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INTLPOL 218: Political Mobilization and Democratic Breakthroughs (Amr Nabil Ahmed
Osman Hamzawy, Michael McFaul)

Draft Syllabus: Subject to Changes

Last Updated February 8, 2022

POLISCI 242G | POLISCI 342G | INTLPOL 218

Political Mobilization and Democratic Breakthroughs

Term: Winter 2022

Units: 3 or 5 units

Instructors: Amr Hamzawy, ahamzawy@stanford.edu (<mailto:ahamzawy@stanford.edu>); Michael McFaul, mcfaul@stanford.edu (<mailto:mcfaul@stanford.edu>)

Teaching Coordinator: Bronte Kass, bkass@stanford.edu (<mailto:bkass@stanford.edu>)

Time: Fridays 9:45 am – 12:45 pm

Location: Wallenberg Hall (160) Room 321

Course Description

Mass politicization mobilization occurs in both democracies and autocracies. Sometimes political protests, demonstrations, and acts of non-violent civic resistance undermine autocracies, produce democratic breakthroughs, or generate democratic reforms. Other times, they do not. This course explores why, first examining the original causes of mobilization, and then understanding why some movements succeed and others fail.

The first sessions of the course will review theories of revolution, social movements, and democratization. The remainder of the course will dive into case studies, sometimes with guest lecturers and participants from these historical moments. Cases to be discussed will include South Africa, Zimbabwe, USSR, Poland, Serbia (2000), Ukraine (2004 & 2013), Tunisia, Egypt, China (1989), Hong Kong and recent mobilizations and crackdowns (Belarus, Burma, Sudan, Russia, and the United States).

Office Hours

For Professor Amr Hamzawy,

Please schedule an appointment with Amr at ahamzawy@stanford.edu (<mailto:ahamzawy@stanford.edu>)

For Professor Michael McFaul,

Please schedule an appointment with Mahlorei Bruce Apalis at mahlorei@stanford.edu (<mailto:mahlorei@stanford.edu>).

Group sessions will be held Thursday afternoons from 3 – 4pm.

Assignments

We will meet once a week for three hours in person. Sometimes, the first hour might be on Zoom when we connect with guests from overseas. Students are expected to attend and complete all required readings before each session. Students with an excused absence must notify the Teaching Coordinator before the

start of class. More than one excused absence will affect participation grading. Because this course is a seminar, not a lecture class, sessions will be highly participatory.

Beginning on February 4th, three students will individually prepare a short paper (3-5 pages) on the “deep dive” case being discussed – one arguing that structural factors were most important, a second arguing that individuals were the main drivers of the outcomes, and third arguing that international factors mattered most. A fourth student will do one standalone paper on “shallow dive” case, assessing all three types of explanations. The deep dive case and shallow dive case usually will have different outcomes. Papers must be emailed to the Teaching Coordinator by the Wednesday (8am) before the scheduled topic. They will be posted online and subsequently discussed the following Friday.

Sometimes, we will welcome a guest expert on the case to be discussed for the first hour of class. During this hour, students will be expected to ask questions that will then help inform the subsequent discussion in the second hour. Guests are not being asked to “lecture.” All students need to come to class with at least one question.

In addition, everyone will write a final paper (10-12 pages), explaining one of the cases examined in the course in comparative perspective. Those taking the course for 5 units will write a longer paper (15-18 pages) explaining two cases: one that failed and one that succeeded. Final papers will be due **March 18, 2022.**

Evaluation

30%: class participation.

30%: short paper and presentation.

40%: final paper.

Technology Policy

The use of laptops, tablets, mobile phones, and any recording devices is prohibited during seminar discussions. This condition is important to us. If you cannot abide by it, please let us know as soon as possible or do not take this class.

Students with Documented Disabilities

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty. Unless the student has a temporary disability, Accommodation letters are issued for the entire academic year. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations.

The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, URL: <https://oe.stanford.edu/> (<https://oe.stanford.edu/>)).

Course Materials

Readings will be posted on Canvas.

Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013) is available at the bookstore for purchase.

COURSE SCHEDULE

January 7th: Introduction

January 14th: Structural Theories

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Required Readings:

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (March 1959): 69–105.

James Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (1962): 5-19.

Theda Skocpol, "Explaining Social Revolutions: Alternatives to Existing Theories," *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 3-43.

Daren Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared, "Income and Democracy," *American Economic Review* 98, no. 3 (June 2008): 808-42.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, "Inequality and Transitions to Democracy," in *Dictators and Democrats: Masses, Elites, and Regime Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 29-58.

Daniel Treisman, "Economic Development and Democracy: Predispositions and Triggers," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 241-57.

Yuriy Gorodnichenko and Gerard Roland, "Culture, institutions and democratization*," *Public Choice* 187, no. 1 (2021): 165-95.

Nathan J. Brown and Amr Hamzawy, "Islamists in Arab Parliaments," in *Between Religion and Politics* (Washington, D.C. and Beirut: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2010), 1-8.

Recommended Readings:

Michael L. Ross, "What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (May 2015): 239-59.

José Casanova, "Civil Society and Religion: Retrospective Reflections on Catholicism and Prospective Reflections on Islam," *Social Research* 68, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 1041-80, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40971526>.

Kamran Bokhari and Farid Senzai, "Theoretical Framework: Democratization and Islamism," in *Political Islam in the Age of Democratization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 31-48.

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

Daren Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, "A Theory of Political Transitions," *American Economic Review* 91, no. 4 (September 2001): 938-63.

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (October 2006): 83-115. doi:10.1353/wp.2007.0015

Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 3 (April 1970): 337-63, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/421307> (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/421307>).

Bryn Rosenfeld, *The Autocratic Middle Class: How State Dependency Reduces the Demand for Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).

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

Daron Acemoglu, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James A. Robinson, "Democracy Does Cause Growth," *Journal of Political Economy* 127, no. 1 (2019): 47-100.

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

Samuel Huntington, "Political Order and Political Decay," in *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 1-92.

Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" *Comparative Politics* 5, no. 3 (1973): 425-47.

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (1997): 155-83.

Sheri Berman, *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Régime to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

January 21st: Agency Theories

Required Readings:

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, "Democratization during the Third Wave," *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (2016): 125-44.

Terry Lynn Karl, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 23, no. 1 (October 1990): 1-21.

Daniel Treisman, "Democracy by Mistake: How the Errors of Autocrats Trigger Transitions to Freer Governments," *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 3 (2020): 792-810.

Libby Wood, "Social Mobilization and Violence in Civil War and Their Social Legacies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, eds. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Jean Lachapelle, Steven Levitsky, Lucan A. Way, and Adam E. Casey, "Social Revolution and Authoritarian Durability," *World Politics* 72, no. 4 (October 2020): 557-600.

Rachel Beatty Riedl, Dan Slater, Joseph Wong, and Daniel Ziblatt, "Authoritarian-Led Democratization," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 315-32.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, "The Success of Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns," and "Exploring Alternative Explanations for the Success of Civil Resistance," in *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Recommended Readings:

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Thomas Carothers and Richard Youngs, "The Complexities of Global Protests," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 8, 2015, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/10/08/complexities-of-global-protests/iivj> (<https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/10/08/complexities-of-global-protests/iivj>).

Daniela Donno and Bruce Russett, "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What Are the Linkages?" *World Politics* 56, no. 4 (2004): 582-607.

Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Erica Frantz, "How Autocracies Fall," *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (2014): 35-47.

James Mahoney and Richard Snyder, "Rethinking Agency and Structure in the Study of Regime Change," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 34 (1999): 3-32.

Josep M. Colomer, *Strategic Transitions: Game Theory and Democratization* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

January 28th: International Factors

Required Readings:

Carles Boix, "Democracy, Development, and the International System," *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 4 (2011): 809-28.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 20-34.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, "Elite-Led Transitions: International Factors and Politics at the Top," in *Dictators and Democrats: Masses, Elites, and Regime Change*, 142-72.

Michael McFaul, "The Missing Variable: The 'International System' as the Link between the Third and Fourth Wave Models of Democratization," in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 3-29.

David S. Cohen and Zoe A.Y. Weinberg, "Sanctions Can't Spark Regime Change: The Trouble with Trump's Approach to Venezuela and Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, April 29, 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2019-04-29/sanctions-cant-spark-regime-change> (<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2019-04-29/sanctions-cant-spark-regime-change>).

Michael McFaul, "Engaging Autocrats (and Democrats) to Facilitate Democratic Transitions," in Alexander T.J. Lennon, ed. *Democracy in U.S. Security Strategy: From Promotion to Support* (Washington: CSIS Press, 2009): 75-96.

Thomas Carothers, "Is the United State Giving Up on Supporting Democracy Abroad?" *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, September 8, 2016, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/09/08/is-united-states-giving-up-on-supporting-democracy-abroad-pub-64516> (<https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/09/08/is-united-states-giving-up-on-supporting-democracy-abroad-pub-64516>).

Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *International Security* 37, no. 4 (Spring 2013): 90-131.

Seva Gunitsky, "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century," *International Organization* 68, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 561-97.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, "Four Perspectives on External Assistance," in *The Role of External Support in Nonviolent Campaigns: Poisoned Chalice or Holy Grail?* (Washington D.C.: ICNC Press, 2021), 7-19.

Recommended Readings:

Fred Halliday, "'The Sixth Great Power': On the Study of Revolution and International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 16, no. 3 (July 1990): 207-21.

Thomas Carothers, "International Democracy Support: Filling the Leadership Vacuum," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 18, 2019,

<https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/07/18/international-democracy-support-filling-leadership-vacuum-pub-79522> (<https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/07/18/international-democracy-support-filling-leadership-vacuum-pub-79522>).

Lucan Way and Steven Levitsky, "Why Democracy Needs a Level Playing Field," *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 1 (January 2010): 57-68, <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/why-democracy-needs-a-level-playing-field/> (<https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/why-democracy-needs-a-level-playing-field/>).

Adam E. Casey, "The Durability of Client Regimes: Foreign Sponsorship and Military Loyalty, 1946-2010," *World Politics* 72, no. 3 (July 2020): 411-47.

Michael McFaul, "Introduction: American and European Strategies to Promote Democracy—Shared Values, Common Challenges, Divergent Tools?" (with Amichai Magen), in Amichai Magen, Michael McFaul, and Thomas Risse, *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law: American and European Strategies* (Basingstoke:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 1-33.

Michael McFaul, “Democracy Promotion as a World Value,” *The Washington Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2004-2005): 147-63.

John Eikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Melvyn P. Leffler, “Dreams of Freedom, Temptations of Power,” in *Safeguarding Democratic Capitalism: U.S. Foreign Policy and National Security, 1920–2015* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 243-80.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, “Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change,” *Comparative Politics* 38, no. 4 (July 2006): 379-400.

Michael McFaul, *Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009).

James Dobbins, John G. McGinn, Keith Crane, Seth G. Jones, Rollie Lal, Andrew Rathmell, Rachel Swanger, and Anga Timilsina, *America’s Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2003).

Steven R. Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, “Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability,” *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 4 (December 2012): 869-89.

Ronald D. Asmus, et al. “Progressive Internationalism: A Democratic National Security Strategy,” *Progressive Policy Institute*, 3-19.

February 4th: “Third Wave” Cases

(Deep Dive: South Africa. Shallow Dive: Zimbabwe.)

Speaker: Kumi Naidoo, former anti-apartheid activist

Required Readings:

Nelson Mandela, "South Africa's Future: Symposium -- African National Congress," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 4 (Fall 1990): <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/225637> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/225637>)

Joe Slovo, "The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution," <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/slovo/1988/national-democratic-revolution.htm> (<https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/slovo/1988/national-democratic-revolution.htm>).

Timothy Sisk, "South Africa: Enabling Liberation," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 168-91.

Tom Lodge, "The Interplay of Non-violent and Violent Action in the Movement against Apartheid in South Africa, 1983-1994," in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 213-30.

Elisabeth Jean Wood, "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador," *Comparative Political Studies* 34 no. 8 (October 2001): 862-88.

"Mass Democratic movements, 1976-1983," *South African History Online*, last updated August 10, 2017, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/mass-democratic-movements-1976-1983> (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/mass-democratic-movements-1976-1983>).

Joseph F. Jordan, "Sanctions Were Crucial to the Defeat of Apartheid," *The New York Times*, updated November 19, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/11/19/sanctions-successes-and-failures/sanctions-were-crucial-to-the-defeat-of-apartheid> (<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/11/19/sanctions-successes-and-failures/sanctions-were-crucial-to-the-defeat-of-apartheid>).

Audie Klotz, "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions against South Africa," *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 451-78.

Boris Ponomarev, "The World Situation and the Revolutionary Process," *World Marxist Review* (1974).

Rachel Beatty Riedl, "Africa's Democratic Outliers: Success Amid Challenges in Benin and South Africa," (unpublished manuscript, 2021)

A Force More Powerful (South African segment), <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/force-powerful-english/>.

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Jeffrey Davidow, "Zimbabwe Is a Success," *Foreign Policy*, no. 49 (Winter 1982-3): 93-106.

Masipula Sithole, "Zimbabwe's Eroding Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 8, no. 1 (January 1997), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16800> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16800>).

Alex Magaisa, "Zimbabwe: An Opportunity Lost," *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 1 (January 2019): 143-57, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/713729> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/713729>)

Michael McFaul, "Zimbabwe, 1976-1980," In *Southern African Liberation and Great Power Intervention: Towards a Theory of Revolution in an International Context* (Oxford, DPhil, 1991).

Recommended Readings:

Andrew Nash, "Mandela's Democracy," in Sean Jacobs and Richard Calland, *Thabo Mbeki's World: The Politics and Ideology of the South African President* (University of Natal: Zed Books, 2002).

Philip I. Levy, "Sanctions on South Africa: What Did They Do?" *Yale University* (February 1999), 1-13, http://www.econ.yale.edu/growth_pdf/cdp796.pdf (http://www.econ.yale.edu/growth_pdf/cdp796.pdf).

Audie Klotz, "International Legitimation of Social Movements: The Rise and Decline of Ethnic Nationalism in South Africa," *International Politics* 43 (2006): 153-72.

David Adesnik and Michael McFaul, "Engaging Autocratic Allies to Promote Democracy," *The Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 7-26.

Josiah Magama Tongagara, *Our Struggle for Liberation* (Harare: Mabo Press, 1984).

Vincent T. Maphai, "The New South Africa: A Season for Power-Sharing," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (January 1996), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16727> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16727>)

Elisabeth Jean Wood, "From Civil War to Democracy," in *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3-24.

Rod Alence, "South Africa After Apartheid: The First Decade," *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 3 (July 2004): 78-92, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/170824> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/170824>)

Robert Mattes, "South Africa: Democracy Without the People?" *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (July 2002): 22-36, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/17180> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/17180>)

Wilmot James and Daria Caliguire, "The New South Africa: Renewing Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (January 1996), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16721> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16721>)

Steven Friedman, "South Africa's Reluctant Transition," *Journal of Democracy* 4, no. 2 (April 1993), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/225470/pdf> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/225470/pdf>)

Hermann Giliomee, "South Africa's emerging dominant-party regime," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 4 (October 1998): <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16913> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16913>)

Masipula Sithole, "Fighting Authoritarianism in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 1 (January 2001), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/17101> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/17101>).

Michael Bratton and Eldred Masunungure, "Zimbabwe's Long Agony," *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (October 2008): 41-55, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/252225> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/252225>).

"Spotlight on Zimbabwean Elections: Winner Takes All", https://youtu.be/0QDISgb9_ME (https://youtu.be/0QDISgb9_ME).

February 11th: "Fourth Wave" Cases

(Deep Dive: USSR. Shallow Dive: Poland.)

Speaker: Mikhail Shneider, former Democratic Russia leader

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Required Readings:

Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44, no. 1 (October 1991): 7-48.

Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy *and* Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (2002): 212-44.

Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, "The Soviet Union and Russia: The Collapse of 1991 and the Initial Transition to Democracy in 1993," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 27-61.

Philip G. Roeder, "The Triumph of Nation-States: Lessons from the Collapse of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia," in Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21-57.

Francis Fukuyama, "The Modernizing Imperative: The USSR as an Ordinary Country," *The National Interest*, no. 31 (Spring 1993): 10-18.

Michael McFaul, "Moscow's Drama: A View From Below," *Freedom Review* 22, no. 6 (November/December 1991).

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Gregory F. Domber, "Poland: International Pressure for a Negotiated Transition, 1981-1989," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 62-90.

Iana Sabatovych, "Does nationalism promote democracy? Comparative analyses of Ukraine's 'Maidan' revolution and Poland's 'Solidarity' mass mobilization," *Contemporary Politics* 24, no. 2, 131-52.

Aleksander Smolar, "Poland's Emerging Party System," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 2 (April 1998): 122-33, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16885> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16885>).

A Force More Powerful (Polish segment) <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/force-powerful-english/> (<https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/force-powerful-english/>).

Recommended Readings:

Michael McFaul, "Choosing Autocracy: Revolution, Institutional Inertia, and Actors in the Erosion of Russian Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 50, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 305-25.

Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?" *Slavic Review* 53, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 173-85.

Helga A. Welsh, "Political Transition Processes in Central and Eastern Europe," *Comparative Politics* 26, no. 4 (1994): 379-94.

Michael McFaul, *Post-Communist Politics: Democratic Prospects in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1993).

Michael McFaul, "American Efforts at Promoting Regime Change in the Soviet Union and Russia: Lessons Learned," unpublished manuscript (September 2005), https://fsi-live.s3.us-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/CDDRL_Working_Paper43McFaulFIN.pdf (https://fsi-live.s3.us-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/CDDRL_Working_Paper43McFaulFIN.pdf).

Bryn Rosenfield, "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia," *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 4 (2017): 637-52.

M. Steven Fish, "What Has Russia Become?" *Comparative Politics* 50, no. 3 (April 2018): 327-46.

Lucan A. Way, "Deer in Headlights: Incompetence and Weak Authoritarianism after the Cold War," *Slavic Review* 71, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 619-46.

February 18th: "Color Revolutions"

(Deep Dive: Serbia, 2000. Shallow Dive: Ukraine, 2004.)

Speaker: Srdja Popovic, former Otpor leader

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Required Readings:

Michael McFaul, "Transitions from Postcommunism," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 5-19.

Ray Jennings, "Serbia: Evaluating the Bulldozer Revolution," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 91-119.

Ivan Vejvoda, "Civil Society versus Slobodan Milosevic: Serbia, 1991-2000," in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 295-316.

Michael Dobbs, "U.S. Advice Guided Milosevic Opposition," *The Washington Post*, December 11, 2000, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/12/11/us-advice-guided-milosevic-opposition/ba9e87e5-bdca-45dc-8aad-da6571e89448/>

(<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/12/11/us-advice-guided-milosevic-opposition/ba9e87e5-bdca-45dc-8aad-da6571e89448/>).

Ivan Marovic, "In defense of Otpor," *Open Democracy*, December 6, 2013,
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/civilresistance/in-defense-of-otpor/>
 (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/civilresistance/in-defense-of-otpor/>).

Bringing Down a Dictator, directed by Steve York (2008). <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/bringing-dictator-english/> (<https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/bringing-dictator-english/>).

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Michael McFaul and Richard Youngs, "Ukraine: External Actors and the Orange Revolution," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 120-43.

Movie: *Orange Revolution*, (2007) directed by Steve York, available at <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/orange-revolution-english/> (<https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/orange-revolution-english/>).

Lucan Way, "The Maidan and Beyond: Civil Society and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 3 (July 2014): 35-43.

Michael McFaul, "Annexation and War in Ukraine," in *From Cold War to Hot Peace* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018), 393-408.

Recommended Readings:

Stephen Jones, "Georgia's 'Rose Revolution' of 2003: Enforcing Peaceful Change," in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 317-34.

Joshua A. Tucker, "Enough! Electoral, Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September 2007): 535-51.

Anders Aslund and Michael McFaul, eds., *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

Michael McFaul, "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security* 32, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 45-83.

Florian Bieber, "The Serbian Opposition and Civil Society: Roots of the Delayed Transition in Serbia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 73-90.

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, "International diffusion and postcommunist electoral revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, no. 3 (2006): 283-304.

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, "Azerbaijan: Losing the Transitional Moment," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 400-28.

February 25th: The Arab Spring

(Deep Dive: Egypt. Shallow Dive: Tunisia.)

Speaker: Amr Hamzawy, former Egyptian MP

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Required Readings:

Lisa Blaydes, Amr Hamzawy, and Hesham Sallam, eds., "Chapter 1," in *Struggles for Political Change in the Arab World: Regimes, Oppositions, and External Actors after the Spring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

Amr Hamzawy, "Authoritarian Narratives and Practices in Today's Egypt," in Lisa Blaydes, Amr Hamzawy and Hesham Sallam, eds., *Struggles for Political Change in the Arab World: Regimes, Oppositions, and External Actors after the Spring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

Amr Hamzawy, "Post 2013 Egypt: Declining Formal Politics and Resilient Social Activism," in Suzi Mirgani, ed., *Informal Politics in the Middle East* (London: Hurst, 2021).

Eva Bellin, "The Puzzle of Democratic Divergence in the Arab World: Theory Confronts Experience in Egypt and Tunisia," *Political Science Quarterly* 133, no. 3 (2018): 435-74.

Lucan Way, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: Lessons of 1989," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (October 2011): 13-23, <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/comparing-the-arab-revolts-the-lessons-of-1989/> (<https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/comparing-the-arab-revolts-the-lessons-of-1989/>).

Peter J. Schraeder and Hamadi Redissi, “The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: Ben Ali’s Fall,” *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 3 (July 2011): 5-19, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/444754/pdf> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/444754/pdf>).

Recommended Readings:

Peter Sluglett, “Understanding Recent Social and Political Developments in the Middle East and North Africa: A Personal Odyssey,” in Asaad al-Saleh, ed., *Voices of the Arab Spring: Personal Stories From the Arab Revolutions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

Frédéric Vairel, “Protesting in Authoritarian Situations: Egypt and Morocco in Comparative Perspective,” in Joel Beinin and Frédéric Vairel, eds., *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa* (Stanford University Press, 2013), 33-48.

Eitan Y. Alimi, “Introduction: Popular Contention, Regime, and Transition: A Comparative Perspective,” in Eitan Y. Alimi, Avraham Sela, and Mario Sznajder, eds., *Popular Contention, Regime, and Transition: Arab Revolts in Comparative Global Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Bessma Momani, “Introduction,” in *Arab Dawn: Arab Youth and the Demographic Dividend They Will Bring* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 3-19.

Abdelsalam Mahmoud, “Social Movements in Tunisia and Egypt: A Tale of Two Revolutions,” *International Journal of Social Science Studies* 3, no. 3 (May 2015): 8-20.

Mieczysław P. Boduszynski, Kristin Fabbe, and Christopher Lamont, “After the Arab Spring: Are Secular Parties the Answer?” *Journal of Democracy* 26, no. 4 (October 2015), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/595929> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/595929>).

Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain, “The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The Role of Digital Media,” *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 3 (July 2011): 35-48, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/444758/pdf> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/444758/pdf>).

Geoffrey Macdonald and Luke Waggoner, “Dashed Hopes and Extremism in Tunisia,” *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 1 (January 2018): 126-40, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/683641> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/683641>).

Rached Ghannouchi, “Islam and Democracy in Tunisia,” *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3 (July 2018): 5-8, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/698913/pdf> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/698913/pdf>).

March 4th: China/Hong Kong

(Deep Dive: Tiananmen Square in 1989, Hong Kong from 2016 – Present. Shallow Dive: Taiwan.)

Speaker: Nathan Law, Former Secretary General of Hong Kong Federation of Students

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Required Readings:

Minxin Pei, “China: The Doomed Transitional Moment of 1989,” in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 378-99.

Minxin Pei, “‘Creeping Democratization’ in China,” *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 4 (October 1995), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16711> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16711>)

Merle Goldman, “The 1989 Demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and Beyond: Echoes of Gandhi, in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 247-59.

Andrew Nathan, “Is China Ready for Democracy?” *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 50-61.

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, “Crackdown: Hong Kong Faces Tiananmen 2.0,” *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 4 (October 2020): 122-37, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/766189> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/766189>)

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, “Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement: The Protests and Beyond,” *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 2 (April 2015): 111-21, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/578612> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/578612>).

Michael C. Davis, “Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement: Beijing’s Broken Promises,” *Journal of Democracy* 26, no. 2 (April 2015), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/578611> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/578611>).

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Lee Teng-hui, "Chinese Culture and Political Renewal," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 4 (October 1995), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16701> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16701>)

Hung-mao Tien, "Taiwan's Transformation," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, eds. Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 123-61.

Thomas B. Gold, "Taiwan: Still Defying the Odds," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, eds. Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 162-91.

James C.Y. Soong, "Explaining Taiwan's Transition," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, eds. Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 202-10.

Yun-han Chu, Fu Hu, and Chung-in Moon, "South Korea and Taiwan: The International Context," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, eds. Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 267-94.

Recommended Readings:

Sungmin Cho, "Why Non-Democracy Engages with Western Democracy-Promotion Programs: The China Model," *World Politics* 73, no. 4 (October 2021): 774-817.

Nelson K. Lee, "How is a political public space made? – The birth of Tiananmen Square and the May Fourth Movement," *Political Geography* 28 (2009): 32-43, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2008.05.003> (<https://doi-org.stanford.idm.oclc.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2008.05.003>)

Martin C.M. Lee, "Liberal Voices from China: The Hong Kong Example," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 4 (October 1998), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16918> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16918>).

Jennifer Pan and Yiqing Xu, "China's Ideological Spectrum," *The Journal of Politics* 80, no. 1 (2018): 254-273.
Jennifer Pan and Yiqing Xu, "Gauging Preference Stability and Ideological Constraint under Authoritarian Rule," Working paper, 2021 (paper here (https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3679076)).

D. Cantoni, D.Y. Yang, N. Yuchtman, and Y.J. Zhang, "Protests as strategic games: experimental evidence from Hong Kong's antiauthoritarian movement," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134, no. 2 (2019): 1021-1077.

L. Burszty, D. Cantoni, D.Y. Yang, N. Yuchtman, and Y.J. Zhang, "Persistent political engagement: Social interactions and the dynamics of protest movements," *American Economic Review: Insights* 3, no. 2 (2021): 233-50.

March 11th: Ongoing Mobilizations

Speaker: TBC

Required Readings: TBD, depending on class interest

Russia:

Samuel A. Greene, "Beyond Bolotnaia: Bridging Old and New in Russia's Election Protest Movement,"

Problems of Post-Communism 60, no. 2 (2017): 40-52.

Ukraine:

Sudan:

Khalid Mustafa Medani, "Understanding the Roots, Dynamics, and Potential of an Impossible Revolution: The Prospects and Challenges of Democratization in Sudan," in *Struggles for Political Change in the Arab World: Regimes, Oppositions, and External Actors after the Spring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

Mai Hassan and Ahmed Kodouda, "Sudan's Uprising: The Fall of A Dictator," *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 4 (October 2019): 89-103, <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/sudans-uprising-the-fall-of-a-dictator/> (<https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/sudans-uprising-the-fall-of-a-dictator/>).

Sharan Grewal, "Where Sudan Succeeded Where Algeria Failed," *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 4 (October 2021), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/815940> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/815940>).

Belarus:

The United States (Black Lives Matter):

Stanford
University

Burma:

(<https://www.stanford.edu>)

Kazakhstan: Stanford Home
(<https://www.stanford.edu>)
Maps & Directions
(<https://visit.stanford.edu/plan/>)
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(<https://www.stanford.edu/search/>)
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