

Political Science 233, The Global Resurgence of Democracy

Winter 1998-99

SYLLABUS

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Course Description

Beginning with the liberalization of authoritarian rule in Portugal in 1974 and extending into the 1990's, 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. As one notable scholar of democracy has observed ominously, these countries were "condemned to democracy."

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) and encourage them to provide informed arguments on these matters. Besides reading and attending class presentations, this course will invite students to write and orally communicate their observations about the substantive questions in the course.

The first section of this course introduces students to 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 1960's and early 1970's, were overthrown by authoritarian leaders. The section will also cover the dynamics of these authoritarian regimes.

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.

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 exigencies of economic and political 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."

What is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. That means that students must keep up in their reading assignments and attend class regularly. Students must be fully prepared at all times to discuss the

readings and concepts from previous lectures. The best students will be critical but balanced in their assessments, and will develop coherent arguments that they can defend in their writing and their in-class discussion.

Reading Materials

The **six required books** for this course have been ordered and are presently on sale at the college bookstore. The texts are:

Juan J. Linz. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien. 1997. *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman, eds. 1996. *Institutional Design in New Democracies: Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

In addition to these texts, this course requires your study of a number of other readings from diverse sources. In order to facilitate your access to these materials, I have placed multiple copies of these readings on closed reserve. In order to reduce your costs, I have also placed the required books on closed reserve.

In addition to the readings, this course requires your use of select audio and video materials. These items include a couple of feature-length films, documentaries, and National Public Radio reports on audio tapes. Brief portions of these multimedia items will be presented during class as a part of the lectures. In some cases, you will be required to view and listen to these materials in their entirety during off-class hours. Wherever possible, these materials have been placed on closed reserve.

I will occasionally distribute handouts and clippings from *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Economist*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, and the internet at the beginning of class. Students are also invited to check out links to course relevant web pages on the professor's web page.

Grading

Assessment of the students in this course will be based on their performance on two exams, two short writing assignments, a single, long writing assignment, and in-class participation. The grade breakdown follows:

Exam 1	20%
Exam 2	25%
Two Short Writing Assignments	15% (7.5% each)
One Long Writing Assignment	20%
Class Participation	20%

The Exams

Exam #1 will be a timed, short essay, "blue book" test. Students will select two of four questions for analysis. Exam #2 will be a cumulative, take-home essay exam (otherwise same format as the Exam #1). The answer to

each question must not exceed six typewritten pages (double-spaced, 12cpi, one-inch margins). As a capstone exam for the course, it will be graded with higher expectations, hence the slightly larger grade percentage. This exam will be distributed on the final day of class and will be due at my office no later than 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, March 17.

Students should study comprehensively for these exams as their main purpose is to assess the students' progress in learning the theories, concepts, and empirical cases presented in the course. However, the exams will emphasize knowledge and application of broad approaches more than the details of empirical cases. The exams will also test the ability of the students to critique and present their own arguments. If you cannot attend an exam, you must notify me no later than one week before the exam.

The Writing Assignments

The purpose of the writing assignments is to provide the students with an opportunity to reflect more thoughtfully than is possible in the exams on both the theories and empirical cases of the course. These assignments must be turned in before or on the due date specified below. Late work will receive no credit.

The Short Writing Assignments - Students will be asked to prepare two short critical essays of five to six pages in length (typed, double-spaced, 12cpi, one-inch margins).

The First Essay will ask students to test Juan Linz's hypothesis about the breakdown of democratic regimes by exploring how his argument works in a comparison of any two of the following empirical cases: Argentina (1955 or 1966), Brazil (1964), Chile (1973), Spain (1936), Germany (1933), Uruguay (1973), Peru (1992), Italy (1922), and Nigeria (1966 or 1993).

The Second Essay will ask students to choose a particular author's approach to democratic transition and consolidation and analyze the author's main concepts, theory, or interpretation of an empirical case. The essay must evaluate the consistency and usefulness of the author's main argument(s), pointing out strengths and weaknesses, and concluding with at least a one-page alternative approach, concept, theory or interpretation that would minimize the weaknesses of the author's main argument(s).

The Long Writing Assignment - Students will be required to prepare one 10-12 page (typed, double-spaced, 12cpi, one-inch margins) paper on a book-length study of particular countries or set of countries involved in the global resurgence of democracy. The scope and purpose of the paper are limited by the following:

- Must contain a review of the relevant literature (based on assigned readings and other articles, essays, etc. discovered in consultation with the professor).
- Must assess the contribution made by the work under review to the major debates in the literature.
- Complete endnote citation or in-text citation and bibliography must be included.

Beyond these constraints the student is free to select a topic/work, but **consultation with the professor during the first two weeks of the course is required**. The purpose of the long writing assignment is to give the students an opportunity to develop their knowledge of a particular country, issue, or scholarly work while exploring the utility of a variety of analytical approaches.

Class Participation

Communicating your insight into the subjects analyzed in this course is an integral part of the learning experience. In no way do I consider class participation a residual category for subjectively determining the final grade. In this course, I will evaluate your performance in both formal, scheduled presentations and informal class discussion. All oral arguments and presentations will be assessed on structure, relevance, insight, and style.

During the course, I will ask students to prepare and orally present critical assessments. These presentations will take the form of individual oral arguments, group debates, small group discussions, and simulations.

Although I will lecture at the beginning of our study of each new topic area, I will do less lecturing as you read more on the subject and are better able to discuss materials, issues, and approaches in class.

The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course:

98-100 A+
 94-97 A
 91-93 A-
 88-90 B+
 83-87 B
 79-82 B-
 76-78 C+
 72-75 C
 68-71 C-
 67/below D/F

Academic Misconduct

Given the fact that academe relies upon the ethical conduct of scholars, students are held to the same standards in their own work. Any act of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be referred to the Office of the Dean. For further information, see Carleton College's *Academic Honesty in the Writing of Essays and Other Papers* and the section on "academic honesty" in *Academic Regulations and Procedures, 1998-99*. Both are available in Laird 140.

Special Needs

Students requiring access to learning tools/special schedules approved by Student Support Services should contact me at the beginning of the course.

NOTE: Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

SECTION ONE:

THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

Introduction to the course: What is the "Global Resurgence of Democracy?" What does it mean? (Jan. 5, Tuesday)

Session 1: Understanding the Collapse of Democratic Regimes & the Rise of Authoritarianism

A model of democratic collapse (Jan. 7, Thursday)

Linz, Chapters 1-3.

Types of authoritarian regimes (Jan. 12, Tuesday)

Linz, Chapters 4-5.

Linz & Stepan, Chapter 3.

What is "legitimacy" for authoritarian regimes? (Jan. 14, Thursday)

Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. *Personal Rule in Black Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley, Chapter 1 and Conclusion.

Walter Laquer. 1996. *Fascism: Past, Present, Future*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 21-27 & 56-76.

Film: "The Architecture of Doom" (Dir. Peter Cohen, Germany).

SECTION TWO:

TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY

Session 2: Liberalization and Elite Pacts

Under what conditions is liberalization of authoritarianism possible/probable? (Jan. 19, Tuesday)

O'Donnell and Schmitter, Chapter 1-3.

Linz & Stepan, Chapters 4-5.

Haggard & Kaufman, Chapters 1-2.

SHORT ESSAY #1 DUE (Jan. 19, Tuesday)

How can democratic elites turn liberalization into democratization? (Jan. 21, Thursday)

O'Donnell & Schmitter, Chapter 4.

Linz & Stepan, Chapters 6 (Spain) & 11 (Brazil).

Choose one of the following:

Linz & Stepan, Chapters 7 (Portugal), 8 (Greece), 10 (Uruguay), 12 (Argentina), or 13 (Chile).

Jeffrey Herbst. 1997-98. "Prospects for Elite-Driven Democracy in South Africa." *Political Science Quarterly* 112:4 (Winter): 595-615.

Session 3: The "Resurrection of Civil Society"

Why is civil society important in a transition to democracy? (Jan. 26, Tuesday)

O'Donnell & Schmitter, Chapter 5.

Linz & Stepan, Chapters 16 & 17.

Can civil society govern a transition to democracy? (Jan. 28, Thursday)

O'Donnell & Schmitter, Chapter 6.

Linz & Stepan, Chapters 2 & 20.

Aleksander Smolar, "From Opposition to Atomization," in Diamond et al., eds.

E. Gyimah-Boadi, "Civil Society in Africa," in Diamond et al., eds.

MIDTERM (Feb. 2, Tuesday)

SECTION THREE:**DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION****Session 4: Civil-Military Relations**

Can formerly putchist militaries be made to accept democracy? (Feb. 4, Thursday)

Felipe Agüero, "Toward Civilian Supremacy in South America," in Diamond et al., eds.

Harold Crouch, "Civil-Military Relations in Southeast Asia," in Diamond et al., eds.

How can post-authoritarian societies cope with authoritarian legacies? (Feb. 9, Tuesday)

Jean Franco. 1992. "Gender, Death, and Resistance: Facing the Ethical Vacuum." In *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*, eds. Juan E. Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagen, and Manuel Antonio Garretón. Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley Press.

Emilio F. Mignone. 1992. "Beyond Fear: Forms of Justice and Compensation." In Corradi et al.

Javier Martínez. 1992. "Fear of the State, Fear of Society: On the Opposition Protests in Chile." In Corradi et al.

Session 5: Party Systems and Electoral Rules

Can certain institutions strengthen democracy more than others? (Feb. 11, Thursday)

John M. Carey, "Institutional Design and Party Systems," in Diamond et al., eds.

Teh-fu Huang, "Party Systems in Taiwan and South Korea," in Diamond et al., eds.

Stanislaw Gebethner, "Proportional Representation Versus Majoritarian Systems: Free Elections and Political Parties in Poland, 1989-1991," in Lijphart and Waisman, eds.

What are the obstacles to political reform? (Feb. 16, Tuesday)

Abraham F. Lowenthal, "Battling the Undertow in Latin America," in Diamond et al., eds.

Carlos Santiago Nino, "Hyperpresidentialism and Constitutional Reform in Argentina," in Lijphart and Waisman, eds.

Peter Siavelis and Arturo Valenzuela, "Electoral Engineering and Democratic Stability: The Legacy of Authoritarian Rule in Chile," in Lijphart and Waisman, eds.

Linz & Stepan, Chapter 19.

SHORT ESSAY #2 DUE (Feb. 16, Tuesday)**Session 6: Civil and Human Rights**

What is the importance of civil rights in new democracies and how can they be protected? (Feb. 18, Thursday)

Elizabeth Jelin. 1996. "Citizenship Revisited: Solidarity, Responsibility, and Rights." In *Constructing Democracy: Human Rights, Citizenship, and Society in Latin America*, eds. Elizabeth Jelin and Eric Hershberg. Boulder: Westview Press.

Carlos M. Vilas. 1997. "Participation, Inequality, and the Whereabouts of Democracy." *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*, eds. Douglas Chalmers, Carlos Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott Martin, Kerianne Piester, and Monique Segarra. New York: Oxford University Press.

What are "human rights" and how can they be protected in nascent democracies? (Feb. 23, Tuesday)

Manuel Antonio Garretón. 1996. "Human Rights in Democratization Processes." In Jelin and Hershberg, eds.

Kathryn Sikkink. 1996. "The Emergence, Evolution, and Effectiveness of the Latin American Human Rights Network." In Jelin and Hershberg, eds.

Session 7: Economic Reform and Regime Consolidation

Do economic reforms enhance or weaken democracy? (Feb. 25, Thursday)

Haggard & Kaufman, Chapters 5, 9 & 10.

Can new democracies deal effectively with the exigencies of "dual transitions?" (March 2, Tuesday)

Haggard & Kaufman, Chapters 6-7.

Joan M. Nelson. 1993. "The Politics of Economic Transformation: Is the Third World Experience Relevant in Eastern Europe?" *World Politics* 45:3 (April): 433-463.

Session 8: Global Challenges to the Resurgence of Democracy

Are globalization and democratization mutually reinforcing? (March 4, Thursday)

Saskia Sassen. 1995. *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 2.

Paul Wapner, "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics," *World Politics* 47:3 (April), 1995.

How will new democracies adapt to globalization? (March 9, Tuesday)

LONG WRITING ASSIGNMENT IS DUE (March 9, Tuesday)

FINAL (Handout of questions on Tuesday, March 9; Due by 5:00 p.m., in my office, on Wednesday, March 17).