

# VARIETIES OF DEMOCRACY (POG 432-011)

Winter 2021

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Office hours: Fridays, 11:00-12:00, by appointment

## Introduction

What is the idea of democracy? What factors explain its historical trajectory? Have existing democracies realized their promise? This course analyses the origins, development and ramifications of modern representative democracies in comparative historical perspective. The first part examines formative moments in the history of democracy, from ancient Greece to the revolutions in America and France. The second part of the course analyzes the subsequent history of modern representative democracies vis-à-vis the politics of fascism, socialism and colonialism in western Europe as well as East and South Asia. The third part examines the successes and failures of various democratic regimes from the 1970s to the present, from the 'third wave' of democratization in Latin America and Eastern Europe, to the prospects of democracy in China and after the Arab Spring. Throughout the course, we analyze the specific ideas, political institutions and social conditions that distinguish various democratic regimes, while evaluating their ramifications for civil liberties, political rights, economic prosperity, social equality and cultural recognition.

## Structure, requirements & assessment

Given the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, we shall be meeting virtually throughout the semester.

1. **Lecture:** Each week, I will present a virtual lecture, to introduce the topic and readings we are discussing. I will upload my presentation by 4:00 p.m. each Thursday. You are expected to watch this presentation before we meet for discussion on Friday morning (see 3 below).

2. **Preparation:** To engage with the material we are reading and prepare adequately for our weekly discussions, you are required to upload a short post (100-200 words) by 8:00 p.m. each Thursday.

Your posts can raise questions, or share comments and reflections, regarding the readings. They should be uploaded to the relevant Discussions section on the D2L Brightspace portal (the Discussions section can be found under the Communication drop-down tab). Your weekly posts are worth 10% of your final grade.

3. **Discussion:** Each Friday morning from 10:00-11:00 a.m., we shall meet via Zoom or Google Meet (links will be sent in advance), to discuss the topic and readings.

Since this is an upper-level undergraduate course, more akin to a seminar, it requires your active and informed participation. Being informed entails carefully reading the

material before we meet. Being active means contributing to our discussion. Your participation is worth 10% of your final grade.

4. **Short papers:** You are required to write two short papers (5 pages each, double-spaced, 12-point font). Each paper is worth 20% of your final grade.

Your first paper should answer one question from the first part of the course, *Formative Moments* (weeks 2-4). It is due by 12:00 p.m. (noon) on Monday, February 15.

Your second paper should answer one question from the second part of the course *Development of Modern Representative Democracy and its Challenges* (weeks 5-7). It is due by 12:00 p.m. (noon) on Monday, March 15.

Each question below presumes you have carefully read and understood the set material for the topic in question, and expects you to develop an argument that draws on the readings, citing them where necessary. Your papers should be submitted to me, by the deadline for each paper, at [ruparelia@ryerson.edu](mailto:ruparelia@ryerson.edu).

### ***Formative Moments***

- *Ancient democracy was itself an attempt to extend genuine freedom, the ability to shape their own destinies, to men whose background or skills suggested they were incapable of autonomy.* — Cynthia Farrar, “Ancient Greek political theory as a response to democracy.”

Discuss.

- What were the “diseases most incident to republican government” according to Madison? What were its various remedies? Were they sufficient to rid such ‘diseases’ from the body politic?
- *Unless you do everything for liberty, you have done nothing. There are no two ways of being free: one must be entirely free, or become a slave once more.* — Maximilien Robespierre.

Discuss with reference to the causes and consequences of the French Revolution.

### ***The Development of Modern Representative Democracy and its Challenges***

- *And so in capitalist society we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false, a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to communism, will for the first time create democracy for the people, for the majority, along with the necessary suppression of the exploiters, of the minority.* — Vladimir Lenin, *State and Revolution* (1917).

Discuss with reference to the Paris Commune and the Soviet Union.

- *Fascism was a counter-revolution against a [socialist] revolution that never took place.* — Ignazio Silone.

Discuss.

- “The establishment of modern representative democracy in India was a consequence of British colonial rule.”

Discuss.

5. **Long paper:** Lastly, your final assignment invites you to compare the politics of democracy in two regions (10 pages, double-spaced, 12-point font), selecting among the cases we study in the third part of the course, *Advances and Setbacks after the Third Wave of Democratization* (weeks 8-12). This paper is worth 40% of your final grade. Choose one of the following questions:

- Explain and assess the causes, character and consequences of democratization in Latin America vis-à-vis Eastern Europe.
- Explain and assess the advances, difficulties and setbacks to democratization in the Middle East and North Africa vis-à-vis China.

Due date: 12:00 p.m. (noon), Friday, April 23.

### **Course material**

All required readings will be available on the course webpage through the D2L Brightspace portal.

For each topic, I have also suggested a few supplementary readings if you are interested in learning more about it. However, I have not uploaded any of these to the course portal.

## Schedule & Readings

### Week 1 (January 15): Introduction

#### *Formative Moments*

### Week 2 (January 22): Ancient Greece

#### Required:

- Pericles, “Funeral oration,” in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated, with introduction, notes and glossary, by Steven Lattimore (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1998), Book II: 34-37: pp. 90-97.
- David Held, “Classical democracy: Athens,” in idem, *Models of Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), pp. 13-36.
- Cynthia Farrar, “Ancient Greek political theory as a response to democracy,” in John Dunn (ed.), *Democracy: the unfinished journey 508 BC to 1993 AD* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 17-41.

#### Suggested further reading:

- M.I. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Peasant-Citizen and Slave: the foundations of Athenian democracy* (New York: Verso, 1989).
- Josiah Ober, *The Athenian Revolution: essays on ancient Greek democracy and political theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

### Week 3 (January 29): The American Revolution

#### Required:

- James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*, with an introduction and commentary by Garry Wills (New York: Bantam Class, 1982 [1787-1788]), Papers 10, 14, 51: pp. 50-59, 74-80, 314-320.
- Gordon S. Wood, “Democracy and the American Revolution,” in Dunn, *Democracy*, pp. 91-107.
- Bernard Manin, “Checks, balances and boundaries: the separation of powers in the constitutional debate of 1787,” in Biancamaria Fontana (ed.), *The invention of the modern republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 27-62.

#### Suggested further reading:

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated, edited and with an introduction by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- Moore, “The American Civil War: the last capitalist revolution,” in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 111-159.
- Russell L. Hanson, *The Democratic Imagination in America: conversations with our past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)

- Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: democracy and public life in the American city during the nineteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997)
- Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1993)

#### **Week 4 (February 5): The French Revolution**

##### Required:

- Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *What is the third estate?* edited by S.E. Finer, translated by M. Blondel, introduced by Peter Campbell (London: Pall Mall, 1963); an excerpt available at: <http://pages.uoregon.edu/dluebke/301ModernEurope/Sieyes3dEstate.pdf>
- Eric J. Hobsbawm, “The French Revolution,” in his *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), pp. 53-77.
- Biancamaria Fontana, “Democracy and the French revolution,” in Dunn, *Democracy*, pp. 107-125.

##### Suggested further reading:

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (New York: Doubleday, 1983)
- Benjamin Constant, “On the liberty of the ancients and the liberty of the moderns,” in Biancamaria Fontana (ed.), *Constant: political writings*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 308-329.
- François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Paris and Cambridge: Maisons des Sciences de L’Homme and Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Moore, “Evolution and revolution in France,” in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 40-111.
- Albert Soboul, “Some problems of the revolutionary state 1789-1796,” *Past and Present*, 65 (November 1974): 52-74.

#### *The Development of Modern Representative Democracy and its Challenges*

#### **Week 5 (February 12): Democracy and Socialism**

##### Required:

- Karl Marx, “The civil war in France,” in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), pp. 618-653.
- Eric Hobsbawm, “The world revolution,” in idem, *Age of Extremes: the short twentieth century 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), pp. 54-85.
- Eric Hobsbawm, “‘Real socialism,’” in idem, *Age of Extremes: the short twentieth century 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), pp. 372-400.

##### Suggested Further Reading:

- Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *What Is to Be Done? and other Writings*, edited by Henry M. Christman (New York: Dover Publications, 1987)

- Barrington Moore, Jr., “The decay of imperial China and the origins of the communist variant” and “The peasants and revolution,” in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 162-228 and 453-484.
- Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: a comparative analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1979])

\*\*\*Spring Break: February 15-19\*\*\*

## **Week 6 (February 26): Democracy and Fascism**

### Required:

- Isaiah Berlin, “Joseph de Maistre and the origins of fascism,” *New York Review of Books*, 27 September 1990.
- Eric Hobsbawm, “The fall of liberalism,” in idem, *Age of Extremes: the short twentieth century 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), pp. 119-140.
- Robert O. Paxton, “Introduction” and “Fascism outside Europe,” in idem, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), pp. 3-23 and 191-205.

### Suggested further reading:

- Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France*, edited by Richard A. Lebrun, with an introduction by Isaiah Berlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Moore, “Asian fascism: Japan”, “The democratic route to modern society” and Revolution from above and fascism,” in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 228-314 and 413-453.
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992)
- Michael Mann, *Fascists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

## **Week 7 (March 5): Democracy and Colonialism**

### Required:

- Jawarhalal Nehru, “Unity of India,” *Foreign Affairs*, (January) 1938: 231-243.
- Eric Hobsbawm, “End of empires” in idem, *Age of Extremes: the short twentieth century 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), pp. 199-225.
- Ashutosh Varshney, “India: why democracy has survived,” *Journal of Democracy*, 9, 3 (July 1998): 36-50.

### Suggested further reading:

- Moore, “Democracy in Asia: India and the price of peaceful change,” in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 314-410.
- Sudipta Kaviraj, “A critique of the passive revolution,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 45-89.
- Yogendra Yadav, “Politics,” in Marshall Bouton and Philip Oldenburg (eds.), *India Briefing: a transformative fifty years* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 1-49.

- Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India's Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

*Advances and Setbacks after the Third Wave of Democratization*

**Week 8 (March 12): The breakdown of authoritarianism and re-democratization of Latin America**

Required:

- Terry Lynn Karl, "Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, 23, 1 (October 1990): 1-21.
- Karen L. Remmer, "The process of democratization in Latin America," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 27 (1992): 3-24.
- Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Lessons from Latin America: democratic breakdown and survival," *Journal of Democracy*, 24, 2 (April 2013): 123-137.

Suggested further reading:

- Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, pp. 151-234.
- Deborah J. Yashar, "Democracy, indigenous movements and the postliberal challenge in Latin America," *World Politics*, 52, 1 (October 1999): 76-104.
- Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: advances and setbacks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

**Week 9 (March 19): Post-communist democratic transitions in Eastern Europe**

Required:

- Adam Michnik, "Letter from the Gdansk prison," *New York Review of Books*, 18 July 1985.
- Eric Hobsbawm, "End of socialism" in idem, *Age of Extremes: the short twentieth century 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), pp. 461-499.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik and Milana Anna Vachudova, "Democracy in the post-communist world: an unending quest?" *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, 21, 7 (2007): 7-30.
- Ivan Krastev, "The specter haunting Europe: the unraveling of the post-1989 order," *Journal of Democracy*, 27, 4 (October 2016): 88-98.

Suggested further reading:

- Neal Acherson, "1989 in Eastern Europe: constitutional representative government as a 'return to normality'?" in Dunn, *Democracy*, pp. 221-239.
- Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, pp. 235-344 and 434-457.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, "Patterns of postcommunist transformation in central and eastern Europe," in Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen E. Hanson (eds), *Capitalism*

and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 89-119.

### **Week 10 (March 26): Consolidating democracies after the ‘end of history’**

#### Required:

- Francis Fukuyama, “The end of history,” *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3-18: <http://www.viet-studies.org/EndofHistory.htm>
- Samuel P. Huntington, “Democracy’s third wave,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 3-26.
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Illusions about consolidation,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 113-131.
- Susan J. Pharr, Robert D. Putnam and Russell J. Dalton, “A quarter-century of declining confidence,” in Diamond and Plattner, *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, pp. 291-312.
- Larry Diamond, “Facing up to the democratic recession,” *Journal of Democracy*, 26, 1 (January 2015): 141-155.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Ahmad Way, “The myth of the democratic recession,” *Journal of Democracy*, 26, 1 (January 2015): 45-58.

#### Suggested further reading:

- Perry Anderson, “The ends of history,” in idem, *A Zone of Engagement* (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 279-377.
- Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, “What democracy is...and what it is not,” in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 39-52.
- Fareed Zakaria, “The rise of illiberal democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 76 (6) November-December 1997: 22-43:  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19971101faessay3809/fareed-zakaria/the-rise-of-illiberal-democracy.html>

\*\*\* Good Friday: April 2 \*\*\*

### **Week 11 (April 9): The difficulty of establishing democracy after the Arab Spring**

#### Required:

- Yasmine El Rashidi, “Egypt on the edge,” *New York Review of Books*, 12 January 2012.
- Eva Bellin, “The robustness of authoritarianism reconsidered: lessons of the Arab spring,” *Comparative Politics* 44, 2 (2012): 127-149.
- Tarek Masoud, “Has the door closed on Arab democracy?” *Journal of Democracy*, 15, 1 (January 2015): 74-87.
- Kasper Ly Netterstrøm, “After the Arab Spring: the Islamists’ compromise in Tunisia,” *Journal of Democracy*, 26, 4 (October 2015): 110-124.



Suggested further reading:

- Lisa Anderson, “Absolutism and the resilience of monarchy in the Middle East,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 106, 1 (Spring 1991): 1-15.
- Eva R. Bellin, “The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: exceptionalism in comparative perspective,” *Comparative Politics*, 36, 2 (2004): 139-157.
- Nathan Brown, “Egypt’s failed transition,” *Journal of Democracy* 24, 4 (October 2013): 45-58.

**Week 12 (April 16): Assessing the prospects of democracy in China**

Required:

- “China’s Charter 08,” translated by Perry Link, *The New York Review of Books*, 15 January 2009.
- Elizabeth J. Perry, “Chinese conceptions of ‘rights’: from Mencius to Mao—and now,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 6, 1 (March 2008): 37-50.
- Andrew J. Nathan, “The puzzle of the Chinese middle class,” *Journal of Democracy*, 27, 2 (April 2016): 5-19.
- Minxin Pei, “Transition in China? more likely than you think,” *Journal of Democracy*, 27, 4 (October 2016): 5–20.

Suggested further reading:

- Andrew J. Nathan, Larry Diamond Marc F. Plattner (eds), *Will China Democratize?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)
- Perry Link and Rowena Xiaoqing He, *Tiananmen Exiles: voices of the struggle for democracy in China* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014)
- Jiwei Ci, *Democracy in China: the coming crisis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019)