PLS 401: SENIOR SEMINAR Part III: The Citizen & the Regime Ch. 7: Democracy & Autocracy

I. Democracy

- A. Definition: government by the people; **popular sovereignty**; a form of government in which sovereignty is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their representatives chosen in free, fair, frequent, and competitive elections (from the Greek, *demos* and *kracy* rule by the many)
- B. Key prerequisite: **democratic bargain** the willingness of conflicting groups in a democracy to: 1) engage in a nonviolent process of bargaining & compromise and 2) abide by the result
- C. Primary threats: destabilizing problems of poverty, overpopulation, or racial/ethnic/religious conflict
- D. Frequency of occurrence: only a minority of countries (29:104 independent since 1960s) are stable democracies
 - 1. Most stable democracies are prosperous, industrialized countries
 - 2. A few poor but modernizing countries are stable democracies: India, Jamaica, Malta, Botswana, & Costa Rica

E. The coming and going of democracy

1. Three waves:

- a. Post WWI: central Europe & Latin America (many did not survive the Great Depression)
- b. Post WWII: Germany, Italy, & many former-European colonies in the Third World
- c. 1970s to present in regional waves southern Europe, Latin America, North Africa, & Asia

2. Possible explanations

- a. Declining popular support for authoritarian regimes due to corruption, lost wars, economic stagnation, & human-rights abuses
- b. International pressure (e.g., League of Nations, UN, EU, NATO)
- c. End of Cold-War superpower support for military regimes
- 3. What do we learn from the Third Wave?
 - a. The importance of pacts between incoming democratizers & outgoing ruling groups (e.g., Spain & S. Africa)
 - b. Sudden (and unexpected) changes in the probability of success of democratization Figure 7.1 (e.g., end of Cold War)
 - c. Economic crisis or non-crisis?
 - (1) Crisis transitions: eastern Europe, most recent Latin America
 - (2) Non-crisis transitions: east Asian (Thailand & South Korea) & Spain, Turkey, & Chile

4. Why are prosperous countries likely to be democracies? | Figure 7.2

- a. **Prosperity** does *not* consistently predict the likelihood that an autocracy will become a democracy (see instead the other factors listed in sec. I. E. 2., above)
- b. However, **prosperity** does make it more likely that, once established, a democracy will remain a democracy
- c. Conversely, **the** *democratic bargain* **is** *less* **likely to survive if a democracy is poor** (because there are too many uncertainties that both the rich and poor are unwilling to accept e.g., Weimar Republic)

5. **Democracy & freedom** – *not* a constant relationship

- a. UK: Official Secrets Act (1911)
- b. Singapore: a mix of democracy & benevolent autocracy under the People's Action Party (PAP)
- c. US:
 - (1) Enslavement of African Americans and then widespread denial of their civil rights once freed
 - (2) Internment of Americans of Japanese descent
 - (3) Denial of equal rights to women (e.g., failure to ratify ERA)
 - (4) The role of money in electoral politics (Gilded Age & post-1970s reforms)

6. **Democracy & capitalism** – *not* a constant relationship

- a. Common values
 - (1) Individual freedom/limited government
 - (2) Collective decisions made by aggregating individual choices
- b. Most democracies have a capitalist economy
- c. However, many autocracies (past and present) also have capitalist economies

II. Autocracy

- A. Conventional definitions
 - 1. **Autocracy**: rule by one
 - 2. **Oligarchy**: rule by a few
 - 3. **Democracy**: rule by the many
- B. Shively's definition of autocracy: rule by those (one, few, or many) who
 - 1. Did not gain power by any regular constitutional process (note: Hitler was one of several exceptions to this)
 - 2. Are not limited by any formal set of rules
- C. Like many democracies, autocracies can be short-lived and unstable

D. Many diverse examples

- 1. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1922-91)
 - a. Brutal dictatorship under Lenin (1917-24) & Stalin (1924-53)
 - b. Less brutal rule under post-Stalin leaders: Malenkov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, Gorbachev
- 2. **Pakistan** alternation between democratic & military rule
 - a. Sporadic & typically brief democratic rule: most recently, Z.A. Bhutto (1971-77), Benazir Bhutto (1988-97), & Nawaz Sharif (1997-99)
 - b. Military takeovers under: Generals Ayub Khan (1958-71), Zia (1977-88) & Musharraf (1999 2008)

3. Saudi Arabia

- a. Absolute, hereditary, Sunni-Moslem monarchy (1932 present) under a king & council of ministers drawn from the Saud family
- b. Support economic modernization with a market economy but resist social or political change
- 4. **Democratic Republic of the Congo** (formerly known as **Zaire**) has had a series of personal dictatorships
 - a. Civil war (1960-65) followed independence from Belgium
 - b. Military takeover and one-party rule under Gen. Mobutu (1965-97)
 - c. Laurent Kabila led opposition takeover until his assassination in 2001 and succession by his son, Joseph Kabila

E. Military government

- 1. Coup d'état by military is most common in new democracies
- 2. But, less than 10% of countries have military rule
- 3. The political ideology of a military government can be right [Egypt, Pakistan, Sudan, Thailand], left [Libya, Myanmar], or center [Turkey].
- 4. Whether a country has a civilian or military government is largely unrelated to its rate of economic development
- 5. Why aren't there more military governments?
 - a. Satisfaction with the status quo
 - b. Disunity
 - c. Reluctance to seize power

F. One-party states

- 1. Definition: the competition within one dominant party is more important than any competition offered by other parties
- 2. Examples:
 - a. Mexico's **Institutional Revolutionary Party** (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI): a center party that ascribes to social democracy, founded in 1929 to unite all the factions of the Mexican Revolution. Prominent both right-wing and left-wing Mexican politicians have been members of the party. Finally lost control of the national government in 2000.
 - b. Singapore's **People's Action Party** (PAP)
 - c. Military coups (Libya under Col. Khadaffi)
 - d. National independence movements
 - (1) Communist China, Cuba, Vietnam
 - (2) Anti-communist South Korea & Zaire

G. Monarchies and theocracies

- 1. Monarchy: rule by hereditary leaders
- 2. Theocracy: rule by religious leaders
- 3. "Court" politics: the competition for influence between high government officials in autocracies especially absolute monarchies & dictatorships but also often found in representative democracies. Often marked by flattery & attempts to shield the leader from unpleasant reality.

III. Democracy versus autocracy:

- A. **Economic growth**: *average* performance is about the same but *variance* is much greater in autocracies (because there is more bargaining and compromise in democracies)
- B. **Quality of life**: *life expectancy* is consistently greater in democracies, regardless of per capita income Table 7.1

IV. "Power and choice" again: there is a continuum in both democracies & autocracies – the differences are in degree rather than kind

A. Democratization in **Spain**:

- 1. As the economy diversified and landowners became less powerful, Francisco Franco became less autocratic
- 2. King Juan Carlos favored a **constitutional monarchy** (like Britain's)
- 3. An unsuccessful military coup in 1981 finally led to widespread acceptance of the **democratic bargain** by both the right and left
- 4. **Devolution** undercut the *Basque* independence movement (**devolution** or **home rule** is the delegation of powers from the central government of a country to a lower government at the regional or local level)

B. Fragile democracy in **Peru**

- 1. Fairly typical of newly-established democracies
- 2. Many military coups d'etat
- 3. Severe labor/management conflicts
- 4. Alberto Fujimori regime (1991-2000) marred by corruption, unconstitutional political manipulation, & human-rights abuses in the campaign against the Shining Path left-wing terrorist movement
- 5. The successor government has been generally ineffective
- C. Theocracy in Iran: a weak democratic structure dominated by a much stronger theocratic structure