

08/08/09

**Fall Semester 2009  
INS 335Q**

**Democratization in Comparative and Historical Perspective**

Instructor:	Roger E. Kanet	Class:	Tu, Th 12:30pm -1:45 p.m.
Office Hours:	Tu, Th, 11:00am -12:15pm and by appointment	Place:	MPC 101
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**COURSE OBJECTIVES:**

The destruction of the Berlin Wall in fall 1989 symbolized the collapse of the communist political systems that had dominated East-Central Europe and Eurasia for decades. Over the course of the next two years authoritarian regimes from Berlin to Ulan Bator disintegrated. Widespread optimism existed that the "third wave" of democratization that had begun in southern Europe and then swept through Latin America had now taken root in Eastern Europe. In fact, however, the introduction of functioning market economies and stable democratic political systems has proven to be much more difficult than many had originally assumed. Most of the post-Soviet states, including Russia, have made little or no progress toward effective democratic government. Elsewhere, for example in some countries in Latin America, democratic political systems established in the 1980s are under serious economic and political duress. Moreover, the initial glimmers of democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa have largely disappeared. In the Islamic world the rise of political Islam and the dominance of authoritarian regimes are unlikely to lead to democratic polities.

The course will begin with a general examination the nature of democracy and of the three "waves" of democratization, including that under way during the past quarter century. After examining the general literature on democracy, democratization, and democratic consolidation from ancient Athens to the nineteenth century, we will survey the democratic transitions of the 1970s and 1980s in southern Europe and Latin America, and then the transitions under way – some aborted -- since 1989 in the former communist states of Europe and Eurasia. In attempting to make sense of the experience of postcommunist Europe we will first examine the special nature of authoritarian politics, with special reference to the historical background of the region. We will then trace economic, political, social and security developments throughout the region. We will also examine briefly the democratization experiences of the countries of Asia and Africa, especially the Middle East. Finally, since not all efforts at democratization have proven to be successful, we will also look at a number of recent cases of failed democratization, as well as the growing challenges to democracy in established democratic states.

The overall purpose of the course will be to provide students with a comparative overview of the problems of introducing democratic and market economic institutions into areas where they have not flourished, or even existed, in the past, and to maintaining them in established democracies.

**SEMESTER ASSIGNMENTS**

- A. Reading assignments** are listed in the course outline. Students will be expected to have completed readings prior to each class session, so that they are able to follow and engage in discussion.
- B. Weekly papers** of one-two pages [typed, double-spaced, with standard margins] will be submitted in class the first day of each assignment beginning 1 September 2009 [**late papers will not be accepted**]. The papers will provide a brief evaluation of the readings completed for the week. These papers

**should not** be mere descriptions, or summaries, of the readings. Rather they should assess and compare the arguments presented in the readings. One purpose of the weekly papers is to ensure that students have not only completed the readings, but also that they thought about the assumptions, mode of analysis, and logic underlying the individual presentations and have evaluated the arguments presented. Class participation [which presumes on-time attendance in class] and the summary papers will count as twenty-five percent of the course grade.

### C. Written Projects:

Students will each select an issue relevant to the establishment of democracy in a country or region that has undergone the transition from authoritarian to democratic governance during the past quarter century, or so, about which they will become especially knowledgeable. They may deal with the topic in a comparative fashion. This means that they will examine the issue or the experience of the country selected in relationship to that of other countries that have also gone through the democratization process. During the course of the semester students will write a major research paper, **due in class [and in a digital format] in class on 3 December 2009** (late papers will be downgraded by half a letter grade per day late). Papers should be **fifteen to twenty typewritten pages** in length (double-spaced) and must be based, in part, on primary sources [defined here as documents, speeches, articles, analyses written by analysts or political figures from the region], not merely on secondary analyses. (The course will serve as a writing intensive course.)

Papers must be submitted in standard research paper format--i.e. title page, notes either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper, and a bibliography. Use the format given below for both notes and bibliography. It is assumed that due attention will be given to such concerns as spelling, grammar, appropriate word selection and neatness! Although primary consideration in evaluating the paper will be placed on content, logic of the argumentation, and evidence, stylistic concerns (i.e. spelling, grammar, syntax, etc.) will also be taken into account.

Most importantly, papers are not to be mere chronicles of historical developments. Rather, they are to present and support an argument or explanation concerning the problem that has been selected as the focus of research.

As part of the paper project students will meet during classtime on **Thursday, 3 September 2009** in the *Library Instructional Lab, room 344 Richter Library*. Ms. Meiyolet Méndez, subject librarian for International Studies, will introduce the various research facilities of Richter Library.

In addition, students will be required submit a 1-2 page **proposal** concerning the paper **in class on 15 October 2009**. The proposal should identify the topic, outline the key issues to be dealt with, indicate how those issues relate to central concerns of theoretical importance, and indicate the most relevant source materials already consulted for the project.

As an integral part of the paper project students will submit, **in class on 10 November 2009**, a more detailed, **five-page** (printed and double-spaced), proposal/summary/outline of the general argument of their projects. This written paper should do the following: 1) state clearly the issue to be examined and indicate why it is important and why you have selected it as topic of research; 2) give a brief summary of the existing literature dealing with the topic and indicate the general conclusions reached in that literature, including both the areas of agreement and disagreement; and 3) indicate the basic argument of the paper, but need not provide the detailed evidence that will be employed in the final paper to support the argument. [Students will provide the instructor and other participants of the course with drafts of the presentation, preferably electronically, by noon the day before class.] This paper will be graded as a part of the entire research paper project.

**Back up your work** on an external drive (e.g. USB Key, Hard Disk), portable device (e.g. smart phone, PMP) and/or online service (e.g. myUMbackup [<http://www6.miami.edu/myumbackup/>], Mozy, intronis, idrive, amazon simple storage service, backblaze, backjack [macs only]). There can be no excuse for loss of data due to computer malfunction, theft etc. Please be proactive and backup your computer files.

**D. Examinations:** The midterm, scheduled for **15 October 2009** in class, will be a standard essay examination. The final examination, which will also be an essay exam, is scheduled for **Thursday, 10 December 2009, 11:00-1:30 p.m.** Note both of these dates carefully. All students will take the examinations at the regularly scheduled time.

**E. Grading:**

**Twenty-five percent** of the grade for the course will be determined by a combination of class attendance, class participation and the weekly papers. **Forty percent** of the grade for the course will be based on the major research paper, including the one-page statement [5 percent], the five-page précis [20 percent], and the final paper [75 percent]. All papers are due on the dates listed and will be downgraded, if late. An **additional thirty-five percent** of the grade will be determined by a mid-term examination [15 percent] and a final examination [20 percent].

Note that students will be required to include a signed statement on each major written assignment swearing/affirming that the work that they are presenting is completely their own. Clear evidence of cheating will result in the grade of “0” for the assignment and may result in a report to the University Honor Council.

**F. Required Readings:**

Copies of the following books are available for purchase at the University of Miami Bookstore. Should the Bookstore run out of copies of the texts and other local bookstores not have them available, I strongly recommend that you immediately order them on-line. Barnes and Noble [[www.bn.com](http://www.bn.com)] and Amazon [[www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com)], for example, usually deliver materials within a week of ordering. Usually one or other of these on-line stores has used copies of books at substantially reduced cost. Note that for orders of new books valued at more than \$25.00 neither Barnes and Noble nor Amazon charges a delivery fee. Another location that usually provides information about lower prices for books is Textbookland [<http://www.textbookland.com/>]. It will probably be easiest to find books on the Textbookland website using the ISBN number, which I have included below for each book. Both Barnes and Nobles and Amazon also have used books available – usually at greatly reduced prices, even with the delivery charge of ca. \$3.00 per book.. Delivery of these books usually takes about 10-12 days.

**Books Available for Purchase**

Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway, eds., *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005. 302 pp. \$24.95 (paper) ISBN: 0870032119

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman-London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991. xvii, 366 pp., \$24.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8061-2516-0

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xx, 479 pp., \$20.95. ISBN: 0-8018-5158-0

Marina Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003. ix, 287 pp. \$21.95 (paper). ISBN: 0-87003-195-3

Theodore K. Rabb and Ezra N. Suleiman, eds., *The Making and Unmaking of Democracy: Lessons from History and World Politics*. New York/London: Routledge, 2003. xxi, 369 pp., \$24.95 (paper). ISBN: 0-415-93381-1

Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. With a New Afterword. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007. 301 pp. \$15.95 (paper) ISBN: 978-0-393-33152-3

### **F.1. Strongly Recommended, Writing Guides:**

Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002. iv, 60 pp. \$4.95 (paper). ISBN: 0-87220-434-0

### **G. Course Rules and Honor Code:**

1. Academic honesty: All work for this course must be the student's own. Please refer to the Student Handbook for the University of Miami Undergraduate Honor Code. That Code binds all students. By enrolling in this course you pledge to abide by the ethical academic standards listed in the above document. Anyone guilty of academic dishonesty will fail the course. One of the most common sources of problems arises in the failure to indicate sources used in completing requirements. Students are guilty of plagiarism, intentional or not, if they copy material from books, magazines, or other sources without identifying and acknowledging them. Students guilty of, or assisting others in, either cheating or plagiarism on an assignment, quiz, or examination may receive a grade of F for the course involved and may be referred to the University Honor Code. In short, all ideas that are not your own or are not part of "common wisdom" should be footnoted. A general rule is that, if the information cannot be found in three or more commonly available sources, it should be referenced. All direct quotations must be placed in quotation marks. These guidelines will be enforced. If you are unsure whether or not to footnote, err on the side of caution and footnote. For additional information on this and related matters see the guidelines on writing that follow the syllabus timetable.
2. Arrive in class and *be seated BEFORE 11:00 o'clock!*
3. In the classroom please *turn off cell-phones and beepers and remove your hats*. Students observed reading or sending text messages will be invited to leave the room.
4. Only in the most serious of circumstances [serious personal illness, family emergency, travel for unavoidable university business] will the primary instructor grant permission – which must be obtained in advance – to delay the due date for an assignment. This is especially true of examinations.
5. Students may request the instructor to reassess exam questions that they believe have been inaccurately evaluated. Requests for re-evaluation must be submitted to the instructor in writing [including via e-mail] within a week after the examinations are returned to students. The written statement must suggest and defend the grade that the student believes he/she deserves. The instructor reserves the right to reassess the entire examination, not merely a single question, in such a situation.
6. The professor is interested in helping you master the course materials. Your questions and comments in class are strongly encouraged in class. Also, you are encouraged to take advantage of office hours to raise questions about materials covered in the course or about other matters. Also, e-mail is a wonderful way to pose questions and share materials; please be sure that you provide your current e-mail address.
7. Copies of the syllabus and on occasion other materials related to the course will be available on Blackboard.

### **H. Course Outline and Required Readings:**

- 27 Aug.**            **Introduction to the Course**
- 1 Sept.**            **The Origins and Development of Democracy**  
Rabb and Suleiman, pp. v-xxi, 1-88

Zakaria, pp. 13-87

- 3 Sept. 344 Richter Library**      **Introduction to Library Research**  
Students should go to the *Library Instructional Lab, room 344 Richter Library*. Ms. Meiyolet Méndez, the subject librarian for International Studies and Latin American and Caribbean Studies, will provide an introduction to the various research materials available in Richter Library and on-line of potential use for your research paper for this class, as well as for other classes.
- 8 Sept.**      **The Origins and Development of Democracy (continued)**
- 10, 15 Sept.**      **Huntington's Three Waves of Democratization**  
Huntington, pp. xi-xvii, 1-108
- 17, 22 Sept.**      **Processes and Characteristics of Democratization**  
Huntington, pp. 109-207
- 24, 29 Sept.**      **Democratic Consolidation and the Future**  
Huntington, pp. 208-316
- 1, 6 Oct.**      **Democratic Consolidation according to Linz and Stepan**  
Linz and Stepan, pp. xiii-xx, 1-83
- 8, 13 Oct.**      **Democratization in Southern Europe**  
Linz and Stepan, pp. 85-147  
Rabb and Suleiman, pp. 89-108
- 15 October**      **Paper proposal is due in class**
- 15 October**      **Midterm examination**
- 20, 22 Oct.**      **Democratization and its Challenges in Latin America**  
Linz and Stepan, pp. 149-230  
Ottaway, pp., 71-90  
Rabb and Suleiman, pp. 280-326
- 27, 29 Oct.**      **Democratization in Post-Communist Europe: Precursor Regimes**  
Linz and Stepan, pp. 231-342
- 3, 5, 10 Nov.**      **Democratization in Post-Communist Europe: The Triple Transition and Civil Society and the Process of Democratization**  
Linz and Stepan, pp. 344-457  
Ottaway, pp. 51-70, 109-130  
Rabb and Suleiman, pp. 109-133  
Zakaria, pp. 89-118.
- 10 November**      **Detailed Outline/Precis of paper due in class**
- 12, 17 Nov.**      **Semiauthoritarianism and the Challenges to Democracy**  
Ottaway, pp. 3-27, 131-190  
Rabb and Suleiman, pp. 134-158, 328-358  
Zakaria, pp. 161-256

- 19, 24 Nov. Democratization in Asia and Africa**  
Ottaway, pp. 29-49, 91-108  
Rabb and Suleiman, pp.160-277  
Zakaria, pp. 259-270
- 26 November Thanksgiving**
- 1, 3 Dec. Democratization in the Middle East**  
Carothers and Ottaway, pp. vii-viii, 1-268.  
Zakaria, pp. 119-159
- 3 December Research paper due in class**  
[late papers will be downgraded]
- 5-8 December Reading Days**
- 10 Dec. 2009 Final Examination**  
**Thursday**  
**11:00-1:30 p.m.**

### **I. Guidelines for Research Paper<sup>1</sup>**

Students will each select an issue relevant to the establishment of democracy in a country that has undergone the transition from authoritarian to democratic governance during the past quarter century about which they will become especially knowledgeable. They may deal with the topic in a comparative fashion. Regardless of the topic selected, the student should deal with it **analytically**, not merely descriptively. This means that the paper should address a specific **question and develop and support an argument**. It should draw upon the relevant theoretical literature.

#### **1. Format of the Paper**

The paper should stay within the page limits listed above [12-point type with standard margins]; it should be formatted in standard research paper form -- i.e. including reference notes (either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper -- not "scientific notation") and a bibliography. The format listed below **should be used** for both notes and bibliography.

#### **2. Essay/Paper Style Sheet**

Writing clear and concise English is a skill that will benefit you throughout life. I do take good writing seriously and enjoy reading papers written in clear, correct English. It is a joy to read clear sentences that have both subjects and verbs, that do not sprinkle commas around at random, and whose authors realize that English language plural nouns do not use apostrophes. The short amount of time that you take editing your paper will catch most of the mistakes that drive teachers crazy. You may also wish to take advantage of the assistance that the Writing Center can provide.

Students who have difficulties with rhetoric are encouraged to purchase William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*. New York: Macmillan, 1999. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. To ensure that you understand when and how to provide references for materials used you should consult Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources*:

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the "Guidelines for Written Papers" are based on a document [available at <http://arapaho.nsuok.edu/~alexa001/STYLE02.pdf>] prepared by two of Kanet's former graduate students, Dr. James T. Alexander, Northeastern State University (Oklahoma) and Dr. Brian V. Souders, of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County; it is used here with their permission.

*A Guide for Students.* Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002 or a similar source. These two guides should prove to be useful throughout your entire career as a student, as well as later in life.

Please note that this style document is briefly and generically written. It neither covers all situations, nor is it intended for just one type of writing assignment. Specifically pay attention to the citation guidelines, for all parts may not apply to a particular assignment.

If you want to avoid some common problems, read the following rules carefully:

- 1) **Never use contractions.** If you are going to use 'don't' and 'can't,' you may as well write 'gonna' and 'coulda.' Contractions are markers of casual speech in written form. Use the forms do not and can not instead.
- 2) **Make certain that all sentences have both a subject and a verb.** Sentence fragments are sentences that are missing either a subject or a verb. "A man who had traveled all over the country and lived in many states" is not a sentence, since it has no verb. The man is not doing anything, since there is no verb in this sentence. Careful editing will pick up mistakes like this one.
- 3) **Pronouns need antecedents.** Never start a paragraph with a sentence like, "They created a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons." The reader has no idea who 'they' are. If you use a definite pronoun (he, she, it or they) or indefinite pronouns (this, that, these or those), be certain that these pronouns refer back to some concrete noun.
- 4) **Introductory participial phrases modify the subject of the main clause of the sentence.** "Waiting for the train to arrive, it became clear that I was going to be late" is incorrect. In this case the participial "waiting" modifies the subject "it" grammatically. In fact, it is meant to modify an implied "I." The sentence must be restructured.
- 5) **Word processors have spell check for a reason.** Every word processing program has some sort of spell checking system. **USE IT.** You might also consider using the grammar check function that many word processing programs now contain. Remember to proofread your final copy, because spell check cannot pick up mistakes like 'tot he' instead of 'to the'. Grammar check may have even a greater risk of error. Therefore, be careful, as you use these tools.
- 6) **Use the correct form of the word.** The English language is filled with dozens of spelling landmines, words that sound the same but are spelled in three or four different ways. These homonyms still cause people problems. The worst offenders that teachers find are:  
  
there - an adverb denoting place  
their - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'they'  
they're - a contraction for 'they are,' which you should not use anyway  
  
its - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'it'  
it's - a contraction for 'it is,' which you should not use anyway Note: its' is not a word in the English language.
- 7) **Punctuation is not for decoration.** Commas are not thrown into sentences at random. The English language has rules for the use of commas. Learn these rules and follow them. The same holds true for semi-colons, colons and other forms of punctuation. Any large dictionary and most pocket dictionaries have brief reference sections on the proper use of punctuation.
- 8) **Have someone else read your paper.** When you have spent thirty hours working on a paper, the last thing you want to do is look at it one last time to see if everything is spelled correctly. Also, it is hard to identify errors if you have become too involved in the paper. Have someone else look at your paper to pick out any mistakes you may have missed. Failing this, try reading the paper aloud. You can often hear and spot grammar and spelling errors in this fashion.

- 8) **Consistently cite your sources.** You must properly cite your source if you use an idea or quote from another's work. For citing sources (footnotes or endnotes) in research papers, I prefer that you use the following style:

**Bibliography:**

All entries should be listed in alphabetical order, last name first, using the following format:

1) **Periodical article:**

Hough, Jerry F., "The End of Russia's 'Khomeini' Period," *World Policy Journal*, IV, no. 4 (1987), pp. 583-604.

Some journals do not employ volume numbers, others do not employ consecutive pagination within an entire volume. This format can be adjusted to the former by excluding the volume number, and presents no problem for the latter situation.

2) **Article in an edited book:**

Sodaro, Michael, "The GDR and the Third World: Supplicant and Surrogate," in *Eastern Europe and the Third World: East vs. South*, ed. by Michael Radu. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981, pp. 106-141.

3) **Authored book:**

Brutents, Karen N., *National Liberation Revolutions Today*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.

4) **Edited book:**

Korbonski, Andrzej and Francis Fukuyama, eds., *The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

5) **Newspaper article:**

Forrestal, Michael and Allen Lynch, "New Views Behind Moscow's Flexible New Diplomacy," *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 13, 1987, p. 15.

6) **Miscellaneous publication:**

Some items do not fit easily into any of the categories listed above. You should adapt the format to fit the item. For example, pamphlets can usually be treated as books.

7) **Translated material:**

For translated materials, full publication information should be provided for both the original and the translation source: e.g., **Pravda**, date, p.?; translated in **Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press**, vol. ?, no. ?, date, p. ?.

8) **Internet material:**

These materials should be treated as publications. Full information concerning the source should be given., so that the reader will be in a position to find it. In the case of "reprinted" materials, both the original and the internet source should be given: e.g., "Yeltsin Administration Upbeat On Outgoing Year," Moscow, 30 December 1997, *Interfax*; available on *Johnson's Russia List* #1453, 30 December 1997 <davidjohnson@erols.com>. "Russia, China Sign Nuclear Deal," *RFE/RL Newslines*, Vol. 1, No. 187, Part I, 30 December 1997 <<http://www.rferl.org/newslines>>. Since you cannot cite pages for internet sources, you should be especially careful to provide proper link information and dates when accessed.

9) **Unpublished material:**

Specific information should be provided about the source of unpublished material, such as interviews, letters, and other documents. The name of the interviewee, the date and place of the interview should be provided. Letters and other documents should be treated in similar fashion. In all cases information concerning the current location of the material should be provided.

