

POL 228 Politics of Authoritarian Regimes
Spring 2019
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:25pm – 2:40pm

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Course Description

Most of the world's political regimes have historically been authoritarian. Even though, since the end of the Cold War, democratic regimes have come to outnumber their authoritarian counterparts, 40% of the world's governments still remain authoritarian, and the majority of the world's population lives under authoritarian rule. Moreover, we have been witnessing rise of authoritarian populism in western societies over the last two decades. That is why any effort to understand the foundations of democratic regimes would be incomplete without studying authoritarian regimes.

The main goal of the course is for students to gain a good understanding of the difference between democratic and authoritarian regimes, learn about different types of authoritarian rule as well as how they maintain and exercise power. Even though we will talk about the potential these regimes have for democratic transition, our primary purpose is to examine the variety of ways in which authoritarian regimes operate and sustain. We will use contemporary events, historical case studies, as well as statistical data in order to examine real-world cases.

Readings

There is one required textbook.

Milan Svolik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Most of the articles are available online at Duke Libraries at <http://library.duke.edu/> and denoted with an asterisk in the syllabus. Book chapters will be made available on Sakai.

Grading

a. Class Participation

Students should attend class regularly and participate actively and intelligently in class discussions. I do expect you to read every single piece from the reading list before class and come prepared for class discussion. Class participation will count for 10% of the final grade.

b. Exams

There are three exams. You can take any two or all three exams because your highest two scores out of three will count towards your final grade. Exams will be in-class and close-book and will have short answer and essay questions. Each exam counts 25% of the final grade. There is no final exam for this class.

c. Class Presentation and Paper

We will set aside some time early in the semester to organize class presentations. We will have teams of 3-4 people and each team is tasked with (i) preparing a 50-55 minute presentation on an assigned case study as well as prepare a list of questions to lead a 15-20 minute class discussion (iii) send me an electronic copy of the presentation (in power point format) and the discussion questions a day before the presentation and (iv) every team member will write an individual paper focusing and expanding on the case study (using standard 12-point font, double-spaced and with one-inch margins, numbered and stapled pages, with detailed bibliography and the final product should flow smoothly, be proof-read, and spell-checked) they have presented in class. All papers are due on *May 1 Wednesday 5pm* without exception and late submissions are not acceptable unless previously approved by me. I expect students to give me regular updates about the progress of teamwork and let me know of any problems immediately so I can intervene before it is too late.

I assign “starter” readings for each case study in the syllabus. I expect each team to use those as their point of departure and use other resources --- books, newspaper and journal articles, government documents, TV interviews, video clips, etc --- to put their presentations together. Class presentation (20%) and paper (20%) will count for 40% of the final grade.

d. Extra Credit and Gift Card Lottery

Students are encouraged to participate in the political science experimental subject pool. Students will receive 1 point of extra credit for each hour of participation in Political Science Research Pool (PSRP) studies. Students can earn a maximum of 2 points for the semester for this course. Besides, students who participated in studies in the PSRP will be entered into a \$50 Amazon gift card lottery. More information about this option is available at: <http://www.duke.edu/web/psrp>. If you wish to participate, you can register at: <http://duke-psrp.sona-systems.com>.

Tentative Class Schedule: Please see this as a work in progress. We may add/delete material and update group presentation dates along the way. I will keep you updated!

January 10 Welcome and Course Introduction.

January 15 Authoritarian Regimes: Concepts

* Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, 1992. "What Democracy is...and is not." *Journal of Democracy* 2 (3): 75-88.
<http://www.ned.org/docs/Philippe-C-Schmitter-and-Terry-Lynn-Karl-What-Democracy-is-and-Is-Not.pdf>

* Fareed Zakaria, 1997. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 76(6): 22-43.

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

* Andreas Schedler, 2002. "Elections without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 36-50.

January 17 Authoritarian Regimes: Origins

* Mancur Olson, 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567 - 576.

* Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49(3): 155-183.

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. pp. 15-47.

January 22 Classifying Authoritarian Regimes

* Barbara Geddes, 1999. "What do we know about Democratization after 25 years?" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2 :115-144.

Milan Svoblik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2: "The World of Authoritarian Politics."

January 24 Single Party Regimes

Milan Svoblik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6: "Why Authoritarian Parties? The Regime Party as an Instrument of Cooptation and Control."

* Benjamin B. Smith. 2005. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule." *World Politics* 57(3): 421-451.
<http://www.benjaminbsmith.net/uploads/9/0/0/6/9006393/lop.pdf>

* Kenneth Greene. 2010. "The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(7): 807-834.

January 29, 31 Case Study: Mexico until 2000

Daniel C. Levy and Kathleen Bruhn, 1999. "Mexico: Sustained Civilian Rule without Democracy" in Larry Diamond, Jonathan Hartlyn, Juan Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds. *Democracy in Developing Countries Latin America 2nd Edition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 519-573.

* Michael Ross, 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.

* Nikki Craske. 2001. "Another Mexican Earthquake? An Assessment of the 2 July 2000 Elections." *Government and Opposition* 36 (1): 27-47.

* Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, 2006. "Cooperation, Cooptation and Rebellion under Dictatorships." *Economics and Politics* 18(1): 1-26.

Beatriz Magaloni, 2006. *Voting for Autocracy. Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4: "The Politics of Vote Buying."

* Beatriz Magaloni, 2010. "The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3): 751-765.

February 5 Case Study: China

"The Party Goes On in China." *The Economist*. 28 May 2009.

<http://www.economist.com/node/13741467>

Cheng Li. 2010. "China's Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power." in William A Joseph, ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction*. pp. 165-191. New York: Oxford University Press.

* Yongshun Cai. 2008. "Power Structure and Regime Resilience: Contentious Politics in China." *British Journal of Political Science* 38(3): 411-432.

* Lily Tsai. 2007. "Solidarity Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provisions in Rural China", *American Political Science Review*, 101 (2): 355-372

* Minxin Pei. 2012. "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy* 23(1): 27-41.

* *China from the Inside, Part I: A PBS Documentary*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSFcAK5s4nU>

February 7 Military Regimes

Milan Svobik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5: "Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and the Origins of Military Dictatorships." pp. 123-138, 148-153, and 159.

* Barbara Geddes, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright. 2014. "Military Rule." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(7): 147-162.

February 12 Case Study: Pinochet's Chile

Lois Hecht Oppenheim, 1993. *Politics in Chile. Democracy, Authoritarianism, and the Search for Development*. Second Edition. Westview Press. 87-108.

Mary Helen Spooner, 1999. *Soldiers in a Narrow Land: The Pinochet Regime in Chile*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

* Jose Serra. 2004. "The Other September 11." *Dissent*. Winter: 85-89.

After Pinochet: The Healing of a Country's Wounded Heart
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9IQZ4WWHOB8>

DVD: A Force More Powerful: *Chile – Defeat of a Dictator*

February 14 Exam I

February 19 Case Study: Turkey until 2007

Ergun Ozbudun, 1995. "Turkey: Crises, Interruptions and Reequilibrations." in *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy, Second Edition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 219-243.

William L. Cleveland, 2000. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press. pp. 172-181, 267-279, 504-509.

Steven A Cook. 2007. *Ruling but not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria and Turkey*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 5: "Islamist Political Power and the Kemalist Political Order."

February 21 Personalist Regimes

Milan Svolik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3: "And Then There was One! Authoritarian Power-sharing and the Path to Personal Dictatorship." pp. 53-63 and 75-81.

Richard Overy. 2006. *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia*. Chapter 1: "Stalin and Hitler: Paths to Dictatorship." pp. 1-53.

February 26, 28 Propaganda, Cooptation, Repression, and Coercion

* F. M. Marx 1935. "Propaganda and Dictatorship." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 179: 211-218.

* Lisa Weeden. 1998. "Acting 'As If': Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 40(3): 503-523.

* Haifeng Huang. 2015. "Propaganda as Signaling." *Comparative Politics* 47(4): 419-444.

Eva Bellin. 2005. "Coercive Institutions and Coercive Leaders." In Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michelle Penner Angrist eds. *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 21-41.

Brian D. Taylor. 2011. *State Building in Putin's Russia: Policing and Coercion after Communism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3: "Coercion and Capacity: Political Order and the Central State." pp. 71-111.

* Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace." *World Politics* 66(2): 195-228.

* Reuter, Ora John and Graeme Robertson. 2015. "Legislatures, Cooptation, and Social Protest in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes." *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 235-248.

March 5 Case Study: Stalin's Great Terror

Sheila Fitzpatrick. 1999. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 7: "Conversations and Listeners." pp. 164-189.

* Donna Bahry and Brian D. Silver, 1987. "Intimidation and the Symbolic Uses of Terror in the USSR." *American Political Science Review* 81(4): 1065-1098.

Oleg Khlevniuk. 1995. "The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937-1938." in David Hoffman ed, *Stalinism. Essential Readings*. Blackwell Publishers. pp. 82-104.

* Golfo Alexopoulos, 2008. "Stalin and the Politics of Kinshi: Practices of Collective Punishment, 1920s-1940s." *Contemporary Studies in Society and History* 50(1): 91-117.

Mary McAuley. 1992. *Soviet Politics: 1917-1992*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 4: "Terror."

March 7 Case Study: North Korea

B. R. Myers. 2009. *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves --- and Why it Matters*. Melville House. pp. 25-66.

Barbara Demick. 2009. *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea*. Spiegel and Grau. Pp. 36-73, 174-184.

* David McNeill. January 23, 2012. "The Real North Korea by Kim's Forsaken Son" *The Independent*

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/the-real-north-korea-by-kims-forsaken-son-6293256.html>

BBC Inside North Korea: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2zDYrFE985g>

March 12-14 Spring Break

March 19 Exam 2

March 21 Case Study: Erdogan's Turkey

Steven A Cook. 2007. *Ruling but not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria and Turkey*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 5: "Islamist Political Power and the Kemalist Political Order."

* Bahar Leventoğlu. June 6, 2013. "For Much More Than "A Few Trees" By Many More Than "A Few Looters." *The Monkey Cage Blog* <http://themonkeycage.org/2013/06/for-much-more-than-a-few-trees-by-many-more-than-a-few-looters/>

* Various Authors. 2012. Special Issue on Turkey under AKP. *Journal of Democracy*. 23(1).

* Steven A. Cook. July 21, 2016. "How Erdogan Made Turkey Authoritarian Again." *The Atlantic* <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/07/how-erdogan-made-turkey-authoritarian-again/492374/>

* Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith. July 23, 2016. "The Logic of the Political Purge." *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/07/turkey-erdogan-purge-coup/492659/>

* Bahar Leventoğlu. January 25, 2017. "Turkey's Dangerous Descent Towards Dictatorship." Interview with *Mint Press News* --- complete transcript: <https://www.mintpressnews.com/turkeys-dangerous-descent-towards-dictatorship/224370/>

* Carlotta Gall, July 19, 2018. "Erdogan, Flush with Victory, Seizes New Powers in Turkey." *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/19/world/asia/turkey-erdogan.html>

March 26 Islam and Authoritarianism

* M. Steven Fish. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55: 4 -37.

* Daniela Donno and Bruce Russett. 2004. "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages?" *World Politics* 56 (July): 582-607.

* Larry Diamond. 2010. "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 93-104.

M. Steven Fish. 2011. *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 and 7.

March 28, April 2 Case Study: Iran

William L. Cleveland, 2000. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press. Pages 140-144, 182-187, 279-291, 410-426, 511-512.

* Michael Ross, 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics*. 53(3): 325-361.

* Saeed Rahnama and Haideh Moghissi, 2001. "Clerical Oligarchy and the Question of "Democracy" in Iran." *Monthly Review*. Vol. 52 (10): 28-40.

* Ervand Abrahamian, 2009. "Why the Islamic Republic Has Survived." *Middle East Report* 250 (Spring): 10-16.

* Abbas Milani, 2015. "The Authoritarian Resurgence: Iran's Paradoxical Regime." *Journal of Democracy* 26(2): 52-60

* BBC Online, Iran's Nuclear Stand-off:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4031603.stm

* Gawdat Bahgat, 2006. "Nuclear Proliferation: The Islamic Republic of Iran." *Iranian Studies* 39(3): 307-328.

* Robin Wright, 2015. "Tehran's Promise." *The New Yorker*. July 17, 2015.

April 4 Media, Information and Communication

* Marc Lynch, 2011. "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(2): 301-310.

* Reuter, Ora John and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes." *British Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 29-51.

* Jan H. Pierskalla and Florian M. Hollenbach, 2013. "Technology and Collective Action: The Effect of Cell Phone Coverage on Political Violence in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 207-224.

* Gary King, Jennifer Pan and Margaret Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 326-343.

April 9 Case Study: Putin's Russia

Maria Lipman and Michael McFaul. 2009. "The Media and Political Developments." in Stephen K. Wegren and Dale R. Herspring eds, *After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 109-132.

* Scott Gehlbach. 2010. "Reflections on Putin and the Media." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 26(1): 77-87.

* Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia." *American Economic Review* 101(7): 3253-85.

* Jill Dougherty. 2015. "How Media Became One of Putin's Most Powerful Weapons." *The Atlantic*.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/how-the-media-became-putins-most-powerful-weapon/391062/>

April 11: Protest and Revolution

* Timur Kuran, 1991. "Now Out or Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

* Kevin O'Brien, 2006. "Rightful Resistance." *World Politics* 49: 31-55.

* Joshua A. Tucker, 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(4): 535-551.

* Graeme Robertson, 2007. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 781-798.

Peter L. Lorentzen, 2013. "Regularizing Rioting: Permitting Public Protest in an Authoritarian Regime." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8(2): 127-158.

April 16 Case Study: The Arab Spring

* Jack A. Goldstone. 2011. "Understanding Revolutions of 2011." *Foreign Affairs* 90(3): 8-16.

* Malcolm Gladwell. October 4, 2010. "Small Change: Why The Revolution will not be Tweeted." *The New Yorker*. 86(30): 42-49.

* James Fallows. 2011. "Arab Spring, Chinese Winter." *Atlantic Monthly*. 308(2): 50-58.

* Jeffrey Goldberg. 2011. "Danger Falling Tyrants." *Atlantic Monthly*. 307(5): 46-54.

* Eva Bellin, 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127-149.

* F. Gregory Gause, III. 2011. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 90(4): 81-90.

* Wendy Pearlman. 2013. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(2): 387-409.

April 18: The Global Rise of Authoritarianism --- Discussion! Everybody please come prepared to talk about the topic!

* Pippa Norris. March 11, 2016. "It's not just Trump. Authoritarian Populism is Rising Across the West." *Washington Post*.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/03/11/its-not-just-trump-authoritarian-populism-is-rising-across-the-west-heres-why/?utm_term=.25c12858d891

* Joanna Fomina and Jacek Kucharczyk. 2016. "Populism and Protest in Poland." *Journal of Democracy* 27(4): 58-68.

* Steven A. Cook. July 2016. "How Erdogan Made Turkey Authoritarian Again." *The Atlantic*.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/07/how-erdogan-made-turkey-authoritarian-again/492374/>

* James Fallows. December 2016. "China's Great Leap Backward." *The Atlantic*.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/12/chinas-great-leap-backward/505817/>

April 23: Exam 3

Important Notes:

I will not give make-up exams beyond restrictive University rules (illness, religious holiday, sports events). In case a make-up exam is absolutely necessary, you need to contact me early enough to make arrangements.

You need to submit any grade appeals on an exam no later than a week after I give the graded exams back with a written statement explaining clearly why you think you need a grade change. Note that I will re-grade your entire exam in the event of an appeal and your grade may go up but it may also go down.

I will not tolerate plagiarism and will follow Duke University's policy regarding violations of academic integrity and the Duke Community Standard. If you are not sure what constitutes plagiarism, please visit the following website: <https://plagiarism.duke.edu/>