

Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
 Spring 2016
 Political Science 2
 Prof. M. Steven Fish
 TuTh 12:30-2:00, 2050 Valley LSB, plus discussion section
 Office hours: Tu 2:30-4:30

INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS

This course aims to furnish students with the tools necessary to study politics and society in comparative perspective. It is divided into four parts. The first introduces basic concepts and methods of comparative analysis and examines core assumptions about human nature that underpin social scientists' thinking. The second surveys the variety of political regimes under which people live. The third examines the factors that influence which type of political regime prevails in particular national settings. The fourth section focuses on economic development, and in particular on why some countries have overcome barriers to development while others have not.

Requirements consist of three exams and attendance at all lectures and discussion sections. Students are expected to do the readings for the week in their entirety by Thursday's lecture. Your GSI may have alternative expectations regarding the completion of readings for discussion section. Your GSI will inform you of these expectations during your first meeting. There will be a short quiz on the readings for the week each Thursday in lecture with the exception of the first week, when there will not be a quiz. The ten top quiz grades (and only the ten top grades) will count toward the course grade. No quizzes may be made up for any reason.

Grades will be determined on the basis of a 100-point scale. Each preliminary exam counts for 20 points; the final exam counts for 30 points; the quizzes count for 20 points in total; and 10 points will be determined by attendance at and participation in discussion sections. The third and final exam will be cumulative in coverage of course material, and will run for two hours.

Use of laptop computers, cell phones, and any other communications or internet devices in lecture is strictly prohibited. Phones and laptops must be placed in backpacks or otherwise out of sight during lecture. Use of such devices will result in a ten-point reduction in the final course grade for each infraction.

Academic integrity is a top priority. Misconduct, including cheating, on an exam or a quiz will trigger assignment of a failing grade for the course. No warnings will be issued. For further information, go to <http://sa.berkeley.edu/conduct>.

Course readings are in the assigned books and the course reader. The pieces that appear in the reader are marked with an asterisk (*); all other readings are in the books. The reader is available at University Copy Service, 2425 Channing Way. Students should acquire the reader and the books for the course. Our books for the course are:

Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1st reprint ed., 2010).

Steven Radelet, *The Great Surge: The Ascent of the Developing World* (Simon and Schuster, 2015).

Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

PART I: THE COMPARATIVE ENTERPRISE

Week 1 (Jan. 19 & 21): Introduction to Comparative Politics

Steven Radelet, "Emerging Africa"; and "Emerging Africa's Renaissance," chs. 1-2 in *Emerging Africa: How Seventeen Countries Are Leading the Way* (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, 2010), pp. 9-45.*

How does Radelet help us make sense of developing countries? How does he use classification and comparison to make his points?

Week 2 (Jan. 26 & 28): Who Are We and What Do We Want? Human Nature and the Ends of Political Life

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* published in Walter Kaufmann, ed., *Basic Writings of Nietzsche* (New York: The Modern Library, 1992 [originally published 1885]) pp. 231-46, 391-405.*

Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004 [originally published 1938]), pp. 1-34, 207-23.*

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, excerpts from *The German Ideology*, in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: Norton, 1978 [originally published 1845-46]), pp. 155-75.*

Max Weber, "Political Communities: The Nation"; and "Political Communities: The Distribution of Power within the Political Community," in *Economy and Society* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978 [originally published 1922]), pp. 921-40.*

Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with That of the Moderns," in Benjamin Constant, *Political Writings* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988 [originally published 1819]), pp. 309-28.*

Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (Free Press, 1951 [originally published 1897]), pp. 208-16, 246-58.*

Each of the theorists we are reading this week presents a distinct view of who we are and what makes us tick. How would you characterize each theorist's view? Can you think of contemporary writers or

political leaders whose assumptions about human nature and how the world works resemble those of one or more of the writers we are reading this week?

PART II: HOW CAN WE GOVERN OURSELVES? POLITICAL REGIMES

Week 3 (Feb. 2 & 4): Democracy

Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia*, chs. 1-2.

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, introduction and ch. 10.

Radelet, *The Great Surge*, chs. 5-6.

Consider how the readings, taken as a whole, inform our conception of what democracy is, how it emerges, whether it can take root anywhere in the world, and how it may be undermined.

Week 4: (Feb. 9 & 11): Democracy in Practice: Problems Facing Established Democracies

Joseph E. Stiglitz, "America's 1 Percent Problem"; and "Rent Seeking and the Making of an Unequal Society," chs. 1-2 in *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future* (New York: Norton, 2012), pp. 1-51.*

Paul Krugman, "Eurodämmerung," ch. 10 in *End This Depression Now!* (New York: Norton, 2013), pp. 166-87.*

T. J. Pempel, "Between Pork and Productivity: The Collapse of the Liberal Democratic Party," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 36, 2 (Summer 2010), pp. 227-54.*

What challenges do long-established democracies face? How do the challenges Americans face differ from those that Europeans and Japanese confront? What problems of governance and making democracy work do the United States, European countries, and Japan face? How must countries change in order to tackle their problems?

Week 5 (Feb. 16 & 18): Authoritarianism

Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia*, chs. 3-4.

Robert Guest, "The Vampire State," ch. 1 in *The Shackled Continent: Power, Corruption, and African Lives* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2010), pp. 28-51.*

Zhenhua Su, Hui Zhao, and Jingkai He, "China at the Tipping Point? Authoritarianism and Contestation," *Journal of Democracy* 24, 1 (January 2013), pp. 26-40.*

Robin Wright, "A Midsummer's Eve," ch. 4 in *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion across the Islamic World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), pp. 90-112.*

Peter J. Schraeder and Hamadi Redissi, "Ben Ali's Fall," ch. 17 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Steven Heydemann, "Syria and the Future of Authoritarianism," ch. 24 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Our readings depict authoritarian regimes in Russia, Zimbabwe, China, Iran, Tunisia and Syria. What methods do governments in these countries use to control the people? How would you compare the authoritarian regimes in these countries?

Week 6 (Feb. 23 & 25): Life under an Authoritarian Regime: A View from Inside

BBC, "North Korea Profile," September 15, 2015.*

Hyok Kang, *This is Paradise! My North Korean Childhood* (London: Little, Brown, 2009), entire (book is in the course reader).*

Consider conditions in North Korea, which has a full-blown totalitarian regime. How may we compare the authoritarianism found in Russia, Zimbabwe, China, and the MENA with the totalitarianism that characterizes North Korea's regime?

PART III: WHAT DETERMINES POLITICAL REGIME?

Week 7 (March 1 & 3): Socioeconomic Development and Structure

Tuesday March 1: First preliminary exam (covers material weeks 1-6)

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Economic Development and Democracy," excerpts from ch. 2 of *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1963), pp. 31-53 (excerpts reprinted).*

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 47-62.

Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds, "Why the Modest Harvest?," ch. 11 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia*, ch. 5.

Consider Lipset's argument on the correlation between socioeconomic development and democracy. How is level of economic development causally linked to political regimes? How does the evidence that Smith

adduces support or challenge Lipset's argument? Ponder also the role of oil in shaping political regimes and the prospects for regime change. How can oil wealth affect democracy's prospects?

Week 8 (March 8 & 10): Political Culture

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, ch. 11.

Hillel Fradkin, "Arab Democracy or Islamist Revolution?," ch. 3 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Oliver Roy, "There Will Be No Islamist Revolution," ch. 4 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Mark Tessler, Amaney Jamal, and Michael Robbins, "New Findings on Arabs and Democracy," ch. 6 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Tianjian Shi, "China: Democratic Values Supporting an Authoritarian System," in Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, Andrew J. Nathan, and Doh Chull Shin, eds., *How East Asians View Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 209-37.*

Do you think that attitudes, values, and beliefs can change over a fairly short period of time? What does the information Smith presents say about the prospects for the endurance of democracy in Latin America? What does the debate between Fradkin and Roy reveal about the authors' views of Arab and Muslim political culture? What do Shi's findings tell us about how people in various national settings might view democracy differently?

Week 9 (March 15 & 17): Societal Organization, Social Movements, and Leadership

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, ch. 9.

Robin Wright, "The Scent of Jasmine," ch. 1 in *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion across the Islamic World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), pp. 15-40.*

Marc Lynch, "A New Hope," ch. 4 in *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013), pp. 67-99.*

Stéphanie Lacroix, "Is Saudi Arabia Immune?," ch. 29 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Danielle N. Lussier and M. Steven Fish, "Indonesia: The Benefits of Civic Engagement," *Journal of Democracy* 23, 1 (January 2012), pp. 70-84.*

What is the role of civil society organizations and social movements in challenging or sustaining political regimes? What forms of action do societal organizations engage in, and to what ends?

Week 10 (March 29 & 31): Formal Institutions and International Forces

Patrick H. O’Neil, “Institutions of the Democratic State,” in *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009), pp. 118-37.*

Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia*, ch. 7.

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, chs. 4-6.

M. Steven Fish, “Encountering Culture,” in Zoltan Barany and Robert G. Moser, eds., *Is Democracy Exportable?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 57-84.*

Alexander Cooley, “Authoritarianism Goes Global: Countering Democratic Norms,” *Journal of Democracy* 26, 3 (July 2015), pp. 49-63.*

What is the role of institutions, particularly those that define the distribution of power among agencies of the state? Regarding international forces: Do you see the international environment as a potentially decisive determinant of political regime? In your opinion, is democracy promotion by foreign actors a legitimate enterprise? Do you think that international actors can thwart as well as promote democracy?

Week 11 (April 5 & 7): The Agencies of Coercion and the Threat of Violence

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, ch. 3.

Zoltan Barany, “The Role of the Military,” ch. 14 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Tarek Masoud, “The Road to (and from) Liberation Square,” ch. 19 in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*.

Bill Berkeley, “The Rebel,” ch. 1 in *The Graves Are Not Yet Full: Race, Tribe, and Power in the Heart of Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), pp. 21-61.*

In many countries with authoritarian regimes, those who control the guns also run the government. The central challenge of democratization in such polities is about unarmed people getting armed people to agree to relinquish power – no mean feat. How can civilians get the soldiers and the security forces out of power – and keep them out of power? With regard to the danger of violence arising from society itself, do you regard ethnic heterogeneity as an obstacle to peace, democracy and sound governance? What do you think is the recipe for interethnic conflict (and for avoiding interethnic conflict)?

PART IV: POVERTY AND PROSPERITY: THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Week 12 (April 12 & 14): Globalization and International Actors

Tuesday April 12: Second preliminary exam (covers material weeks 7-11)

Moyo, *Dead Aid*, chs. 7-8.

Radelet, *The Great Surge*, ch. 7.

How does globalization affect development? Which aspects of globalization do you regard as favorable for or inimical to development?

Week 13 (April 19 & 21): Confronting Underdevelopment, Seeking Solutions

Moyo, *Dead Aid*, chs. 1-5.

Radelet, *The Great Surge*, prologue and chs. 1-3, 9.

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, ch. 8.

What are the main causes of poverty? Why do you think so many countries have followed failed development strategies? Are the interests of rulers, commitments to particular ideologies, lack of state capacity, simple inertia, or some other factor(s) to blame? Consider also the role of foreign aid. Moyo sees it as pernicious, while Radelet views it as auspicious. Where do you come down on this debate?

Week 14 (April 26 & 28): Drawing Lessons from Successful Cases and Pondering the Future

Moyo, *Dead Aid*, chs. 9-10.

Radelet, *The Great Surge*, chs. 4, 10-12.

Susan L. Shirk, "China's Economic Miracle," ch. 2 in *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 13-34.*

Since the late 1970s, China has gone from economic torpor to breakneck economic growth. How does China's experience resemble and differ from the experiences of other countries, including others that have achieved rapid development such as South Korea and India?