

Democracy Promotion: Theory and Practice

Yale University
International Relations, 640
Fall 2010

Monday 3:30-5:20
Location: RKZ 05

*****Changes to the syllabus will be announced in class as needed*****

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Themes:

Although democracy promotion is not new, the practice of encouraging the development of democracy in other countries has become a prominent component of foreign policy for developed democracies around the world. In addition, most international organizations have made commitments to promote and enforce commitments to democracy and democracy promotion among member states. This course will explore existing theoretical and empirical literature on democracy promotion as a topic within international relations and comparative politics, but will also include readings written by and for practitioners in the democracy promotion industry. Students taking the course should gain an understanding of the justifications for democracy promotion, the challenges facing individuals, organizations, and states wishing to promote democracy, and the difficulty in evaluating the effects of democracy promotion programs.

Requirements

1) Participation (25% of grade): This course will be conducted in a seminar format, with students taking responsibility for leading much of the discussion. All students should be prepared to contribute to each class by bringing questions stemming from the readings. In addition, each student will be expected to prepare one or more formal class presentations on the reading, with a statement to be distributed to everyone 24 hours before class begins (approx. 1 page). The primary object of these statements should be to motivate discussion. Summaries of the readings are not expected nor encouraged.

2) Midterm (35% of grade): The midterm exam will be a take-home exam. The question(s) will be handed out in class and will be due the following week at the beginning of the class period.

3) Final Project (40% of grade): The culminating project will consist of an extensive memo proposing a plan for promoting democracy in one case. The project will consider past attempts at democracy promotion, the characteristics of the country that present challenges to democracy promotion, the role of the country within the broader international community, and other potential challenges to successful democratization. A more extensive description of the assignment will be handed out after the midterm.

Finally, please familiarize yourself with the University's policy on cheating, plagiarism, and documentation. It is your responsibility to understand and abide by this policy, and violations will be turned in immediately to the administration. Blatant plagiarism will result in a failing grade in the class. If you do not understand what constitutes cheating or plagiarism, please ask.

Texts

Required Books:

Michael McFaul. 2010. *Advancing Democracy Abroad*. Rowman & Littlefield. [This book is available at Labyrinth Books, and I have placed it on reserve at the Yale library].

Michael Cox, G. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.), *American Democracy Promotion, Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*, Oxford University Press (2000). [Hard copies are available from Labyrinth Books, or it is available electronically through Yale University Library]

Edward Newman and Roland Rich. 2004. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*. [Hard copies are available from Labyrinth Books, or it is available electronically through Yale University Library]

Optional:

Thomas Legler, Sharon Lean, and Dexter Boniface. 2007. *Promoting Democracy in the Americas*. [This book is available at Labyrinth Books]

Staffan Lindberg. 2010. *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*. [This book is available at Labyrinth Books]

Additional required reading includes journal articles and book chapters. All readings are subject to change. A number of these readings are easily accessible online and are not included in the course reader. When possible, links are included on the syllabus for online texts. You may be required to access the readings from a Yale University computer or through Yale's proxy server. Readings not available online or in the two required books are available through the classes*v2 server.

The selected texts were chosen to represent the major positions and theories pertaining to democracy promotion. They provide a wide range of views and differ in both the evidence they provide and their persuasiveness. As a whole, the selection is designed to demonstrate the diverse approaches to the study and practice of democracy promotion, and to encourage critical evaluation of existing academic literature. Keeping the following questions in mind when reading should help focus your attention on the big picture: What is the question being asked by the author? What is the argument the author is trying to make and why might this be important? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the argument? How convincing is their evidence? What are some possible counter-arguments that could be made? What does this tell us about evaluating current democracy promotion efforts?

Course Schedule:

- 1. September 6—Overview and Course Requirements**
- 2. NOTE (tentative) DATE AND TIME Thursday, September 9, 4:30-6:30 -- Why Promote Democracy? [Class presentation date signup will take place]**

Robert Dahl. *Polyarchy*. Chapter 1. Access through Cv2.

Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market*. Chapter 1. Access through Cv2.

Amartya Sen. 1999. "Democracy as a Universal Value." *Journal of Democracy*. 10.3 (3-17).
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jod/v010/10.3sen.html>

Samuel Huntington. 1993. *The Third Wave of Democratization*. Chapters 1 and 4. Access through Cv2.

September 13– CLASS RESCHEDULED FOR SEPT 9th

3. September 20—*Orange Revolution*

Other films you may be interested in watching:

Our Brand is Crisis

Bringing Down a Dictator

The Battle of Chile

Beyond Elections

Burma: Inside the Saffron Revolution (Frontline World <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/>)

4. September 27--Introduction to Democracy Promotion

5.

Peter Burnell. “Democracy Promotion: The Elusive Quest for Grand Strategies” http://heinrich-boell-stiftung.de/downloads/demokratie/Democracy_promotion_Burnell_2004_en.pdf

Doyle, Michael. “Peace, Liberty, and Democracy: Realists and Liberals Contest a Legacy” in Cox, Ikenberry and Inoguchi. *American Democracy Promotion*.

Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*, 1999, Ch. 2, 3, and 5.

Michael McFaul. *Advancing Democracy Abroad*. Chapters 1-2.

5. October 4-- Justifying Democracy Promotion

Tony Smith. “National Security Liberalism and American Foreign Policy.” In Cox, Ikenberry and Ignochi. Chapter 4.

Cox, Ikenberry, and Ignochi. Chapters 2-3

Roland Rich, “Bringing Democracy into International Law,” *Journal of Democracy*, July 2001. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v012/12.3rich.html

Jonathan Monten. 2005. The Roots of the Bush Doctrine. *International Security*. <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/isec.2005.29.4.112>

Michael McFaul. *Advancing Democracy Abroad*. Chapter 3.

6. October 11--Who promotes democracy?

John G. Ikenberry. 1999 “Why Export Democracy?” *Wilson Quarterly*. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=1763640&site=ehost-live>

Rich, Roland. The UN Role in Promoting Democracy. Chapter 2 (Farer) and 3 (Rich).

Richard Youngs, “Europe’s Uncertain Pursuit of Middle East Reform,” in Carothers and Ottaway, *Uncharted Journey*, Ch. 12. Access through Cv2.

McFaul. *Advancing Democracy Abroad*. Chapter 6.

Darren Hawkins and Carolyn M. Shaw. "The OAS and Legalising Norms of Democracy." Chapter 2 in Lean, Legler, and Boniface. Access through Cv2.

Flavie Major. "Canada: Democracy's New Champion?" Chapter 5 in Lean, Legler, and Boniface. Access through Cv2.

7. October 18— Democratization: More than domestic politics? [MIDTERM EXAM DISTRIBUTED]

Gleditsch and Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization*. <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=531044>

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, Jan. 2002. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.1carothers.html

Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Organization*, Summer 2002. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization" http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/international_organization/v056/56.3pevehouse.html

Levitsky and Way. 2005. "International Linkage and Democratization." *Journal of Democracy*. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v016/16.3levitsky.html

8. October 25—Context and Culture [MIDTERM EXAM DUE]

Sami Baroudi. 2004. The 2002 Arab Human Development Report: Implications for Democracy. *The Middle East Report*. http://mepc.org/journal_vol11/baroudi.pdf

Mendelson, Sarah. 2001. "Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia: Between Success and Failure." *International Security* http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/international_security/v025/25.4mendelson.html

Stephen Brown. 2005. Lessons from Africa. *European Journal of Development Research*. Available at: http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~brown/pages/Stephen_Brown_EJDR.pdf

Mark Thompson. 2001. "Whatever Happened to "Asian Values"?" *Journal of Democracy*. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v012/12.4thompson.html

9. November 1—Foreign Aid and Evaluating Democracy Promotion

S Knack "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly*, 2004 <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/118754276/abstract>

Gordon Crawford. 1997. "Foreign Aid and Political Conditionality: Issues of Effectiveness and Consistency." *Democratization*. Access through Cv2.

Peter Burnell *Democracy Assistance: International Co-operation for Democratization* (London, Frank Cass, 2000), Chapters 1 and 2. Access through Cv2.

S. Finkel, A. Perez-Linan, M. Seligson, and D. Azpuru, "Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2003" *World Politics*, Available at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v059/59.3finkel.html

Michael McFaul, *Advancing Democracy Abroad*, Chapter 5.

National Research Council. *Improving Democracy Assistance*. Chapter 1 (Summary) and Chapter 5. Available at http://www.nap.edu/catalog.php?record_id=12164 for free download of .pdf.

10. November 8—Elections and Election Observation

Thomas Carothers. 1997. The Observers Observed. *Journal of Democracy*. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v008/8.3carothers.html

Eric Bjornlund. *Beyond Free and Fair*. Chapter 4. Access through Cv2.

Susan Hyde. 2007. The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment. *World Politics*. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/summary/v060/60.1.hyde.html

Bunce and Wolchik. 2010. Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes. *World Politics*, available at http://www.muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v062/62.1.bunce.pdf

Staffan Lindberg. 2010. *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*. Introduction and Chapter 1. Access through Cv2.

Optional: Susan Hyde. "Catch Us if You Can: Election Observation and Norm Diffusion."

Other readings in Lindberg 2010.

11. November 15— Civil Society and Political Parties

SE Mendelson, JK Glenn – 2002 The power and limits of NGOs : a critical look at building democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia / Sarah E. Mendelson and John K. Glenn, editors. Chapter 1. Access through Cv2.

Ottoway and Carothers. *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*. Chapter 11. Access through Cv2.

Carothers 2006. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Chapters 4 and 7. Access through Cv2.

Carl Gershman 2004. "Democracy promotion: the relationship of political parties and civil society." *Democratization*. <http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/link.asp?id=173g2pub3php3b4>

12. November 29 -- Administration and Occupation

James Meernick. United States Military Intervention and the Promotion of Democracy. *Journal of Peace Research*. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/424565>

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs. 2006. Intervention and Democracy. *International Organization*. <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=453919>

Jeffrey Pickering and Mark Peceny. 2006. "Forging Democracy at Gunpoint." *International Studies Quarterly*. <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/118569728/abstract>

Peou Sorpong. 2004. "The UN's modest impact on Cambodia's democracy" In Edward Newman and Roland Rich. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*.

Hysa, Ylber. 2004. "Kosovo: A permanent international protectorate?" In Edward Newman and Roland Rich. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*.

13. December 6—Post-conflict democracy promotion

Krishna Kumar. "After the Elections: Consequences for Democratization" in Krishna Kumar, ed. *Postconflict Elections, Democratization and International Assistance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998. pp.215-227. Access through Cv2.

Page Fortna. 2008. "Peacekeeping and Democratization". In *War-to-Democracy Transitions: Dilemmas of Democratization and Peacebuilding in War-Torn Societies*, edited by Anna Jarstad and Timothy D. Sisk. Access through Cv2.

Benjamin Reilly. "Elections in Post-conflict Societies" in Newman and Rich, *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy*.

James Fearon, Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. "Can Outsiders Build Cohesion After Civil War: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia" *American Economics Association Papers and Proceedings*. Access will be added later.

Thomas Flores and Irfan Nooruddin. Ms. "Voting for Peace: Do Post-Conflict Elections Help or Hinder Recovery?" Available on Classes*v2 server.

December 17th Final paper deadline.