

This document provides an overview of the types of readings, discussion questions, and speakers students can expect from the fall semester of the Gardner Fellowship. Please email Gardner.Fellows@gmail.com with any questions, or visit our website at lgfellowship.rutgers.edu.

Syllabus and Schedule *Prepared for Website*

Given the recent protest events around the world, the theme of the seminar is particularly timely. However, many of the questions about democracy are indeed as old as ancient Athens: What is a democratic citizen? Who participates? When? Where? What is the relationship between democratic participation and wealth? Does the economic marketplace dictate the nature of democratic society? Is democracy, which was the product of small, face-to-face communities both in ancient Greece and modern America, possible in modern global societies and economies?

We will explore the nature and history of democracy via examples of democratic societies – ancient and modern. The circumstances of democracies change both within the ancient and modern worlds and between the ancient and modern civilizations. What can we learn from past democracies?

We will examine the origin and development of democratic societies in the United States, Britain and France – the events, including revolution, that may precede democracy, and the often difficult decisions taken by those who attempt to create democracies.

Democratic experiments in the modern world are many and various. We will explore democracy's successes and failures; the economic, political, legal, constitutional, and cultural factors that are associated with these successes and failures; and the challenges continually faced by all democratic peoples.

Are there uniform preconditions – economic, cultural, political – that are necessary to these experiments? Is democracy concerned primarily with freedom? with equality? with both? What is the relationship between democracy and market economies? Are free markets and democratic regimes necessary for one another? When are democracies the product of revolution? Who are the revolutionaries? What makes a revolution democratic?

These questions form only the beginning of what must be a multidisciplinary investigation, looking at scholarly assessments, policy alternatives, and practical dilemmas.

Some Books to be purchased

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy* (summer reading)
Gordon Wood, *The American Revolution, A History*
Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern*
Lloyd Gardner, *The Road to Tahir Square*

In addition you should all be reading the *Economist* and the *New York Times* on a regular basis.

Course Requirements

Students will participate in twice weekly seminar discussions led by Rutgers faculty as well as experts from other universities and the broader worlds of public policy. A sampling of these follows:

Roland Rich, Executive Head United Nations Democracy Fund
[Denis Galligan](#), Professor of Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford
[Alastair Bellany](#), Professor of History, Rutgers
[Jennifer Jones](#), Professor of History, Rutgers
[Abena Busia](#), Professor of English, Rutgers
[Edward Ramsamy](#), Professor of Africana Studies, Rutgers
[Joanna Regulska](#), Vice President for International and Global Affairs, Rutgers
Jan Kubik, Professor of Political Science, Rutgers
Hamid Abdeljaber, Professor of Political Science and Middle Eastern Studies, Rutgers
Eric Davis, Professor of Political Science, Rutgers
[Meredith McGill](#), Professor of English, Rutgers
Chris Rasmussen, Professor of History, Fairleigh Dickinson University
Henry Plotkin, Former Executive Director, NJ Employment and Training Commission

Students will be required to submit reading questions for several of the assigned readings; contribute to **class blog**; complete **3 analytical essays**; and submit a **proposal for a policy paper** for the spring semester.

Ongoing Questions for Discussion

The following are a few of the questions that will recur as we examine democracy and democratic revolution across historical time and geographical space. As we view "snapshots" of these times and spaces, it will be important for us to bring a common set of questions to our study. Other questions will, no doubt, occur as we talk in class and exchange ideas via online discussions and blogs, but here are a few with which to begin:

What is democracy?

- Is it a "form of government"?
- Is it a social and/or cultural form?
- Is it both?

What are the "rights" associated with democracy?

- Human rights?
- Political rights?
- Legal rights?
- Economic rights?

Are there necessary prerequisites to the rights and/or opportunities in Democratic regimes?

- Education?
- Health?
- Housing?
- Work?

What are the public and private aspects of democracy?

- Is there a difference between individual and collective democratic goods?
- Is "individualism" different from "individuality"? (Tocqueville, Vol. II, Section 2)
- Common good and the individual as a "part of a whole"? (McWilliams)

What is a democratic revolution?

- Is it a change in the "form of government"?
- Is it a change in the nature of "society"?
- Is it a change in the nature of "culture"?

What is "civil society"?

- How is "civil society" related to democracy? To democratic revolution?

How are the voices of democratic citizens heard?

- Participation?
 - What is participation?
 - What does it "cost" to participate?
- Time? Money? Opportunity?
- The internet and participation? (see Gladwell article; Carr article,

both on sakai)

- Representation?
 - Who represents?
 - Who is represented?
 - What are the costs of representation?
 - Political?
 - Economic?
 - Social?

What kind of Liberty is necessary to democracy?

- Legal?
- Political?
- Economic?
- Positive?
- Negative?

What kind of Equality is necessary to democracy?

- Legal?
- Political?
- Economic?

Are Liberty and Equality compatible? (Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, Chap. 3, sakai)

Part I: The Theory and Practice of Democracy

Week 1: Participatory Democracy in Ancient Athens

Assigned Reading:

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*

Carey McWilliams, "Democracy and the Citizen" (sakai)

Pericles' Funeral Oration (sakai)

Plato, Apology (sakai)

Recommended Reading:

John Wallach, "Ancient Virtue" (sakai)

Dunn and Democratization (sakai)

Michael Sandel, "What Money Can't Buy" (sakai)

E.J. Dionne, "Our Divided Political Heart" (sakai)

Discussion Questions: Pericles, Dahl, and McWilliams place in sakai dropbox before Sept. 3rd

Sept. 3rd : Political Theory and the Nature of Democracy: Athens & Us

The Problems of Political Theory

- "Human nature," political institutions and political theory

- The problems of “space” and “time”
- Political “vision” (Sheldon Wolin)
 - “Seeing further, seeing differently” (Tocqueville)
- Ideal and the actual blend as theorists and founders worry about human nature and institutions**

What is Democracy? In Ancient Athens? In the 21st Century?

- Form of government?
- Social and/or cultural form?
- What is the relationship between “Civil Society” and democracy?
- How to gain access to a democratic government?
 - Direct participation? Representation?
 - Rights? Opportunities?
 - Who represents whom? when? where?
- Are there prerequisites for democratic citizenship?
 - Education?
 - Health?
 - Housing?
 - Work?
- Public and private aspects of democracy?
- Individual and collective goods?
 - Individualism v. individuality (Tocqueville)?
 - Common good and the individual as a “part of a whole”?

Pericles’ Funeral Oration and Athenian Democracy!?!

- To whom does Pericles speak?
- What is Pericles’ goal in this speech?
- Is the speech a defense of democracy?
- What aspects are democratic? What not?
- What is the place of rhetoric in democratic politics?
- How might Pericles’ need to be reelected annually color/affect his speech?
- What is the role of economics and markets in democratic politics?
- What is the role of warfare, expansion and empire in democratic politics?
- What sort of a “School of Hellas” is Athens?

Sept. 6th: Ancient Greece and the Foundations of Democratic Theory

The Greek *polis*, politics, and the political theory of Plato and Aristotle
 -*zoon politikon*, *zoon logistikon*

Is Athenian democracy relevant for us? The case of Socrates’ *Apology*: The Greek *paideia* and the *Apology*

- Does Socrates’ speech in the *Apology* attack Athens? Its leaders?
 Its citizens? Both? Neither?

- Why does Socrates say that he does not want to use the usual language of the court?
- Why does he ask that he be listened to as though he were a stranger?
- What is the traditional prejudice against Socrates?
- What are the formal charges against Socrates? Does Socrates respond to them?
- What is Socrates' method? What does he learn from his questions of Politicians? Poets? Artisans?
- Why does Socrates say he cannot hurt the youth of Athens?
- Why is he concerned with training horses?
- Why does he claim not to participate in politics? (In another dialogue, *The Gorgias*, he will assert that he is the only one who is political.
- How and why does Socrates accept the verdict?

Socrates and Democratic Athens

- Is Socrates' speech democratic? Anti-democratic? Why? Why not?
- Is Socrates guilty? Of what? Why?
- What is the effect of Socrates' conviction on Athens? On Democracy? On Philosophy?

Compare the speeches of Pericles and Socrates

- Discuss the proposition that Socrates' speech and so "philosophy" as he teaches it is a necessary precursor to the sort of speech Pericles has given. This might suggest that Socrates' speech is necessary for democratic citizens! Why? Why not?

Week 2: The American Revolution: Democratic, Republican or both!?!

Assigned Reading:

- Carey McWilliams, "Democracy and the Citizen"
- James Madison, 10th Federalist (sakai)
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, author's intro, "Political Associations in America" (sakai)

Recommended Reading:

- Tocqueville, "The Art and Science of Politics" (sakai)
- Gordon Wood, "Democracy and the Constitution" (sakai)
- Marty Kaplan, "Big Money, Big Media, Big Trouble" + podcast (sakai)
- Michael Sandel, "What Money Can't Buy" (sakai)
- E. J. Dionne, "One Nation, Conceived in Argument" (sakai)
- Thomas Paine, "Common Sense"

Discussion Questions:

- Wood (sakai announcement), place in Sakai dropbox before Sept. 10th
- Madison Discussion Questions (sakai), place in Sakai dropbox before Sept. 27th

Sept. 10th & 13th : The Uncertain Origins of American Democracy: The Constitution, & the 10th Federalist and Tocqueville

Assigned Reading:

McWilliams: "Democracy and the Citizen"
James Madison: 10th Federalist

What are issues of large states and small states?
What makes a revolution democratic?
Deconstruction v. reconstruction and the American Revolution!?!
How democratic is the U.S. Constitution?
Federalists v. Anti-Federalists
What makes a regime democratic?
What are Madison's criticisms of democracy in Federalist Letter #10?
What is Tocqueville's response? (Political Associations in the US)
What is McWilliams' response to Madison?
What is the relationship between "voice" and "liberty"?

Week 3: The United Nations and Civil Society

Sept. 17th: Roland Rich: Executive Director, UN Democracy Fund

Assigned reading:

Roland Rich & Edward Newman, "The UN Role in Promoting Democracy"
Roland Rich, "Situating the UN Democracy Fund"
Roland Rich: "The UN and Democracy"

What is "democratization"? What is "civil society"?
What are the issues the UN must consider in promoting democracy?
How do Security Council mandates contribute to democratization?

Sept. 20th: Civil Society, Democratic Transition and Democratic Consolidation
essays (sakai)

Week 4: Constitutions, the "People," and Democracy

Sept. 24th: Denis Galligan: Constitutions and the People

Assigned Reading:

Galligan and Palmer, "Patterns of Constitutional Thought"
Galligan, "The Levellers, The People and the Constitution"

Sept. 27th & Oct. 1st: Wood, McWilliams and Democracy in America
Assigned Reading:

Gordon Wood, *The American Revolution, A History*

Carey McWilliams, "Equality as the Moral Foundation of Community" (sakai)
Carey McWilliams, "Liberty, Equality, and the Problem of Community" (sakai)

Discussion Questions:

Were the American revolutionaries democratic?
Are republican virtues democratic?
What kind of liberty? Equality?
Are they compatible?
What kind of participation is required?
What kind of representation is required?

1st Analytical Essay due: Oct. 1st

Part II: England and France: Democracy's Early Modern History

Weeks 5 & 6: The English Civil War, the French Revolution and Democracy's Early Modern Moments

Assigned Reading:

English Civil War, pdf (sakai)
Denis Galligan, "The Levellers, the People and the Constitution" (sakai)
The Petition of Right 1628 (sakai)
Aylmer, "The Levellers" (sakai)
Lake and Pincus, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England" (sakai)
James Van Horn Melton, "What is the Public Sphere" (sakai)
The French Revolution, A Brief History (sakai)
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (sakai)
Darnton, "What's Revolutionary about the French Revolution?" (sakai)
Darnton, "The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution," (sakai)
"Paris: The Early Internet," (sakai)

Recommended Reading:

Darnton, "Revolution sans Revolutionaries" (sakai)
Hampson, "The Two French Revolutions" (sakai)
Hunt, "The Future of the French Revolution" (sakai)

Oct. 4th: Alaistair Bellany: The English Civil War of the 17th Century
"Media, Revolution and the Public Sphere in Seventeenth Century England"

Oct. 8th Jennifer Jones: The French Revolution
Jennifer Jones: The "People" and the French Revolution

Oct. 11th: Summary and transition to Part III

Part III: Global Democracy and the United Nations

Weeks 7 & 8: Sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana and South Africa

Assigned Reading:

Kofi Busia: A Brief Biography
Kofi Busia, "Prospects for Democracy"
K.A. Busia: Timeline
Ghana: A Brief History
Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (sakai)
Michael MacDonald, *Why Race Matters*, "The Who, Not the What" (sakai)

Recommended Reading:

Nicolin Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings, "Two Nations'? Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today" (sakai)
Mamphela Ramphele, "Citizenship Challenges for South Africa" (sakai)

Oct. 15th: Edward Ramsamy: South Africa

Edward Ramsamy: Democracy, Citizenship and the Future of South Africa

Oct. 18th United Nations Meet at College Ave. Student Center @ 8:00 am

Oct. 22nd: Abena Busia: Ghana: The 2nd Republic

Kofi Busia and Ghana's 2nd Republic

Oct. 25th In-class exercise

Week 9: Central Europe and 1989

Assigned Reading:

Ash, *The Magic Lantern*
Regulska and Grabowska, "Social Justice, Hegemony and Women's Mobilizations"
Jan Kubik: *The Symbols of Power and the Power of Symbols* (excerpts, sakai)
Jan Kubik, "Solidarity," (sakai)

Oct. 29: Joanna Regulska: The Case of Poland

Nov. 1: Jan Kubik: Poland and the Symbols of Power

Week 10: Eric Davis , Hamid Abdeljaber: Arab Spring

Assigned Reading:

Eric Davis, "The New Middle East" (sakai)
Lloyd Gardner: *The Road to Tahir Square*
Tariq Ramadan, Waiting for the Arab Spring of Ideas (sakai)
Fouad Ajami, The Arab Spring at One (sakai)
If Arab Spring Turns Ugly (sakai)

Nov. 5th : Eric Davis: Arab Spring in 2013: Nov. 6, Nov. 22, Dec. 30 2011 (Making Sense of the Arab Spring, parts 1, 2 and 3; Making Sense of the Arab Spring 7, Mar 9; The 'Emo' killings and the role of the state in Iraq, Mar. 13; Reclaiming the Past: Using memory and education to fight intolerance and radicalism among youth in the Middle East, Apr. 14; Making Sense of the Arab Spring 8, July 6; Gender equality and democracy in Iraq, Oct. 16.

Nov. 8th: Hamid Abdeljaber, Rutgers Middle Eastern Studies, “The Role of Social Media in the Arab Spring”

2nd analytical paper due: November 8th

Part IV: Bringing it all back home! Democracy in New Jersey

Week 11: Meredith McGill: Walt Whitman, Democracy and New Jersey

Assigned Reading:

Walt Whitman: 1st Poem: “Song of Myself”

Walt Whitman: “Democratic Vistas”

Whitman archive sources

Nov. 12 & 15: Meredith McGill

Week 12: Civil Society & Democracy: New Brunswick in 1967

Nov 19th Chris Rasmussen: “A Web of Tension”: The 1967 Protests in New Brunswick

Nov 22nd: Tom Glynn, Research Librarian on Policy Papers

Week 13: Nov 27th: Breakfast and discussion of Civil Society, Whitman and New Brunswick

Week 14: Public Policy and Democracy in New Jersey

December 3rd: Henry Plotkin, former Executive Director, New Jersey Employment and Training Commission “Jersey City Workforce Development”

December 6th: Discussion, Rasmussen and Plotkin: Democracy in New Jersey

December 10th: Final Session: Democracy in Theory and Practice: Summary and Transition to 2nd Semester & Review of Final paper