

**Gardner Fellows Seminar: Democracy, Democratic Revolution, Democratization  
Fall 2015**

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Office hours: 3:00-5:00 Tuesday afternoon  
(lower level Alexander Library)  
Wednesday 12:30-2:30 (309 Hickman Hall)  
Other times by appointment

*We have frequently printed the word Democracy. Yet I cannot too often repeat that it is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawaken'd.... It is a great word, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted.... As I perceive, the tendencies of our day, in the States...are toward those vast and sweeping movements, influences, moral and physical, of humanity, now and always current over the planet, on the scale of the impulses of the elements. Then it is also good to reduce the whole matter to the consideration of a single self, a man, a woman, on permanent grounds. Even for the treatment of the universal, in politics, metaphysics, or anything, sooner or later we come down to one single, solitary soul.*

Walt Whitman  
*Democratic Vistas* (1870)

In this seminar, we shall explore the concept of democracy through historical explorations of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century revolutions in England and North America, as well as through more focused encounters with contemporary institutions like the United Nations and the challenges of democratization in the contemporary world. Taken together, these inquiries – pursued through readings, discussion, and presentations by visiting experts from Rutgers and beyond – form the core of a larger, multidisciplinary investigation into “democracy” as both a theoretical ideal and a set of political practices.

Next semester, each of you will undertake your own original research project, working with a Rutgers faculty member to explore some aspect of democratic theory or practice. This semester’s presentations and discussions will, hopefully, help you sort through the various issues at stake and arrive at an idea for a workable project. A detailed proposal for your independent research is due by the end of the semester.

**Assigned text**

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy* (summer reading)

All other readings for the course will be placed on the course Sakai site, under “Resources.”

**Course Requirements and Grading**

In addition to our regular seminar meetings, the following speakers will visit this semester:

Alastair Bellany, Department of History, Rutgers (September 10)  
Denis Galligan, Professor of Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford (September 17)  
Dennis Bathory, Department of Political Science, Rutgers (October 8)  
Meredith McGill, Department of English, Rutgers (October 13)  
Roland Rich, former Executive Head, United Nations Democracy Fund (October 20)

Daniel Goldstein, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers (October 29)  
Hamid Abdeljaber, Department of Political Science and Center for Middle Eastern  
Studies, Rutgers (November 5)  
Mary Hawkesworth, Departments of Political Science and Women's and Gender Studies,  
Rutgers (November 12)  
Edward Ramsamy, Department of Africana Studies, Rutgers (November 19)  
Tom Glynn, Anglo-American History/Political Science Librarian, Alexander Library,  
Rutgers (December 2)

Each speaker will assign several readings (on Sakai under "Resources"). These are to be completed **before** the speaker visits the seminar. Each student should bring (and submit to the Sakai Drop Box) **three questions** that they would like to explore further about the reading. These will form the basis of our conversation with the speakers and in subsequent classes.

Grading is based on **participation and preparation for class (30% of final grade) two essays (25% each)** and a **proposal for an independent research project (20%)** to be completed during the spring semester. Due dates are listed on the syllabus below. More details to come on all of these assignments.

## Tentative schedule of readings/discussions

### Basics

- Sept. 1** Discussion of summer reading assignment  
Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*  
Iris Marion Young, “Democracy and Justice”  
Charles Tilly, “What is Democracy?”
- Sept. 3** Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, chs. 1-2; Book III, chs. 6-12; Book IV, entire

**NO CLASS SEPTEMBER 8 [MONDAY CLASS DAY]**

### Revolution in England and America

- Sept. 10** **Alastair Bellany: Media, Revolution, and the Public Sphere in Seventeenth-Century England**  
James van Horn Melton, “What is the Public Sphere?”  
Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, “Rethinking the Public Sphere”
- Sept. 15** **NO CLASS MEETING: RESCHEDULED TBA**  
**[READ LOCKE, *SECOND TREATISE*, CHAPTERS 1-7, pp. 105-145 of PDF on Sakai, and submit three questions to Sakai Drop Box]**
- Sept. 17** **Denis Galligan: Constitutions and the People**  
Galligan and Palmer, “Patterns of Constitutional Thought”  
Galligan, “The Levellers, the People, and the Constitution”  
The Petition of Right 1628

**SEPTEMBER 17, 6:00 P.M.: GARDNER FELLOWS PROGRAM WELCOME DINNER, EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS**

- Sept. 22** John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (1690)  
Ch. 8 (sec. 95-99, 119-122); chs. 8, 11, 13, 15; ch. 18 (sec. 199, 202-204);  
ch. 19 (sec. 211-217; 220-226; 241-243)
- Sept. 24** John Adams, *A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law* (1765)  
Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence (1776)
- Sept. 29** Thomas Paine, selections from *Common Sense* (1776)  
The Articles of Confederation (1777)
- Oct. 1** The United States Constitution (1787) [only original text, not amendments]  
*The Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the Convention of Pennsylvania to their Constituents* (18 December 1787)  
*Speech of Patrick Henry Before the Virginia Ratifying Convention* (5 June 1788)

**Oct. 6** A Citizen of America [Noah Webster], *An Examination into the...Principles of the Federal Constitution* (17 October 1787)  
James Wilson, *Speech before the Pennsylvania Convention* (24 November 1787)  
*The Federalist Papers*, nos. 1, 10, 51, 78

**Oct. 8** **Dennis Bathory: Tocqueville's *Democracy in America***  
Vol. I: chs. 2 (Origins), 3 (Social Condition), 5 (The Necessity of Examining...the States and Townships), and 12 (Political Associations)  
Vol II: Section 3, ch. 11 (Why Great Revolutions Will Become More Rare);  
Section 4, ch. 6 (What Sort of Despotism...)  
Tocqueville, "The Art and Science of Politics"

**Oct 13** **Meredith McGill: Walt Whitman, Poet of Democracy**  
Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, Preface (pp. iii-xii) and pp. 13-25

**Oct 15** Whitman, "The Eighteenth Presidency!"  
Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*

### **Democracy and Democratization: Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Perspectives**

**Oct 20** **Roland Rich: Former Executive Head, UN Democracy Fund**  
Roland Rich & Edward Newman, "The UN Role in Promoting Democracy"  
Roland Rich, "Situating the UN Democracy Fund"  
"United Nations Guidance Note on Democracy"

**10/22: NO CLASS MEETING, PAPER 1 DUE**

**Oct 27** **Discussion**

**Oct 29** **Discussion**

**OCTOBER 30: [United Nations Trip: Meet at College Ave. Student Center for 7:30 a.m departure]**

**Nov 3** **Daniel Goldstein: Violent Democracies of Latin America**  
Enrique Desmond Arias and Daniel M. Goldstein, "Violent Pluralism: Understanding the New Democracies of Latin America"  
Daniel Goldstein, "Whose Vernacular? Translating Human Rights in Local Contexts"

**Nov 5** **Discussion**

**Nov 10** **Hamid Abdeljaber: Revolution and Counter-Revolution. The Case of the Arab Spring: What Went Wrong?**  
Tariq Ramadan, "Waiting for the Arab Spring of Ideas"

Fouad Ajami, "The Arab Spring at One"  
"If the Arab Spring Turns Ugly"  
[Additional readings on Sakai]

- Nov 12**      **Mary Hawkesworth: Gender, Race, Class, and Democratization**  
Mary Hawkesworth, "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender"  
Shatema Threadcraft, "Intimate Justice, Obligation, and the Dark Ghetto"
- Nov 17**      **Discussion**
- Nov 19**      **Edward Ramsamy: Democracy, Citizenship, and the Future of South Africa**  
Nicolin Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings, "'Two Nations'? Race and Economic  
Inequality in South Africa Today"  
Mamphela Ramphele, "Citizenship Challenges for South Africa"
- Nov 24**      **Discussion**

**NO CLASS NOVEMBER 26: THANKSGIVING**

**PAPER 2 DUE DECEMBER 1 (DETAILS TBA)**

- Dec 1**      **Tom Glynn, Gardner Program Librarian, Alexander Library**  
[meet in 413 Alexander Library]
- Dec 3**      Discussion of research projects
- Dec. 8**      Presentations
- Dec. 10**     Democracy, Democratic Revolution, Democratization: What have we learned?

**FINAL APPROVED PROPOSAL FOR SPRING INDEPENDENT RESEARCH  
PROJECT DUE BY 12 NOON, SATURDAY DECEMBER 19**