

Democracy Promotion: Theory and Practice

Yale University
Political Science INRL 650a
Fall 2006

Thursday 9:30-11:20
Luce Hall, 203

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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: 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 discussion by informally 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 facilitate discussion rather than summarize the reading.

2) Midterm: 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. The exam will be distributed on February 15th and is due February 22nd.

3) Final Project: 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.

Seminar Participation/Presentation: 25%

Midterm (take-home) Exam: 35%

Final Project: 40%

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 Cox, G. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.), *American Democracy Promotion, Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*, Oxford University Press (2000).
[Available from Labyrinth Books]

Edward Newman and Roland Rich. 2004. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*. [This book is available electronically through Yale University Library, or you may purchase a hard copy].

Recommended Background Reading:

Robert Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy: Opposition and Participation*.

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave, Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Additional required reading consists of a number of journal articles and book chapters. 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 included in the course reader, available from Tyco Copy (<http://www.tyocopy.com/content/academicinfo/yale.aspx>).

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 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 argument the author is trying to make and why might this be important? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the argument? How convincing do you find 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:

January 18 -- Overview of Democracy Promotion and Course Requirements

Paul Drake. The International Causes of Democratization, 1974-1990. *The Origins of Liberty*. [READER]

Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as a World Value," *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2004/2005.

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/washington_quarterly/v028/28.1mcfaul.html

January 25 – Is democracy really better? Why promote democracy?

Oneal and Russett. 1999. *The Kantian Peace*. *World Politics*.

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v052/52.1oneal.html

Lake and Baum "The Invisible Hand of Democracy: Political Control and the Provision of Public Services." 2001. *Comparative Political Studies*.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/6/587>

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

2003 Arab Human Development Report. Executive Summary and Chapter 8.

<http://www.miftah.org/Doc/Reports/Englishcomplete2003.pdf>

Recommended:

Robert Dahl. *Democracy and its Critics*.

Thomas M. Franck, "The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 86, Issue 1 (Jan., 1992), 46-91.

February 1—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

Universal Declaration on Human Rights at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>, especially Article 21.

Ronald Reagan. June 8, 1982 Address to British Parliament.

<http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1982/60882a.htm>

Recommended:

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

February 8-- Who promotes democracy?

Graham Allison and Robert Beschel, "Can the United States Promote Democracy?" *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 1992 < <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0032-3195%28199221%29107%3A1%3C81%3ACTUSPD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>>

Cox, Ikenberry and Inouhi. Chapter 8 (Carothers).

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

Kelley, Judith. 2004. International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions. *International Organization*.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=236221>

February 15-- Democratization: More than domestic politics?

Gleditsch and Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization*.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?jid=INO&volumeId=60&issueId=04>

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, Jan. 2002. <http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/jod/13.1carothers.pdf>

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

Whitehead, Laurence.1996. Chapter 1: "Three International Dimensions of Democratization". *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*. [READER]

February 22-- Evaluating the effectiveness of democracy programs

Center for Democracy and Governance, USAID, "Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development," November 2000, pp. 8-67, at

http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnach305.pdf

S. Finkel, A. Perez-Linan, M. Seligson, and D. Azpuru, *Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building: Results of a Cross-National Quantitative Study*, Final Report. Available at <http://www.pitt.edu/~politics/democracy/democracy.html>.

Recommended:

IDEA *Ten years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide*.

March 1—Regional Challenges

Richard Youngs, "Europe's Uncertain Pursuit of Middle East Reform," in Carothers and Ottaway, *Uncharted Journey*, Ch. 12. [READER]

Ronald D Asmus et. al., “A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East,” Washington Quarterly, Spring 2005.
http://www.twq.com/05spring/docs/05spring_asmus.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

March 8—Elections

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. [READER]

Gisela Geisler. 1993. “Fair? What Has Fairness Got to do With It?” *Journal of Modern African Studies*. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-278X%28199312%2931%3A4%3C613%3AFWHFGT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-3>

Bunce and Wolchik. 2006 Favorable Conditions and Electoral Revolutions. *Journal of Democracy*. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v017/17.4bunce.html

Recommended:

Fearon, James. 2006. “Self-Enforcing Democracy” Ms.

Marinov, Nikolay. “Is the Global spread of Elections Good for Democracy?” Ms.

March 29—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. [READER]

Ottoway and Carothers. *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*. Chapter 11. [READER]

Carothers 2006. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Chapters 4 and 7. [READER]

Carl Gershman 2004.”Democracy promotion: the relationship of political parties and civil society.” *Democratization*.
<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/link.asp?id=173g2pub3phpp3b4>

Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman. "How Freedom is Won: From Civic Struggle to Durable Democracy". Available from Freedom House
http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/29.pdf

April 5—Administration and Occupation

Ralph Wilde, "From Danzig to East Timor and Beyond: The Role of International Territorial Administration," *American Journal of International Law*, July 2001.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-9300%28200107%2995%3A3%3C583%3AFDTETA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>

Mark Peceny. 1999. *Democracy at the Point of Bayonets*. Chapters 2 and 7. [READER]

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*.

April 12 (MPSA)—Foreign Aid

S Knack "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly*, 2004 <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111%2Fj.0020-8833.2004.00299.x>

D Ethier. "Is Democracy Promotion Effective? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives." *Democratization*, 2003 - Taylor & Francis
<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/link.asp?id=fqvuqfjfn3xev1n7>

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

April 19—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. [READER]

Page Fortna. "Peacekeeping and Democratization". Manuscript. Available on Classes*v2 server.

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

April 26—The Changing justification of democracy promotion—What's missing?

George W. Bush, Speech on War on Terror to National Endowment for Democracy, October 6, 2005. <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/10.06.05.html>

George W. Bush Second Inaugural Address.
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050120-1.html>

U.S. House of Representatives Report 109-168 on Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 2006 and 2007, Sections 601-652, available at. <http://thomas.loc.gov>

Carothers, Thomas. 2003. "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror." *Foreign Affairs*. <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030101faessay10224/thomas-carothers/promoting-democracy-and-fighting-terror.html>

Carothers. 2006. "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion" *Foreign Affairs*. Electronic version available through Yale Library website.

May 3rd Final paper deadline