

Third World Politics
Professor Daniel Brumberg
drrumberg@gmail.com

Goals of and Reasons for this Course

During the last decade, the world has witnessed an extraordinary series of events. From Brasilia to Warsaw, democratic forces have challenged authoritarian regimes on the left and right of the political spectrum. In some cases this trend has opened the door to the establishment of democratic governments. In other cases, however, the weakening of authoritarian regimes has promoted the growth and political fortunes of a host of ultra-nationalist or religious-fundamentalist movements seeking to impose their own brand of authoritarianism.

How do we account for such changes? Under what conditions is it more or less likely that authoritarian regimes will be challenged and displaced by democratic movements? Why do economic development, urbanization, and education -- processes understood as "modernization" -- promote political stability and a common sense of identity in some cases, while in other instances, it engenders sectarianism, religious bigotry and even civil war? In short, how can we make sense of the world we live in?

This course explores some of these daunting questions, particularly as they relate to the challenges of "political development" and "modernization" in the Third World.

We shall see that social scientists have been wrestling with these issues for more than 4 decades. In their efforts to make sense of the confusing maze of data regarding Third World development, and in their attempts to "order" this data in a way that will make it accessible to explanation, they have developed analytical frameworks, theories or "paradigms." These frameworks have served as crucial intellectual guides for entire generations of social scientists.

Our task is three-fold: First, we shall closely examine -- in more or less chronological order - - the most important analytical schools of thought that have guided the study of Third World development. As we shall see, these paradigms have in some cases helped us to identify significant social and political trends. Second, we will consider how and why these paradigms often encounter competition from new ways of analyzing politics. This process by which new paradigms rise and fall in the field, is not solely a matter of new discoveries and advances. Theories and approaches are influenced as much by social and political considerations, as they are by "scientific" factors. Third, and to illustrate the above point, we shall explore how political interests and power politics shape the study of political development, and in turn, how theories of Third World politics have affected and sometimes even helped to legitimate American foreign policy.

Overview of the Course

To open the course, in the **Introduction** we will read "blind" (i.e. without the aid of any theory or analytical framework) a classic essay about political change in a Turkish village, written nearly forty years ago. Today this essay may sound naive and unduly optimistic; but even those with little introduction to the study of Third World politics cannot fail to notice the rather dated and possibly misguided assumptions that inform this essay.

Part One explores the "Liberal-Optimist" school of "modernization." This school set the research and even foreign policy agenda in the United States for more than a decade. **Part Three** looks at the "Conservative-Pessimist" school of "political development." By the early to mid-seventies, proponents of this school had practically superseded their "liberal" counterparts. In doing so, they promoted a trend in American policy towards support for authoritarian, non-communist military regimes.

Part Two considers the Marxist or "dependencia" response to the above intellectual and political trends. Students of dependency did not totally reject many of the observations made by their conservative counter-parts. However, the dependency theorists attributed endemic political instability to the constraints of the international capitalist order rather than to indigenous factors such as culture or political tradition.

Oddly enough, we shall see in **Part Three** that several leading proponents of dependency theory changed their theoretical and even political tune by the early to mid-eighties. In fact, the "dependencias" were the first to predict the "transition from authoritarianism." Later these leftist scholars were joined by a more traditional group of liberal scholars. Together these strange bed fellows -- aided by the collapse of the Cold War -- helped forge the present day study of democratic change.

Part Four tackles some of the problems associated with the study of democratic change -- not only in the Third World, but also in Eastern Europe. We will ask whether the study of democratization -- by under-estimating the enduring effect of authoritarian ideologies and institutions -- paints an overly optimistic if not unrealistic view of the obstacles in the way of democratic change and market-oriented economic reforms in the Third world.

Prerequisites: "Comparative Political Systems"

Class Requirements:

In-class participation, one take-home mid-term, and one take-home final. All students are also required to do one in-class presentation based on one of the readings.

Readings:

All readings are available on blackboard under "Course Documents"

Grading:

In class participation and presentation, 20%; mid-term, 40%, final 40%.

INTRODUCTION: "Paradigms" in the Study of "Political Development" and "Modernization"

CLASS ONE

"The Grocer and the Chief: A Parable" in Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (London: Glencoe Collier Macmillan, 1958) pp. 19-42.

PART ONE: The "Liberal-Optimistic" School of "Modernization" (Or why the Third World will inevitably become like us).

Re-read "The Grocer and the Chief" (above).

Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, "Introduction and Overview" in Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little and Brown, 1966) pp. 1-41.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Economic Development and Democracy, Chapter 11, in Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (New York: Doubleday,) pp. 46-76.

CLASS TWO

Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Participation," in Jason Finkle and Richard Gable, Political Development and Social Change (John Wiley: New York, 1966) pp. 384-902.

PART TWO: The Conservative-Pessimistic School of "Political Development" Or why the Third World can't become like us -- at least not yet.

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

CLASS THREE

John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientalist Politics" in Finkle, Political

Development, pp. 519-37.L

Howard Wiarda, "Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberic-Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model" World Politics (January 1973) 25, pp. 250-278.

CLASS FOUR

Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York, Basic Books, 1973) pp. 254-310.

Arend Lijphart, "Plural Societies and Democratic Regimes," in Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies A Comparative Exploration (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977) 1-52.

PART THREE: The "Dependency" Explanation of Third World "Underdevelopment"

CLASS FIVE

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Charles Wilber, The Political Economy of Development and Under-Development (Charles Wilber and Kenneth Jameson (eds.), (New York: McGraw-Hill) pp. 107-118.

David Collier, "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model" in Collier, The New Authoritarianism in Latin America (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 19-32.

PART FOUR: The Discovery and Study of Democratic Transitions, Or how Marxists and Liberals rediscovered "objective" logic.

CLASS SIX

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Tensions in the Bureaucratic- Authoritarian State and the Question of Democracy" in Collier, New Authoritarianism pp. 285-31

Adam Przeworski, "Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, et.al. (eds.) Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) PP. 47-63.

Robert Kaufman, "Liberalization and Democratization in South America: Perspectives from the 1970s" in Guillermo O'Donnell, (ed). Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1986) pp. 85-107.

Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, (eds.), Transitions From Authoritarian Rule Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies (Baltimore and London: Johns

Hopkins University Press, 1986)

PART FIVE: Historical Legacies Post Transition Studies

CLASS SEVEN

Daniel H. Levine, "Paradigm Lost: Dependency to Democracy," World Politics, April 1988, No. 2, 377-94.

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transitions Paradigm," Journal of Democracy, January 2002. <http://www.journalofdemocracy.com/articles/Carothers-13-1.pdf>

CLASS EIGHT

March, J.G. and J.P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life" American Political Science Review, 78, pp. 734-49.

Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, "Frank Longstreth, Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics" in Steinmo et. al., Structuring Politics, Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 1-32.

Joel Migdal, "The State in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination," in Migdal, et. al, State Power and Social Forces, Domination and Transformation in the Third World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7-36.

Karen Remmer, "Theoretical Decay and Theoretical Development: The Resurgence of Institutional Analysis," World Politics, Vol. 50, October 1997, No. 1, 34-49

CLASS NINE

John Waterbury, "Democracy Without Democrats? The Potential for Political Liberalization in the Middle East" in Ghassan Salame, (ed.), Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World, (London, I.B. Tauris: 1994), 24-47.

Frances Hagopian, "Democracy by Undemocratic Means?" Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil, Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2, July 1990, 147-170.

Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van de Walle, "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," World Politics, 46, (July 1994) 453-89.

CLASS TEN

Daniel Brumberg, "Authoritarian Legacies and Reform Strategies in the Arab World," in Rex Brynen, Baghat Korany and Paul Nobles (eds.), Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World, (Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1995), 229-59.

_____. "Liberalization Versus Democracy: Understanding Arab Political Reform," Carnegie Endowment for Democracy Working Paper, 2003:
<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp37.pdf>

CLASS ELEVEN

Larry Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," Journal of Democracy, April 2002, 13, No. 2, 21-35.