

Syllabus
GOVT-396/696-002
Global Democracy Promotion
Daniel Calingaert

Spring 2007
Wednesday 5:30-8:00 pm
Watkins 102

This course will explore the contemporary challenges of promoting democracy worldwide. It will first examine the spread of democracy in the late 20th century and the obstacles for further democratization encountered in recent years. Theories of democratic transition and consolidation will be discussed and then applied to regions where undemocratic regimes are still common. The second part of the course will explore the evolution and the relative contributions of U.S. policy, international organizations, and the European Union in promoting democracy. The final part of the course will examine democracy promotion programs, with a focus on programs to foster free elections, political parties and civil society.

Requirements: Grades will be determined on the basis of a mid-term exam (20%), class presentation (20%), policy memo (20%), final exam (30%), and class participation (10%).

- *Presentation:* Students will present a case study on current challenges of democracy promotion in a selected country. The case study will examine the main obstacles for democratic transition or consolidation in the selected country and will propose international policies and programs to overcome those obstacles. The selection of countries for the case study is subject to the instructor's approval.
- *Policy memo:* After they give their presentation, students will write up their case study in the form of a brief (5 pages maximum) policy memo.
- *Exams* will test student knowledge and understanding of material covered in class and of assigned readings. Students are responsible for completing all of the required readings and any additional readings that are assigned during the semester.
- *Current events* related to democracy promotion are integral to the course. Students are expected to stay current on democracy-related news reported in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.
- *Participation* will be assessed on the basis of informed comments and questions raised by students in class regarding the assigned readings and relevant current events, not on the basis of attendance. Students will only earn credit for class participation if they actively participate in class discussions.

Academic Integrity: Students must comply with the Academic Integrity Code, which is posted at <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/academic_integrity.pdf>. Any violations of the code will be dealt with severely.

Week 1—(January 17) Overview on Democracy’s Progress and Reversals

Week 2—(January 24) Democratic Transition and Consolidation

Required readings:

- Fareed Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 1997.
- Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *Journal of Democracy*, Jan. 2002.
- Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, “The Quality of Democracy: An Overview,” *Journal of Democracy*, Oct. 2004.
- Andreas Schedler, “Elections Without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation,” *Journal of Democracy*, April 2002.
- Francis Fukuyama, “The Imperative of State Building,” *Journal of Democracy*, April 2004.

Supplementary readings:

- Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*, 1999, Ch. 3.
- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, 1991, Ch. 1-3.

Week 3—(January 31) Economic Development; Africa

Required readings:

- Joseph T. Siegle, Michael M. Weinstein, and Morton Halperin, “Why Democracies Excel,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2004.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, “Development and Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2005.
- Nicolas van de Walle, “Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africa’s Emerging Party Systems,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, June 2003.
- Staffan I. Lindberg, “The Surprising Significance of African Elections,” *Journal of Democracy*, January 2006.
- Peter M. Lewis, “Nigeria: Elections in A Fragile Regime,” *Journal of Democracy*, July 2003.

Supplementary readings:

- Adam Przeworski et al., “Modernization: Theory and Facts,” *World Politics*, January 1997.
- Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, “Endogenous Democratization,” *World Politics*, July 2003.
- Michael Bratton and Nicholas Van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa*, 1997, Introduction and Ch. 3 and 6.

Week 4—(February 7) Middle East

Select topics for class presentations

Required readings:

- Fareed Zakaria, "Islam, Democracy, and Constitutional Liberalism," *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 2004.
- Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway, eds., *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy In The Middle East*, 2005, Ch. 1-4.

Supplementary readings:

- United Nations Development Program, *Arab Human Development Report 2004*, Executive Summary.
- Nathan Brown, Amr Hamzawy, and Marina Ottaway, "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World," Carnegie Paper No. 67, March 2006, <<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP67.Brown.FINAL.pdf>>.
- Vali Nasr, "The Rise of Muslim Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, April 2005.

Week 5—(February 14) Eurasia; East Asia

Required readings:

- Lucan A. Way, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution: Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, April 2005.
- Michael McFaul, "Transitions from Post-communism," *Journal of Democracy*, July 2005.
- John Edwards and Jack Kemp (Chairs), *Russia's Wrong Direction*, Task Force Report No. 57, Council on Foreign Relations, 2006, Chapter on "De-Democratization," pp. 16-21, <http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Russia_TaskForce.pdf>.
- Michael J. Green, "Democracy and the Balance of Power in Asia," *American Interest*, September/October 2006.
- Minxin Pei, "The Dark Side of China's Rise," *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2006, <<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=18110&prog=zch>>.

Supplementary readings:

- Joel S. Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-Communist Transitions," *World Politics*, February 1998.
- Doh Chull Shin and Jason Wells, "Is Democracy the Only Game in Town?" *Journal of Democracy*, April 2005.
- Francis Fukuyama et. al., "Facing the Perils of Presidentialism?" *Journal of Democracy*, April 2005.

Week 6—(February 21) U.S. Policy on Democracy Promotion

Required readings:

- George W. Bush Second Inaugural Address
<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050120-1.html>>.
- David C. Hendrickson and Robert W. Tucker, “The Freedom Crusade,” *National Interest*, Fall 2005.
- John M. Owen IV, “Democracy, Realistically,” *National Interest*, Spring 2006.
- Thomas Carothers, “Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2003.
- Anatol Lieven and John Hulsman, “The Folly of Exporting Democracy,” TomPaine.com, September 12, 2006,
<http://www.tompaine.com/articles/2006/09/12/the_folly_of_exporting_democracy.php>

Supplementary readings:

- Ronald Reagan, “Promoting Democracy and Peace,” June 8, 1982,
<<http://www.iri.org/newreaganspeech.asp>>.
- George W. Bush, Speech on War on Terror to National Endowment for Democracy, October 6, 2005, at <www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051006-3.html>.
- Michele Dunne, “Integrating Democracy into the U.S. Policy Agenda,” in Carothers and Ottaway, *Uncharted Journey*, Ch. 11.

Week 7—(February 28) International Organizations

Required readings:

- Roland Rich, “Bringing Democracy into International Law,” *Journal of Democracy*, July 2001.
- Eric Bjornlund, *Beyond Free and Fair*, 2004, Ch. 4.
- Robert G. Herman and Theodore J. Piccone, *Defending Democracy*, Democracy Coalition Project, 2002, Executive Summary,
<http://www.demcoalition.org/pdf/defending_executive_summary.pdf>.

Supplementary readings:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations,
<<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>>.
- Copenhagen Declaration, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe,
<http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2006/06/19392_en.pdf>.
- Inter-American Democratic Charter, Organization of American States
<http://www.oas.org/main/main.asp?sLang=E&sLink=http://www.oas.org/legal/intr_o.htm>.
- Final Warsaw Declaration: Toward a Community of Democracies,
<http://www.ccd21.org/articles/warsaw_declaration.htm>.

- Seoul Plan of Action Democracy: Investing for Peace and Prosperity, <http://www.ccd21.org/conferences/ministerial/plan_of_action.htm>.
- Community of Democracies Santiago Ministerial Commitment “Cooperating For Democracy,” <<http://www.ccd21.org/pdf/cooperatingfordemocracy.pdf>>.
- Criteria for participation in the Community of Democracies, <http://www.demcoalition.org/pdf/CD_participation_criteria.pdf>.

Week 8—(March 7) European Policy

Mid-Term Exam

Required readings:

- Gerald Knaus and Marcus Cox, “The ‘Helsinki Moment’ in Southeastern Europe,” *Journal of Democracy*, Jan. 2005.
- Jeffrey Kopstein, “The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion,” *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006.

Supplementary readings:

- Richard Youngs, “Europe’s Uncertain Pursuit of Middle East Reform,” in Carothers and Ottaway, *Uncharted Journey*, Ch. 12.
- Ronald D Asmus et. al., “A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East,” *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2005.

Week 9—(March 14) Spring Break

Week 10—(March 21) Case Studies on Burma, Togo, Ukraine, and Venezuela

Student presentations

Required readings:

- Ted Piccone and Richard Youngs (Ed.), *Strategies for Democratic Change*, 2006, Ch. 1, 2, 4, and 5, <http://www.demcoalition.org/2005_html/activ_publi.html>.

Week 11—(March 28) Democracy Promotion Strategy

Student presentations

Required readings:

- Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman, *How Freedom is Won*, 2005, pp. 4-15, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/29.pdf>.
- Mark Palmer, *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil*, 2003, Ch. 1-3.

Supplementary readings:

- David Adesnik and Michael McFaul, “Engaging Autocratic Allies to Promote Democracy,” *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006.
- Dov Zakheim, “Blending Democracy,” *National Interest*, Fall 2005.

Week 12—(April 4) Backlash Against Democracy Promotion

Student presentations

Required readings:

- David Finkel, “U.S. Ideals Meet Reality in Yemen,” December 18, 2005, “A Struggle for Peace in a Place Where Fighting Never Ends,” December 19, 2005, and “In the End, a Painful Choice,” December 20, 2005, *Washington Post*.
- Thomas Carothers, “The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion,” *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr 2006.
- Carl Gershman and Michael Allen, “The Assault on Democracy Assistance,” *Journal of Democracy*, April 2006, <<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Gershman-17-2.pdf>>.
- Jennifer Windsor, “Advancing the Freedom Agenda: Time for a Recalibration?” *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2006.

Week 13—(April 11) Toolbox for Democracy Assistance

Student presentations

Required readings:

- Mark Palmer, *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil*, 2003, Ch. 4-6.
- Thomas Melia, “Toolbox: The Democracy Bureaucracy,” *American Interest*, Summer 2006.

Week 14—(April 18) Elections Assistance; Non-Violent Resistance

Required readings:

- Daniel Calingaert, “Election Rigging and How to Fight It,” *Journal of Democracy*, July 2006.
- Eric Bjornlund, *Beyond Free and Fair*, 2004, Ch. 3 and 7.
- Mark Palmer, *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil*, 2003, Ch. 7.

Supplementary readings:

- Eric Bjornlund, *Beyond Free and Fair*, 2004, Ch. 9.

Week 15—(April 25)

Programs to Foster Democratic Society

Policy memos due

Required readings:

- Thomas Carothers, *Confronting the Weakest Link*, 2006, Ch. 1 and 7.
- Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway (Ed.), *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*, 2000, Ch. 11.
- Thomas Carothers (Ed.), *Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad*, 2006, Ch. 6.

Final Exam May 3–9