Linz & Stepan, chapters 2 & 20 (pp. 16-37, 401-433).

**SECTION THREE:
Democratic Consolidation**

Section Three introduces students to the problems of democratic "consolidation." After regime transitions, nascent democracies were compelled to deal with more than outgoing authoritarian interests. They faced the challenges of building viable electoral and party systems, coordinating executive-legislative relations, implementing economic reform, guaranteeing greater social equity, restructuring civil-military relations, protecting civil and human rights, and reforming the state. This section explores contrasting arguments that explain the diverse performance of these new democracies as they sought "consolidation."

◆ Thursday, May 8 ◆

Can Authoritarian Militaries be Forced to Accept Democracy?

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1997. "Illusions about Consolidation," in Diamond et al. (pp. 40-53).
 Agüero, Felipe. 1997. "Toward Civilian Supremacy in South America," in Diamond et al. (pp. 177-201).
 Crouch, Harold. 1997. "Civil-Military Relations in Southeast Asia," in Diamond et al. (pp. 207-232).

◆Friday, May 9◆

Capstone Paper #2 Due by 4:00 pm

◆Tuesday, May 13◆

Seeking Justice in a Post-Authoritarian Society

Mignone, Emilio. 1992. "Beyond Fear: Forms of Justice and Compensation." ◆ *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*, eds. Juan Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagen, and Manuel Antonio Garretón. ◆ Berkeley: University of California. ◆

Debate: Prosecuting Pinochet: Justice or Peace in Chile? ◆ (co-directed by two Students). ◆

◆Thursday, May 15◆

Institutional Design: Presidentialism vs. Parliamentarism

Shugart, Matthew, and John Carey. 1992. ◆ *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. ◆ Cambridge University Press. ◆ Chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-75). ◆◆◆

Linz, Juan. 1990. ◆ "The Perils of Presidentialism." ◆ *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd Ed., eds. Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins. ◆

◆Tuesday, May 20◆

Designing Democracy

Carey, John. 1997. ◆ "Institutional Design and Party Systems," in Diamond et al. (pp. 67-89).

Huang, Teh-fu. 1997. ◆ "Party Systems in Taiwan and South Korea," in Diamond et al. (pp. 135-157).

◆Thursday, May 22◆

'Horizontal' and 'Vertical' Accountability

Schedler, Andreas. 1999. ◆ "Conceptualizing Accountability." ◆ *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, eds. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner. ◆ Boulder: Lynne Rienner. ◆

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1996. ◆ "Delegative Democracy." ◆ *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd Ed., eds. Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner. ◆ Baltimore: Johns Hopkins. ◆

Choose one of the following:

- 1) Widner, Jennifer. 1999. ◆ "Building Judicial Independence in Common Law Africa." ◆ *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, eds. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner. ◆ Boulder: Lynne Rienner. ◆
- 2) Domingo, Pilar. 1999. ◆ "Judicial Independence and Judicial Reform in Latin America." ◆ In Schedler et al., eds. ◆
- 3) Heilbrunn, John. 1999. ◆ "Corruption, Democracy, and Reform in Benin." ◆ In Schedler et al., eds. ◆

◆Tuesday, May 27◆

Democratization in the Middle East: Readings TBA. ◆

◆Thursday, May 29◆

Simulation #2: "Institutional Design in Post-War Iraq" (co-directed by two Students). ◆

◆Tuesday, June 3◆

Peer Workshop of Rough Drafts (***Rough Draft Due***)

Final Paper Due on Sunday, June 8, 4:00 pm