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DEMOCRATIZATION

While the exact normative meaning of democracy is an increasingly important subject of debate within and among societies, the practice of democracy is increasingly regarded as essential to progress on a wide range of human concerns including the protection of human rights and the institution of free market systems. This course looks at the elements of democratic practices and the problems countries face in trying to institute democratic practices to secure additional rights and liberties and sustain market functioning. There is a special emphasis on the approach taken by the United States toward promoting and sustaining democracy abroad.

From Latin America to Africa, in Europe and Asia, authoritarian regimes have yielded to democratic forces, making their governments more responsive and their societies more open. Many states have embarked upon a process of democratization for the first time. Others have moved to restore their democratic roots. This course will provide students with an over view of the major theoretical problems associated with the process of democratization as well as an understanding of more specific policy issues associated with promoting democratic rule in transitioning countries.

The process of democratization raises difficult questions of prioritization and timing. What factors influence democratization processes? What model of democracy should we seek to establish? Do cultural differences suggest that no one model of democratization or democracy is suitable for all societies? Undoubtedly the initial starting point from which a society commences democratization will bear greatly on both the process and outcomes associated with democracy. We intend to reflect on these questions and consider how the past is balanced with changes in the present.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There are three sets of requirements for this class. Since it is a seminar class, regular attendance is required. You are responsible for all reading assignments and any subject matter covered in lectures in addition to classroom writing assignments. Attending class is necessary, since it is your main opportunity to work through the readings and discuss problems associated with it. Attendance and class contributions are worth 20% of your final grade. You will also be tested on the material in the class during class meetings and in the final exam. The final exam will be a take home exam worth 30% of your grade. Besides learning the reading material in the class, the course is structured to teach you how to write a research paper. Five short paper assignments will be used to track the development of your final research paper. Instructions for all papers will be available during the semester.

<i>Class Participation</i>	<i>20%</i>
<i>Five Short Paper Assignments</i>	<i>30%</i>
<i>Final Paper</i>	<i>20%</i>
<i>Examination</i>	<i>30%</i>

Office Hours and Other Contact

Discussions outside of class (with other students or your professors) are an important part of learning at St. Mary's College. I strongly encourage you to speak with me outside of class (who knows, maybe you will have fun, besides getting useful suggestions on the material). My office hours are Monday and Wednesday 4:30-5:30p. *If you cannot make these office hours, you can always make an appointment with me for another time!!* You can also reach me by e-mail during the week if you need some quick feedback. We can discuss your work, your research ideas, my work, or your ideas about politics.

I. REQUIRED TEXTS AND READINGS

The following texts are available at ST. MARY'S CAMPUS STORE:

1. Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999.
2. Marina Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003.
3. Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

1. What is meant by 'Democracy'?

- a. Lesley Jacobs, "Models of Democracy," Chapter Two, from *An Introduction to Modern Political Philosophy: The Democratic Vision of Politics*, Prentice-Hall, 1997, pp.
- b. William Reisinger, "Choices Facing the Builders of a Liberal Democracy," in *Democratic Theory and Post-Communist Change*, Chapter 24-51.
- c. Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization*, Chapter 1. Pp. 6-35.

2. Are There Preconditions for Democracy?

- a. Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 53, no.1 (March 1959), pp. 69-105.
- b. Larry Diamond, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Juan Linz, "Building and Sustaining Democratic Government in Developing Countries: Some Tentative Findings," *World Affairs*. Vol. 150, no.1 Summer 1987, pp. 5-19.
- c. Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics*. Vol. 49, No.2 (1997), pp. 155-183.
- d. Robert Barro, "Determinants of Democracy," *Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 107, no. 6, pt. 2 (1999), pp.158-183.
- e. Samuel Huntington, "What Cost Freedom?" *Harvard International Review*. Vol. 16, No.1 (Winter 1993).
- f. Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization*, Chapter 8. Pp. 186-201.

3. *Elite Bargains and Other Influences on Transitions to Democracy*

- a. Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics*. April 1970: Pp. 337-363.
- b. Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and Markets*, Chapter 1, pp. 10-50.
- c. Samuel P. Huntington, "How Countries Democratize," *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 106, no. 4. Winter (1991-1992), pp. 579-616.
- d. Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and Markets*, Chapter 2, pp. 51-99.
- e. Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization*, Chapter 2. Pp. 36-64.

4. *The Dynamics of Market Development with Democratic Transition*

- a. Moises Naím, "Washington Consensus or Washington Confusion?" *Foreign Policy* Spring, 2000, pp.87-103.
- b. Leszek Balcerowicz, "Understanding Post-Communist Transitions," in *Socialism, Capitalism and Transformation*.
- c. Joel S. Hellman, "Winner Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50.2 (1998).
- d. Michael Cain, "Transitional Economies," in *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, 2003.
- e. Gerand Roland, "The Political Economy of Transition," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol. 16, No. 1 Winter 2002, pp.29-50.

5. *Mass Politics and Civil Society*

- a. Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, selections.
- b. Kuran, Timur "Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in Eastern Europe in 1989" *World Politics*. Vol. 44, No. 1, Oct., 1991.
- c. Marc Howard, "Post-communist Civil Society," *The Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 159-169.
- d. Alison Brysk, "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America" in *The Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (July 2000), 151-165.
- e. Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization*, Chapter 3. Pp. 65-89.

6. *U.S. Assistance, the Donor Model and Its Critics*

- a. Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-82
- b. USAID, "Promoting Democratic Governance," in *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, Washington DC, pp. 33-53.
- c. Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, Chapters 5-8.
- d. Steven Knack, "Aid Dependence and the Quality of Governance," World Bank, 2000.
- e. Janine Wedel, *U.S. Assistance for Market Reforms: Foreign Aid Failures in Russia and the Former Soviet Bloc*, *Cato Policy Analysis*, No. 338, March 22, 1999. <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-338es.html>

7. *Democracy, Dictatorship and Authoritarian Regimes*

- a. Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship," *World Politics*, 54 (January 2002), pp.212-44.
- b. Marina Ottaway, "The Challenges" in *Democracy Challenged*, pp.3-27.
- c. Marina Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged*, Part One (take one chapter).
- d. Mancur Olson, Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* September 1993.
- e. Marina Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged*, Parts Two and Three, pp.131-253.

Reference Materials

Journals

Africa Today, American Political Science Review, The Contemporary Pacific, Europe-Asia Studies, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Post-Communist Studies, World Politics, Slavic Studies, Human Rights Quarterly, Journal of Democracy, Mediterranean Quarterly, SAIS Review, The South Atlantic Quarterly, The Washington Quarterly, World Politics. All journals under Political Science, African Studies, Asian Studies, Slavic Studies, Sociology or Economics in Jstor.

Internet Resources

American Enterprise Institute, Brookings Institution, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Cato Institute, Freedom House, International Monetary Fund, United States Agency for International Development, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, The World Bank.

Selected Books and Articles

- Alesina, Alberto, "Political Models of Macroeconomic Policy and Fiscal Reforms," in *Voting for Reform Democracy, Political Liberalization, and Economic Adjustment*. Stephan Haggard and Steven B. Webb eds. Oxford: University Press, 1994.
- Aslund, A. (1995). *How Russia Became a Market Economy*. Washington: The Brookings Institution.
- Balcerowicz, L. (1994). *Understanding Post Communist Transitions*. *Journal of Democracy* 5(4): 75-89.
- Balcerowicz, L. (1995). *Socialism, Capitalism, Transformation*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Balcerowicz, Leszek, *Socialism, Capitalism, Transformation*. New York: Central European Press, 1995.
- Black, D. (1958). *The Theory of Committees and Elections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blanchard, O., Dornbusch, R., Krugman, P., Layard, R. and Summers, L. (1991). *Reform in Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Buchanan, J. M and Tullock, G. (1962) *The Calculus of Consent*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Dewatripont, M. and Roland, G. (1992). *Economic Reforms and Dynamic Political Constraints*. *Review of Economic Studies*. October 59 (4): 703-30.

- Dewatripont, M. and Roland, G. (1995). The Design of Reform Packages Under Uncertainty. *American Economic Review*. December 85 (5): 1207-223.
- Fischer, Stanley, Ratna Sahay, and Carlos Vegh. Spring 1996. Stabilization and Growth in Transition Economies: The Early Experience. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 45-66.
- Fish, S. M. (1998). The Determinates of Reform in the Post-Communist World. *East European Politics and Societies* 12 (1): 31-78.
- Gardhan, Pranah K. and John Roemer, editors. *Market Socialism: The Current Debate*. Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press.
- Kornai, J. (1993). Transformational Recession: A General Phenomenon Examined through the Example of Hungary's Development. *Economie Appliquée* 46 (2): 181-227.
- Kramer, Mark "The Changing Economic Complexion of Eastern Europe and Russia: Results and Lessons of the 1990s," *SAIS Review* Volume 12, Summer 1999.
- Lipton, D., and Sachs, J. (1990) Creating a Market Economy in Eastern Europe: The Case of Poland. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (1): 75-133.
- McKelvey, R. D. (1976). Intransitives in Multidimensional Voting Models and Some Implications for Agenda Control. *Journal of Economic Theory* 12: 472-482.
- McMillan, J. and Naughton, B. (1992). How to Reform a Planned Economy: Lessons from China. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*. Spring 12 (3): 130-43.
- Murrell, P. (1992). Conservative Political Philosophy and the Strategy of Economic Transition. *East European Politics and Societies*. 6 (1): 3-16.
- Powers, Denise and James Cox. September 1997. Echoes from the Past: The Relationship between Satisfaction with Economic Reforms and Voting Behavior in Poland, *American Political Science Review*, Volume 91, No. 3. Pp. 617-633.
- Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roland, G. (2000). *Transition and Economics: Politics, Markets, and Firms*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Roland, G. (2002). The Political Economy of Transition. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16 (1): 29-50.
- Rosenberg, Tina (1995) *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts after Communism*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Roskin, Michael G. (1997). *The Rebirth of East Europe*. Second edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Sachs, J. D. (1993). *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Sachs, Jeffrey D. and Katharina Pistor, editors. *The Rule of Law and Economic Reform in Russia*. Westview Press, 1997.
- Stokes, Gale editor. (1996) *From Stalinism to Pluralism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Szacki, J. (1994). *Liberalizm po Komunizmie*. Warsaw: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, Fundacja Im. Stefana Batorego.
- Wedel, J. (2001) *Collision and Collusion* (New York: Palgrave).
- Weingast, B. R. (1997). The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law. *American Political Science Review* 91 (2): 245-263.
- Williamson, J. (1990). What Washington Means by Policy Reform. In John Williamson (Ed.), *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened*. Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics.