Winston Churchill famously declared: "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried." The Federalist authors proclaimed that they did not want to create "an elected despotism". De Tocqueville was terrified by the inevitability of the spread of equality. Clinton Rositer maintained that the American Presidency was “a matrix for dictatorship”. Democracies are not supposed to go to war with each other. However, at least some democracies in modern times have been associated with extremist policies in war and peace. Among the questions this seminar will consider are: Is there an association between democracy and ethnic cleansing? Do democratic institutions facilitate genocide? Are there complex processes that push democratic constituencies in murderous directions? Is “empowerment” of the “people” always progressive? How do ordinary people behave during the breakdown of democracy? Does greater equality make societies stronger? Why and when do democratic institutions and procedures produce growing inequality? How is democracy gendered? Is democracy no better than competitive authoritarianism? Does democracy inevitably supersede or does it accommodate oligarchy? What are the forces of globalization that impact processes of democratization? What are the limits and dangers of the internet in confronting authoritarian regimes?

I. Research Topics

Each seminar participant will select a research topic. The topic can be treated comparatively by country or, through time, within the setting of a single country. Preparation for research will involve:

a. the definition of the problem
b. the selection of one or more central hypotheses
c. a justification of the problem and they hypotheses by their relation to a wider body of theory
d. the specification of the system of analysis
e. the organization and gathering of data
f. the writing-up and presentation of conclusions

Members of the seminar will be given the opportunity to present progress reports during the course of the semester and should raise special problems they encounter in their research for discussion.

II. Core Readings
The following paperback books must be read before the scheduled time and brought to class. Preferably they should be purchased. Amazon often has the cheapest prices. Books are on reserve.

*The Federalist Papers*, Bantam


III. Supplementary readings and Oral reports:

This seminar is to be regarded as a joint discussion and work group. Attendance at every session is, therefore, mandatory. Supplementary readings and oral reports will be used to focus discussion and expand our inquiry into related material and/or contradictory thesis and points of view.

**Topics:**

I. Elected Despotism?
   a. Toward a Definition of Democracy
   b. Idealism embodied, or a cheap mechanism for the resolution of violence?
   c. The Conflict of Factions: The Clash of Ambitions and Pluralism
   d. Problems of the propertied minority
   e. Toward a New Science of Politics

Required Reading:
*The Federalist Papers*, Bantam Edition

Recommended Reading.
   *Anthony King, The Founding Fathers v. The People: The Paradoxes of American*
Democracy, Harvard University Press, 2012
Lisa Anderson, ed., Transitions to Democracy, Columbia, 1999

Supplementary Reading:
Harold L. Wilensky, Rich Democracies: Political Economy, Public Policy, and Performance, California, 2002
Gerard Dumenil and Dominique Levy, Capital Resurgent: Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution, Harvard, 2004
Walter F. Murphy, Constitutional Democracy: Creating and Maintaining a Just Political Order, Johns Hopkins, 2007

II. Fear of Equality; A Conservative Approach.
   a. Barriers to the Tyranny of the Prince
   b. Terror and Tranquility; The Psychological and Social Underpinning’s of Society
   c. Feudalism and Democracy Compared
   d. The "Key" of History and Historical Development
   e. Public Opinion and the Tyranny of the Majority

Core Reading:
De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Vol.1, Vintage

Recommended Reading.

Supplementary Reading.
David Coates, Models of Capitalism: Growth and Capitalism in the Modern Era, Polity, 2000
Francis Fukuyama et al., *Poverty, Inequality and Democracy*, Johns Hopkins, 2012

III. The Original Transitions to democracy and the inherent loss of liberty?
   a. Schumpeter’s creative destruction
   b. The Structural limits on Democracy in Capitalist Development?
   c. Why creation of the “private sphere” was a deprivation of liberty
   d. Democracy and women

Core reading:

Recommended Reading:

Supplementary reading:
   Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale
   Renske Doorenspleet, “Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization”, World Politics, April 2000
Clauss Offe, *Disorganized Capitalism*, MIT Press.
Peter Baldwin, *Disease and Democracy: The Industrialized World Faces AIDS*, California, 2005
Quan Li and Rafael Reuveny, *Democracy and Economic Openness in an Interconnected System*, Cambridge, 2009

IV Democracy With Faith in the People
   a. Why democracies choose bad policies?
   b. The American voter revisited
   c. Just how stupid are we?
   d. Bad voters or bad money?
   e. “We the people” are irrational.

Core Reading.

Recommended Reading.
   Leslie McCall, *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity and*
Supplementary Reading.

John Marsh, *Class Dismissed: Why We Cannot Teach or Learn Our Way Out of Inequality*, MR Press, 2011

V Unequal Democracy: Those who live poor and die young

- Escalating economic inequality: Partisan political economy
- Democracy and Institutions: The degree of Government
- In search of the working class
- Do Americans care about inequality
- Political representation: Who governs?

Core Reading:


Recommended Reading.

Jonas Pontusson, *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe Vs. Liberal America*, Cornell, 2005

Supplementary Reading.

Anthony Giddens, Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics, Stanford
Carles Boix, Political Parties, Growth and Equality, Cambridge.
Paul Pierson, Dismantling the Welfare State?, Cambridge.
Katherine Verdery, What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?, Princeton
Juan J. Linz, Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (With a Major New Introduction), Lynne Reinner.
Tatu Vanhanen, Prospects of Democracy: A Study of 172 Countries, Routledge
Bo Rothstein, Just Institutions Matter: The Moral and Political Logic of the Universal Welfare State, Cambridge
Kathleen Thelen, How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan, Cambridge, 2004

VI. Economic Inequality and Political Power
   a. Rise of Disaster Capitalism?
   b. Surviving democracy: terror and law
   c. Homeland security
   d. A corporatist state?

Core Reading.
Martin Gilens, Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America, Princeton, 2012

Recommended Reading.
James Gustave Speth, The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, The Environment, and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability, Yale, 2008
Scott Mainwaring and Anibal Perez-Linan, Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival and Fall, Cambridge, 2013
Supplementary Reading.


VII. Oligarchy?

a. Ruling oligarchies
b. The material foundations of oligarchy
c. From civil war to democracy
d. Aren’t oligarchies anachronistic and incompatible with Democracy?
e. Forging Democracy From Below

Core reading:

Recommended reading:

Supplementary reading:
Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, Routledge
Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies*, Princeton
Robert A. Packenham, *The Dependency Movement*, Harvard
Helen E. Purkitt and Stephen F. Burgess, *South Africa’s Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Indiana, 2005
Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass, *Class, Rule, and Inequality in South Africa*, Yale, 2005
Mahmood Mamdani, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*, Pantheon, 2009

VIII. The Fair Society
a. The price of inequality
b. Social capital and trust
c. Democracy and the market
d. America’s one per cent problem

Core reading:

Recommended reading:

Supplementary reading:
Alain Touraine, *What is Democracy?*, Westwiew.
Deepa Narayan et al., *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change*, Oxford University Press.


IX. Democracy, Capitalism and Financialization
   a. Why is there inequality?
   c. Is the return on capital inherently exploitative?
   d. Beyond the Multi-National Corporation

Core reading:


Recommended Reading:


Supplementary reading:
John Brewer, The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783, Harvard
Susan Strange, Mad Money: When Markets Outgrow Governments, University of Michigan Press.
Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State, Cambridge.
Thomas Risse-Kappen, Cooperation Among Democracies, Princeton.
Spencer R. Weart, Never At War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another, Yale.
Robert Vitalis, When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt, California.
Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and Its Competitors, Princeton.
Edward LiPuma and Benjamin Lee, Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk, Duke, 2004
David Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism, Oxford, 2005
Aihwa Ong, Neoliberalism As Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty, Duke, 2006
Pepper D. Culpepper, Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan, Cambridge, 2011
Paul Krugman, End This Depression Now!, W.W. Norton, 2012

X. Nationalism, Ethnicity, Mass Participation and Democracy
   a. Can democracy lead to genocide?
   b. Ethnicity in comparative perspective
   c. De Tocqueville’s totalitarian vision
   d. Equity and development

Core reading:

Recommended reading:
   Jack Snyder, From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict, W.W. Norton.
Sheila Carapico, Political Aid and Arab Activism: Democracy Promotion, Justice, and Representation, Cambridge, 2014

Supplementary reading:
Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions,
XI. Competitive Authoritarianism
   a. No Bourgeoisie, No Democracy?
   b. Organizational power of incumbents
   c. International linkages
d. Aren’t all political systems authoritarian?

Core reading:

Recommended reading:
Dietrich Rueschmeyer et al., *Capitalist Development and Democracy*, University of Chicago Press

Supplementary reading:
Sylvia Maxfield & Ben Ross Schneider, eds., *Business and the State in Developing Countries*, Cornell.

Yan Sun, *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China*, Cornell, 2004
Kellee S. Tsai, *Capitalism Without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China*,
Cornell, 2007
Devra C. Moehler, *Distrusting Democrats: Outcomes of Participatory Constitution Making*, University of Michigan, 2008

XII. Globalization? Why Does Democracy Come in Waves?
a. Organizational Development
b. What do the revolutions of 1848 and the Arab Spring have in common in their failures
c. Political Regime Contention
d. The new world of terror
e. Cognitive Shortcuts

Core Reading.

Recommended Reading.
Elizabeth Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention In Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, Cambridge, 2013

Supplementary Reading.


Rebecca M. Blank, *Changing Inequality*, University of California, 2011


XIII. Modern Democracy and the Potential of Totalitarianism

   a. Civil Society, Institutionalization, and Neo-Liberalism
   b. Deepening democracy
   c. Democracy as the creation of reasonable political leaders
   d. The logic of political survival
   e. Surveillance, Privacy and the Dark Side of the Internet

Core reading:

Recommended reading:
Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of how the war on terror turned into a war on American Ideals*, Doubleday, 2008


Ronald J. Deibert, *Black Code: Surveillance, Privacy and the Dark Side of the Internet*,
Supplementary reading:
Oscar Olivera, *Cochabamba: Water War in Bolivia*, South End, 2004
Meredith L. Weiss, *Protest and Possibilities: Civil Society and Coalitions For Political Change in Malaysia*, Stanford, 2006
David Hulme, *Global Poverty: How Global Governance is Failing the Poor*, Routledge, 2010
Luis Cabrera, *The Practice of Global Citizenship*, 2010