

PS 200D.08
DEMOCRACY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
Department of Political Science
Duke University

Fall 2005
Time: Monday, 2:50 – 5:20 PM
Room: Allen 306
Office Hours: Tuesday, 1:30-3:30 PM

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COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

The claim that democracies behave differently in international politics owing to the nature of their domestic political institutions or norms of appropriate behavior has gained widespread currency in both the scholarly and policymaking community. The so-called “democratic peace”—the contention that democracies do not fight one another—is just the tip of the iceberg: scholars have used regime type to explain a wide variety of outcomes in international relations, including military effectiveness, war outcomes, alliance formation, war termination, and violence against civilians, to name but a few. Spreading democracy around the globe is now at the top of America’s national security agenda: not only are democracies just and equitable societies domestically, according to this argument, but they are also peaceful internationally.

The goals of this course are twofold: (1) to introduce students to the burgeoning literature on democracy and international relations, and (2) to evaluate critically the arguments and evidence found therein, both on their own merits and in comparison to alternative explanations. First we will examine normative and institutional variants of democratic peace theory, as well as assess the value of some prominent critiques. The second main focus of the course will be democracy, military effectiveness, and victory in war: are democracies smarter at choosing their fights and better at prosecuting them? Is democracy a hindrance in winning certain types of wars, such as protracted guerrilla insurgencies? We will also examine whether—or under what circumstances—democracies wage preventive wars, the extent to which democracies victimize noncombatants in warfare, and the pros and cons of spreading democracy.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This course is a senior seminar intended primarily for political science or history majors with some background in international relations theory. Enrollment for the course is limited to 18 students. The reading load for the course is heavy, equivalent to one book per week. It is absolutely essential that students read all of the material carefully for each session so as to be able to participate in the discussion in an informed manner. You may find it helpful to take notes and/or prepare outlines of the readings as well. Grades will be based on three criteria:

- Seminar Preparedness and Participation (20%). This will include leading class discussions on particular readings.
- Two 5-Page Papers (15% each), due at the *beginning* of class—that means 2:50PM—on Week 6 (October 3) and Week 10 (October 31). Questions will be distributed in class the week before the due date. You will be asked to analyze a current policy problem using the theories examined in class and in the readings, and make policy recommendations based on your analysis. Papers turned in after the start of class will be penalized one letter grade, and will not be accepted at all after 24 hours (from the beginning of class) unless special permission is obtained from the instructor. If you are ill, use the Short-Term Illness notification form available from T-Reqs (www.aas.duke.edu/trinity/t-reqs) and we will arrange an extension. In general, if you have a health issue or other emergency that may force you to miss a deadline, let me know as soon as possible.
- 20-Page Research Paper (50%), due on Wednesday, December 14, by 5PM. The objective of the class is to learn and evaluate theories that use regime type (specifically democracy) to explain various dependent

variables in international politics and foreign policy. The goal of the term paper is similar: students should examine how well democracy explains a particular outcome of interest compared to other theories. The subject can be one that we studied in class or something else, but you must consult with me regarding your topic. Students will turn in a short research design (outline) at the beginning of class in Week 8 (October 17), which should clearly lay out the question to be asked or puzzle to be addressed, the competing explanations you will explore, and your analytical or empirical strategy for answering the question. A rough or partial draft will be due in Week 12 (November 14), which I will return to you with comments the following week. *While you are not required to turn in an entire draft, it is in your interest to turn in as complete a draft as possible in order to receive more feedback on your work.* The final two class sessions will be devoted to student presentations of their papers. Papers turned in after 5PM on December 14 will be penalized one letter grade per 24 hours of lateness.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students are expected to comply with the Duke Community Standard in their work for this course (see www.integrity.duke.edu/ugrad/student.html). I will not tolerate plagiarism or any other form of academic dishonesty. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please consult me.

BOOKS

The following books are required reading and are available for purchase at the Duke University Textbook Store.

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).

John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

H.E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Natan Sharansky, with Ron Dermer, *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004).

ARTICLES

Articles, papers, and book chapters that are not in the required books are available either on e-reserve—indicated by the term “e-res” in parentheses after the citation—or through databases in the library’s website—indicated by the term “online” and followed by instructions on how to retrieve the article. Material listed under “For Further Reading” is *not* required, but is provided for those who wish to delve deeper into a subject on their own or for those interested in writing term papers on that subject.

COURSE OUTLINE AND SCHEDULE

1. Introduction and Course Overview

August 29

- No readings.

2. Democratic Peace I: Norms

September 5

- Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," in *Debating the Democratic Peace*, 3-57.
- Bruce Russett, "The Fact of Democratic Peace," and "Why Democratic Peace?" in *Ibid.*, 58-105.
- John M. Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," in *Ibid.*, 116-54.
- William J. Dixon, "Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 1 (March 1994): 14-32 (online: JSTOR).
- Markus Fischer, "The Liberal Peace: Ethical, Historical, and Philosophical Aspects," BCSIA Discussion Paper 2000-07, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1-27 only (e-res; part 1 and first six pages of part 2).

For Further Reading:

- Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1983), 107-43.
- Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (December 1986): 1151-69.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3-18.
- John M. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).
- Spencer Weart, *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

3. Democratic Peace II: Institutions

September 12

- Review Bruce Russett, "Why Democratic Peace?" in *Debating the Democratic Peace*, 100-105.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, et.al., "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 1999): 791-807 (online: JSTOR).
- David A. Lake, "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *American Political Science Review* 86, no. 1 (March 1992): 24-37 (online: JSTOR).
- Charles Lipson, *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Mad a Separate Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 1-16, 47-55 (e-res).
- Susan Peterson, "How Democracies Differ: Public Opinion, State Structure, and the Lessons of Fashoda," *Security Studies* 5, no. 1 (Autumn 1995): 3-37 (e-res).

For Further Reading:

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et. al., *The Logic of Political Survival* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et. al., "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War," *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (April 2004): 363-88.

4. Democracy and Crisis Bargaining

September 19

- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Audience Costs and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 577-92 (online: JSTOR).
- Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

For Further Reading:

- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Democratic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises," *American Political Science Review* 92, no. 4 (December 1998): 829-44.

5. Democratic Peace III: Critiques September 26
First Memo Question Distributed

- Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," in *Debating the Democratic Peace*, 157-201.
- Ido Oren, "The Subjectivity of the 'Democratic' Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany," in *Ibid.*, 263-300.
- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (November 2003): 585-602 (online: e-journals; american political science review; cambridge university press).
- Mark Peceny, et.al., "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 1 (March 2002): 15-26 (online: e-journals; american political science review; cambridge university press).
- Bernard I. Finel and Kristin M. Lord, "The Surprising Logic of Transparency," *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (June 1999): 315-39 (online: JSTOR).

For Further Reading:

- Joanne Gowa, *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Henry S. Farber and Joanne Gowa, "Common Interests or Common Politics? Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace," *Journal of Politics* 59 (May 1997): 393-417.
- Errol A. Henderson, *Democracy and War: The End of an Illusion?* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).
- Stanislav Andreski, "On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 3, no. 3 (December 1980): 3-10.

6. Spreading Democracy: For and Against October 3
First Memo Due

- Natan Sharansky, with Ron Dermer, *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004), Preface, 1-143.
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," in *Debating the Democratic Peace*, 301-34.
- David P. Forsythe, "Democracy, War, and Covert Action," *Journal of Peace Research* 29, no. 4 (November 1995): 385-95 (online: JSTOR).

For Further Reading:

- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War," *International Organization* 56, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 297-337.
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: Norton, 2000).
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).
- Patrick James and Glenn E. Mitchell II, "Targets of Covert Pressure: The Hidden Victims of the Democratic Peace," *International Interactions* 21, no. 1 (1995): 85-107.

7. Fall Break: No Class October 10

8. Democracy and Victory October 17
Term Paper Research Design Due

- Review David A. Lake, "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *American Political Science Review* 86, no. 1 (March 1992): 24-37 (see Week 3).
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

For Further Reading:

- Kenneth A. Schultz and Barry R. Weingast, "The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition," *International Organization* 57, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 3-42.

9. Democracy and Victory: Critiques October 24
 Guest Facilitator: Jasen Castillo, Ph.D, Associate Political Scientist, RAND Corporation
Second Memo Question Distributed
- Michael C. Desch, "Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Type Hardly Matters," *International Security* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 5-47 (online: e-journals; international security; Project Muse).
 - Responses to Desch by Ajin Choi, David A. Lake, Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, and Desch's rejoinder in *International Security* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2003): 142-94 (online: e-journals; international security; Project Muse).
 - Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long, "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 4 (August 2004): 525-46 (online: e-journals; journal of conflict resolution; ABI/INFORM Complete).
 - Jasen J. Castillo, "The Will to Fight: Explaining the Staying Power of German and French Armies in World War II" (unpublished ms., RAND Corporation, 2004; e-res).
- For Further Reading:
- Risa Brooks, "Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed? A Review Essay," *International Security* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 149-91.
 - Martin van Creveld, *Fighting Power* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1974).
10. Democracy and Preventive War October 31
Second Memo Due
- George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, 2002), especially Part V (online at www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf).
 - Randall L. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *World Politics* 44, no. 2 (January 1992): 235-69 (online: JSTOR).
 - John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
 - Jack S. Levy and Joseph R. Gochal, "Democracy and Preventive War: Israel and the 1956 Sinai Campaign," *Security Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 2001/02): 1-49 (e-res).
 - Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 5-48 (online: e-journals; international security; Project Muse).
- For Further Reading:
- Scott A. Silverstone, "The Preventive War Taboo and American Democracy," paper presented at the 2004 meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada (online at www.isanet.org, click on "Paper Archive," then search under author's name).
 - "Roundtable: Evaluating the Preemptive Use of Force," *Ethics and International Affairs* 17, no. 1 (2003): 2-36.
 - Richard K. Betts, "Suicide for Fear of Death?" *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 1 (January/February 2003): 34-43.
 - Robert S. Litwak, "The New Calculus of Pre-emption," *Survival* 44, no. 4 (November 2002): 53-79.
 - Jeffrey Record, "The Bush Doctrine and War with Iraq," *Parameters* (Spring 2003): 4-21.
 - Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Gregory A. Raymond, "Preventive War and Permissive Normative Order," *International Studies Perspectives* 4, no. 4 (November 2003): 385-94.
11. Democracy and Small Wars November 7
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 93-128 (online: e-journals; international security; Project Muse).
 - Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

For Further Reading:

- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Michael Engelhardt, "Democracies, Dictatorships and Counterinsurgency: Does Regime Type Really Matter?" *Conflict Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 52-63.

12. Democracy and Civilians

November 14

Term Paper Rough Draft Due

- Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 57-73 (online: e-journals; american political science review; cambridge university press).
- Benjamin A. Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 375-407 (online: e-journals; international organization; cambridge university press).
- Alexander B. Downes, "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War," *International Security* (forthcoming; e-res).
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-61 (online: e-journals; american political science review; cambridge university press).

For Further Reading:

- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- R.J. Rummel, *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994).
- R.J. Rummel, "Democracy, Power, Genocide, and Mass Murder," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39, no. 1 (March 1995): 3-26.
- Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Michael Mann, "The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing," *New Left Review* no. 235 (May/June 1999): 18-45.
- Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
- Seymour Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," "Chain of Command," and "The Gray Zone," in *The New Yorker* 80, nos. 11, 12, and 13, 10 May, 17 May, and 24 May 2004.

13. War Termination

November 21

- George W. Downs and David M. Rocke, "Conflict, Agency, and Gambling for Resurrection: The Principal-Agent Problem Goes to War," *American Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 2 (May 1994): 362-80 (online: JSTOR).
- H.E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

For Further Reading:

- Fred C. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).
- Darren Filson and Suzanne Werner, "Bargaining and Fighting: The Impact of Regime Type on War Onset, Duration, and Outcomes," *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (April 2004): 296-313.

14. Student Presentations

November 28

15. Student Presentations

December 5

- Class at my house followed by dinner

16. Exam Week: No Class

December 12

- Final draft of term paper due Wednesday, December 14, by 5PM.