

# Comparative National Systems

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**Johns Hopkins University SAIS**

**100.750.01 (Fall 2010), Thursdays 2:15pm-4:30pm**

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## Course Objectives

This course provides a systematic and practical framework for on-the-job comparative political analysis that students can use in their future careers. This framework emphasizes eight points that cover a wide range of comparative politics topics and theories: Stateness, Political Regime, Economic Development, Culture and History, Institutions, Party Families, International Influences, and Ownership Structure. It may be referred to as the SPECIPIO framework. Each of the eight elements of this framework are developed and integrated through lectures, course readings, discussions, and written assignments. Students apply this framework through an in-depth study of the politics of a single country, while learning about a wide range of developed and developing countries through assignments, lectures, and class discussions.

## Course Assignments

Students are assigned a single country of responsibility in week 4 and are responsible for answering questions in class about that country that are pertinent to the subject matter of each week. In week 8, there will be a midterm exam that tests students on the reading. A written report analyzing the country of responsibility according to the SPECIPIO framework is due in class on week 12. Papers are 10-20 pages in length (plus title page) and must also be prepared using the assigned template. A short final exam tests students on the readings. The midterm counts for 20% of the final grade; paper 30%; final exam 30%, and class participation 20%.

Students who would like to audit the course and then take the comparative politics core exam are welcome to do so. Auditors must keep up with the required readings and participate fully in class discussions. For PhD students, there will be an additional reading list to be discussed in a special one-hour session directly after the end of the class period.

This class will use a Blackboard web portal for distribution of class materials and contacting students during the term. If you are auditing, you will need to provide the instructor with your JHED username so you can be added to the class roster. All announcements sent to the class will be sent to your JHED email address, so please redirect if necessary to your main account. Lecture slides are posted on Blackboard at the start of term.

## Course Readings

Readings must be completed prior to class. Readings are divided into basic readings, for students just starting in comparative politics, and advanced readings, for students with significant prior background. Advanced reading lists are often extensive for the benefit of those studying for the comprehensive exam in comparative politics. Students are encouraged to expand their knowledge by raising questions about the readings in class. Most readings are available via ERES (password: cns10 [check]), but many books are recommended for purchase to increase accessibility and for future use.

### Required Books

Gabriel Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today: A Theoretical Framework*. Fifth Edition. Pearson Longman, 2008.

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*. Yale University Press, 1998.

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale University Press, 2006.

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

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale University Press, 1999.

### Books Recommended for Purchase

Hernando de Soto. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. Basic Books, 2003.

David Held, *Models of Democracy*. Third Edition. Stanford University Press, 2006.

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*. Cornell University Press, 1998.

Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Beacon Press, 1968.

Robert Reich. *Supercapitalism: The Transformation of Business, Democracy, and Everyday Life*. Knopf, 2007.

## Class Sessions

Classes will be composed of lectures, short films, and class discussions, with a short break. Students are expected to have read the required readings and answer questions on their country of

responsibility once assigned. There will be a TA discussion section for the course led by Jeanne Elone for those wanting a follow-up from the lectures, set at a mutually convenient time.

## **[1] Introduction: Comparative Political Analysis (9-2)**

Comparative politics is the study of the development of political institutions, ideas, and culture – and the role that they play in determining social and economic outcomes, typically at the level of the nation-state. As a human and social science, comparative politics has its own methods of analysis. This introductory lecture focuses on the organization of the course, the purposes of comparative politics, the comparative method, and the subject of analysis.

### **Basic Readings:**

Gabriel Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today: A Theoretical Framework*, chs. 1-2.\*

### **Advanced Readings:**

Peter Katzenstein, Adam Przeworski, Theda Skocpol, et al., “The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics,” *World Politics* 48:1, 1-25.

Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba. *Designing Social Inquiry* (Princeton University Press, 1994), 1-31.

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. MIT Press.

Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro, “Methodological Pathologies,” in *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory* (Yale University Press, 1994), 33-46.

### **YouTube:**

Comparative Government – France:

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKKqygo\\_\\_Pk&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKKqygo__Pk&feature=related)

\*Italy vs. Europe – The Comparison <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nQWNGLv8w74>

Why I am Interested in Political Science: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FOzNBI\\_0Ulg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FOzNBI_0Ulg)

## **[2] Stateness (9-9) [must reschedule]**

The state is the fundamental unit of analysis in comparative politics. Not all states are the same, however. Some are more coherent, effective, and, well, state-like than others. Some are so incoherent and ineffective that they are barely able to carry out basic functions. What is a state? What is a failed state? Why are some states more effective than others? This lecture focuses on the state as a unit of analysis.

### **Basic Readings:**

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale University Press, 2006), 1-92.\*

Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 1-23.

Foreign Policy, The Failed States Index 2010.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/the\\_failed\\_states\\_index\\_2010](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/the_failed_states_index_2010)

Paul Collier, Why Bad Guys Matter, Foreign Policy, July/August 2010.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/why\\_bad\\_guys\\_matter](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/why_bad_guys_matter)

### **Advanced Readings:**

Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (Free Press), pp. 324-85.

Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital, and the European States (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 1-5, 14-95, 187-91.

Evans et al., Bringing the State Back In (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

John A. Hall and G. John Ikenberry, The State (University of Minnesota Press, 1989).

Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State (Verso, 1996).

Chalmers Johnson, "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept," in Meredith Woo-Cummings, ed., The Developmental State (Cornell University Press, 1988).

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle (Stanford University Press, 1982).

Peter Evans, Embedded Autonomy (Princeton University Press, 1995).

Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

James Scott, Seeing Like a State (Yale University Press, 1998).

Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power in Africa (Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 3-32.

World Bank, World Development Report, 1997, The State in a Changing World (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1998), pp. 19-60.

Minxin Pei, "Rotten from Within: Decentralized Predation and the Incapacitated State," in T. V. Paul, John Ikenberry and John A. Hall, eds., The Nation-State in Question (Princeton University Press, 2003), 321-350.

Clifford Geertz, Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali (Princeton University Press, 1980), ch. 1 and conclusion, pp. 11-25, 121-137.

Stephen Krasner, "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," Comparative Politics 16 (1984), 223-46.

Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State," European Journal of Sociology 25:2 (1984).

J. Peter Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable," World Politics 20:4 (1968), 559-92.

Douglas North, "A Neoclassical Theory of the State," in Structure and Change in Economic History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 20-32.

Gary King and Langche Zeng, "Improving Forecasts of State Failure," World Politics 53:4 (2001), 623-58.

Micah Zenko, "Bombing Somalia is a Dud:"

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/19181/bombing\\_somalia\\_is\\_a\\_dud.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/19181/bombing_somalia_is_a_dud.html)

### **YouTube**

The Big Brother State: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJTL1UjvfU>

Inside a Failed State - Zimbabwe: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MPKGZreusoQ>

Inside a Failed State – Haiti: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZbbM8OM9Dqw>

Anarchism, the Unnecessary State: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uVEjXp1xr0E>

### **[3] Political Regimes: Totalitarian and Authoritarian (9-16)**

Modern political regimes can be divided into three basic categories: Totalitarian, Authoritarian, and Democratic. This lecture offers definitions of all three types but focuses on totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, discussing different sub-types (military, single-party, and personalistic), trends and prospects. In addition, there are a growing number of political regimes that fall between authoritarianism and democracy. Understanding the full breadth of modern political regimes provides a backdrop and justification for the detailed study of democracy in weeks 4-8.

### **Basic Readings:**

Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp. 1-92 and 140-153.\*

Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave, pp. 109-121.\*

Lucan Way and Stephen Levitsky, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," Journal of Democracy 13:2 (2002), 51-65.

Freedom House, Freedom in the World (2009).

Perry Anderson, "Russia's Managed Democracy," London Review of Books, 25 January 2007.

[http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n02/ande01\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n02/ande01_.html)

### **Advanced Readings:**

<http://www.bookrags.com/tandf/authoritarian-and-totalitarian-tf/>

Arthur Koestler, Darkness at Noon. A stunning short novel about the Soviet regime.

George Orwell, 1984.

Richard Kapuscinski, The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat (1974). Covers the rule and fall of Haile Selassie's regime in Ethiopia. Also, other works by the same author on Africa.

Guillermo O'Donnell, Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism (1974).

Juan J. Linz, Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (2000).

Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy (1956).

Larry Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," Journal of Democracy 13:2, 2002, 21-35.

CFR Academic Module, "Living with Hugo:"

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/18049/academic\\_module.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/18049/academic_module.html)

CFR Academic Module, "Nigeria: Elections and Continuing Challenges:"

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/14281/academic\\_module.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/14281/academic_module.html)

### **YouTube**

\*North Korea Army Parade: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DnZBgiZ3d8s>

\*Totalitarian Rock (Russian rock opera about Totalitarianism [2008] with English subtitles:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZoctGEvpog>

Reporter's Notebook: Libya's Leader: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uiu38Vi6bs0>

Why Autocracy Thrives in Russia? (Steven Fish): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5cz9fdcqT5g>

## **[4] Models of Democracy (9-23)**

Much comparative politics research has been concerned with the establishment of democratic institutions, one of the great political trends of the modern world. Yet democracy has had many different forms in its long history. What is democracy (or the political system known as democracy)? How can it be defined and described? Is democracy good? Why or why not?

*Country assignments distributed this week.* Country assignments will be distributed in class. Students may trade among themselves, but not choose their own country, to insure the broadest possible coverage of countries in the course. Students should be prepared to answer questions in class about their country of responsibility and begin to work on the paper assignment, due on Week 12.

### **Basic Readings:**

Robert Dahl, On Democracy. Yale University Press.\*

David Held, Models of Democracy (third edition).

### **Advanced Readings:**

Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.

Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and Jose Antonio Cheibub. The Democracy Sourcebook. MIT Press, 2003.

Robert Dahl. Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (Yale University Press, 1971).

Robert Dahl. How Democratic is the America Constitution? (Yale University Press, 2001).

Larry Diamond, "Rethinking Civil Society," Journal of Democracy 5 (1994), 5-17.

Herbert Kitschelt, "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities," Comparative Political Studies 33:6, 845-879.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," Foreign Affairs (November/December 1997).

David Collier and Stephen Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives," World Politics (1997).

Machiavelli, Discourses, in Wootton, ed., Modern Political Thought (Hackett, 1996).

Charles Tilly, Democracy (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Carl Schmitt, The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy.

### **YouTube**

The American Form of Government: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DioQooFIcgE>

Democracy is . . . <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Arn8Fp1jyok>

Democracy is. . . [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRy2YT3\\_eUs&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRy2YT3_eUs&feature=related)

YouTube Democracy Challenge Videos: <http://www.youtube.com/user/DemocracyChallenge>

## **[5] Democracy and Development (9-30)**

Economic development is one of the fundamental causes or preconditions of democratic governance. Yet, not all wealthy countries are democracies. And not all developing countries are willing to wait until they attain riches before they govern themselves by democratic means. How much does wealth matter? Why? And to what extent are other factors, such as culture and history, important in determining the level and style of democracy in a country? This lecture reviews the economic modernization debate and cultural alternatives.

### **Basic Readings:**

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Przeworski et al., "What Makes Democracies Endure?" Journal of Democracy (2006).\*

Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" World Politics 53 (April 2001), 325-61.

Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968, chs. 7-9, pp. 413-483.

### **Advanced Readings:**

Adam Przeworski et al., Democracy and Development (Cambridge University Press, 2000), chs. 1-2.

Karl W. Deutsch. "Social Mobilization and Political Development," APSR 55:3 (1961), 493-514.

Seymour M. Lipset. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

Dankwart A. Rustow, "Modernization and Comparative Politics," Comparative Politics 1:1 (1968), 37-51.

Carles Boix. Democracy and Redistribution (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," World Politics 55:4 (2003), 517-49.

Mancur Olson, The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities (Yale University Press, 1982).

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kellee S. Tsai, Capitalism Without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China (Cornell University Press, 2007).

### YouTube

Inside Story: Democracy or Development: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jDE8G6rLwUU>

Prosperity without Democracy: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wjr8ipPTzJk>

Larry Diamond, "The Spirit of Democracy:" <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0qIQPLO4Slw>

## [6] Democratization and Transition Theory (10-7)

From 1974 to 2007, the world experienced a tremendous upswing in the number of democracies and the number of people ruled by democracy. This "third wave" of democratization had numerous causes, including economic development, a decline in legitimacy of authoritarian regimes, and pro-democracy international influences. How do we understand the third wave in historical context? Why did it start? And why did it end? What will the world be like in the coming post-democratization era?

### Basic Readings:

Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).\*

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," Journal of Democracy 13:1 (2002), 5-21.

Lucan Way and Stephen Levitsky, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," Journal of Democracy 13:2 (2002), 51-65.

Larry Diamond, "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," Journal of Democracy 13:2 (2002), 21-35.

Freedom House, Freedom in the World. Most recent edition and website.

### Advanced Readings:

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 3-14 and 65-72.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R Kaufman, "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," Comparative Politics, 29:3 (April 1997), pp. 263-283.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation (Johns Hopkins University Press).



Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," World Politics 55 (2003), 167-92.

M. Steven Fish, Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

CFR Academic Module on "Planning for Post-Mugabe Zimbabwe":

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/17962/academic\\_module.html?breadcrumb=%2Fbios%2F1781%2F](http://www.cfr.org/publication/17962/academic_module.html?breadcrumb=%2Fbios%2F1781%2F)

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

### **YouTube**

Zimbabwean Leader Upbeat on Future: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e75YJyQ3eq8>

Zimbabwe Signs of Economic Revival:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5LKODpmN864&feature=fvw>

## **[7] Institutions of Democracy (10-14)**

Democracy comes in a variety of forms: presidential, parliamentary, majoritarian, consensus, federal, unitary, delegative, direct, deliberative, and so on. Actually, the number of words used to describe different types of democracy is enormous, as is the actual variation in governmental structures.

What are the main types of democracy and the main poles of variation? How can we make sense of the different forms and institutions of democracy? Is there some organizing principle or shortcut? Or do we simply have to be world experts on every detail of the institutional life of dozens of countries? Can comparative politics experts simplify matters, please?

### **Basic Readings:**

Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, Yale University Press (1999).\*

Richard W. Soudriette and Andrew Ellis, "A Global Snapshot," Journal of Democracy, 17:2 (2006).

### **Advanced Readings:**

George Tsebelis, "Decision-Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism," British Journal of Political Science 25:3 (1995), 289-325.

James March and Johan Olsen, "Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions," Governance 9:3, 1966, 247-64.

James March and Johan Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," Annual Review of Political Science 78, 1984, 734-49.

Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," Annual Review of Political Science 2, 1999, 369-404.

Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," Political Studies 44 (1996), 936-57.

Dan Kelemen, "The Limits of Judicial Power," Comparative Political Studies 34:6 (2001), 622-50.

David Collier and Stephen Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives," World Politics (1997).

Pippa Norris, Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

G. Bingham Powell, Elections as Instruments of Democracy, Yale University Press (2000).

Donald L. Horowitz, "Comparing Democratic Systems," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, The Global Resurgence of Democracy, Second Edition (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). Also essays by Juan Linz in this same book.

Alfred Stepan and Cindy Skach, "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism," World Politics 46 (1993), 1-22.

Staffan I. Lindberg, Democracy and Elections in Africa (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

### **YouTube:**

Shaking up the British Electoral System <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=358KCqL9dWA>

## **[8] Party Systems (10-21)**

Political parties remain the fundamental building blocks of a democratic society. Representative democracy cannot function without well-functioning parties. At the same time, political parties provide a window in the soul of a society and its politics. They reflect critical junctures and dividing lines in the culture and history of a country. This lecture reviews many of the main types of political parties, discusses the concept of party families, and shows how political parties differ in developed and developing countries. Understanding party families can provide a shortcut to the politics of a country.

### MIDTERM EXAM

### **Basic Readings:**

Gabriel Almond et al., Comparative Politics, ch. 5, "Interest Aggregation and Political Parties."\*

Herbert Kitschelt, "Party Systems," in Charles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics (Oxford University Press, 2007), 522-554.

Richard Gunther and Larry Diamond, "Types and Functions of Political Parties," in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, Political Parties and Democracy (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Philippe C. Schmitter, "Parties are not what they once were," Journal of Democracy.(2001).

### **Advanced Readings:**

Robert Michels. Political Parties (Free Press, 1966).

Lipset and Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives (Free Press), 1-64.

Cas Mudde, Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems," in Joseph Lapalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., Political Parties and Political Development (Princeton University Press, 1966), 177-200.

Sidney Tarrow, Power in Movement (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-47.

Said Adejumobi and Michael Kehinde, "Building Democracy without Democrats? Political Parties and Threats of Democratic Reversal in Nigeria," Sabinet 6:2 (2007), 95-113. Web availability.

## **[9] International Influences on Government (10-28)**

Comparative politics used to be about "domestic" politics and was starkly divided from international relations. No more. Global political and economic trends have made it impossible to divide comparative politics from international influences. Today, the two fields are merging. One way is through greater attention to international influences on political regimes and "domestic" governance. This lecture considers the influence of international factors on regime type and policy choice.

### **Basic Readings:**

Peter Hall, ed., The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism Across Nations (Princeton University Press, 1989), introductory chapter by Hall.

Wade Jacoby, "Inspiration, Coalition, and Substitution: External Influences on Postcommunist Transformations" World Politics 58:4 (July 2006), 623-651.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Cornell University Press).\*

Kurt Weyland, "Toward a New Theory of Institutional Change," World Politics 60:2 (2008), 281-314.

### **Advanced Readings:**

John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," International Organization 36:2 (1982), 379-415.

Robert Keohane and Helen Milner, eds., Internationalization and Domestic Politics (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

James N. Rosenau, Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Mark Blyth, Great Transformations (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Peter Gourevitch, "The Second-Image Reversed: the International Sources of Domestic Politics," International Organization 32:4 (Autumn 1978), 691-701.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, Rules for the World (Cornell University Press).

Mitchell A. Orenstein, Privatizing Pensions: The Transnational Campaign, (Princeton University Press).

### **YouTube**

The EU Working to Bring Democracy. . . to the Palestinian Authority:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zNegUwUQpl8>

The EU Stabilizing the Western Balkans:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bFaeS7nUDBs&feature=related>

A Pledge for Peace: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Zvu8tsQ8qk>

## **[10] Ownership and Politics (11-4)**

Follow the money and you will see where the power lies. Realists and Marxists alike believe that wealth and power drive politics. They are not half wrong. Knowing the politics of a country means understanding the ownership and class structure that lies behind it. But this can be a difficult task. This lecture offers an analysis of class structures that elucidates the interactions between political parties, political institutions, and the economic system. Welcome to class!

### **Basic Readings:**

Karl Marx, The Communist Manifesto.\*

Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968, chs. 7-9, pp. 413-483.

Robert B. Reich, Supercapitalism. Knopf (2007).

Fortune Magazine, "The World's Billionaires."

### **Advanced Readings:**

Hernando de Soto, The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else (New York: Basic Books).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract.

Peter Katzenstein, Small States in the World Economy (1985).

Gosta Esping-Andersen, Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism (1990).

Christopher Lasch, The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy (1996).

Naomi Klein, The Shock Doctrine (2007).

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, Development, Democracy and Welfare States (2008).

## YouTube

Is Capitalism Always Good for Democracy? <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCMlgzSWkeU>  
What is Capitalism? (1948) [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_VstTwFxNKk&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_VstTwFxNKk&feature=related)  
Naomi Klein: Disaster Capitalism [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JG9CM\\_J00bw&feature=fvw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JG9CM_J00bw&feature=fvw)

### [11] SPECIPIO Review (11-11)

SPECIPIO is not a theory. It is an heuristic framework for remembering the eight questions to ask about a political system after you've graduated from SAIS: Stateness, Political Regime, Economic Development, Culture and History, Institutions, Political Parties, International Influences, and Ownership Structure . This lecture draws together the different elements of the class and prepares students for writing the required paper that applies the SPECIPIO framework to an assigned country.

#### Basic Readings:

Get on with your papers.

#### Advanced Readings:

Start studying for the exams.

### [12] American Exceptionalism? (11-18)

The most powerful country on earth is also relatively unique as a political system. How different is the United States from the other 208 countries and country-like jurisdictions in the world? How can we describe and explain its seemingly exceptional political culture and governance system? How relevant is it to the world? Are the foundations of the US political system secure? Or slipping away? The mysteries of America, revealed.

PAPERS DUE

#### Basic Readings:

Alexis de Tocquville. *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence (New York: Harper Perennial, 1988), Vol. II, Book IV, pp. 667-695.\*

Gabriel Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today: A Theoretical Framework*, ch. 3.

Seymour Martin Lipset. *Continental Divide: the Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1990), chs. 1 and 5, pp. 1-18, 74-89.

Susan Pharr, Robert D. Putnam, and Russell J. Dalton, "A Quarter-Century of Declining Confidence," *Journal of Democracy* 11:2 (2000), 5-25.

#### Advanced Readings:

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton University Press, 1963).

Harry Eckstein, "A Culturalist Theory of Political Change," *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988).

Joseph F. Ellis, "Preface: The Generation," in Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 3-19.

Robert Axelrod, "The Dissemination of Culture: A Model with Local Convergence and Global Polarization," Journal of Conflict Resolution 41 (1997), 203-26.

Samuel Huntington, Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), chs. 3-4, pp. 37-80.

### **[13] Future Trends in Comparative Governance (12-2)**

Since most of your career will take place in the future, it is important to think ahead to future trends in comparative politics that may shape your working life. This lecture will emphasize five major trends: a reverse wave of democratization, the decline in US power, the shift from a Cold War to a cultural meta-narrative on politics, the rise of global governance, and the politics of scarcity.

#### **Basic Readings:**

Ethan B. Kapstein and Nathan Converse, "Why Democracies Fail," Journal of Democracy 19:4 (2008).

Ian Bremmer, "The Rise of State Capitalism." Foreign Affairs.\*

David Held, "Democracy and Globalization," Global Governance (1997).

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," Foreign Affairs (1993).

#### **Advanced Readings:**

Ann Florini, The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society. Carnegie Endowment (2000).

Wolfgang Reinicke, Global Public Policy: Governing without Government? (Brookings Institution Press).

Deborah Yashar, "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America," World Politics 52:1 (1999), 76-104.