

DEMOCRATIZATIONS:
Comparisons,
Confrontations,
and Contrasts

Jose V. Cipurut, Editor

The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England

Egg in one hand: Akan (Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire) people's symbol for insinuating that "Power is fragile. Like an egg. Hold it too tightly, and it might break and spill all over the hand. Yet hold it too loosely, and it might fall, break, and splatter all over the floor."—*Ed.*

Graphic: *Akan Cultural Symbols Project*, G. F. Kojo Arthur and Robert Rowe. © 1998–2001 (Courtesy Jose V. Ciprut)

Cover Concept and Design: Jose V. Ciprut

© 2008 Jose V. Ciprut

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

MIT Press books may be purchased at special quantity discounts for business or sales promotional use. For information, please e-mail special_sales@mitpress.mit.edu or write to Special Sales Department, The MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142.

This book was set in Palatino by SNP Best-set Typesetter Ltd., Hong Kong, and was printed and bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Democratizations : comparisons, confrontations, and contrasts / edited by Jose V. Ciprut
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-262-03385-5 (hardcover : alk. paper)—ISBN 978-0-262-53308-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Democracy—Case studies. 2. Democratization—Case studies. 3. Comparative government. I. Ciprut, Jose V.

JC423.D47818 2009

320.9—dc22

2008014046

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Subject Index

- absolute intolerance, 38
- accountability
 - corruption versus, 98
 - economic, 101
- Afghanistan, war in, 96–97, 138
- Africa, 233–255
 - authoritarian rule in, 108, 235–238, 239, 249–251
 - colonialism in, 234–235, 236, 245, 246, 252
 - corruption in, 240–243, 254
 - democratizations in, 25–26, 82, 233, 234–255
 - economic development in, 236–240, 241–243, 254
 - human rights in, 243
 - law in, 241
 - resurgence of democracy in, 25
 - See also names of specific states*
- African Union, 254
- agnosticism
 - generalized, 60–63, 66–70
 - liberalism and, 60–63
- Agricultural Revolution, freedom and, 33
- Akeidah (sacrifice of Abraham's son), 53–60
 - Hobbes' analysis of, 57–59
 - Maimonides' analysis of, 54–57
 - Rashi's analysis of, 56
- Albania, democratization process and, 147, 149–152, 155, 158–159
- All Union Center for Public Studies (VTSIOM), 176, 177
- America Day by Day* (de Beauvoir), 322–323, 324, 331–335
- anarchy, inclusion and, 76
- Angola, social cohesion and, 41
- Argentina
 - economic integration of, 267, 268
 - federalism in, 93, 95, 103–104
- assimilation process, 37
- Australia, federalism in, 93, 94, 103–104, 107
- Austria
 - EU and, 138, 140
 - federalism in, 93, 94, 96, 110
- authoritarianism
 - in Africa, 108, 235–238, 239, 249–251
 - in China, 22–25, 201–209
 - in East Asia, 206
 - federalism following, 95, 108, 110
 - migrant populations and, 259, 261, 263, 267, 276
 - in Russia, 14, 17–19, 166–167, 172–175, 177–189
 - in suppression of diversity, 105
 - See also* totalitarian systems
- autonomy
 - in democratizations, 3, 74
 - as goal of democracy, 28
 - of groups in global system, 74
 - in liberalism, 65–66
- Balkan states, 12
 - democratization process and, 159

- Balkan states (cont.)
 EU and, 129, 133–134, 136, 138, 139, 141
- Baltic states, democratization process and, 145–147, 150, 158
- Bangladesh
 corruption in, 98
 social cohesion in, 40–41
- Belgium
 federalism in, 93, 98–99, 104
 social cohesion and, 40, 48–49
- Belorussia, democratization process in, 186
- Benin, 25–26, 233, 234, 238–240, 252
- Berlin Wall, fall of, 7, 94
- bigotry, 35
- birth rates, diversity and, 2, 3
- Bloodless Revolution, 62
- body politic, in democracy, 68–69
- Bosnia-Herzegovina
 democratization process and, 150–151, 152, 159
 federalism in, 93, 106
- Botswana, 25–26, 233–234, 236–238, 252–253
- Brazil
 economic integration of, 267, 268
 federalism in, 93, 95, 103–104
- Buckley v. Valeo*, 308
- Bulgaria, 13
 democratization process and, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154–155, 158–159
 EU and, 138, 141
- Burma, old elites in, 90
- Burundi, 25–26, 233, 234, 244–247, 254
- Canada
 federalism in, 93–97, 98–99, 103–104, 107, 109, 113–114
 political freedom in, 44
 social cohesion and, 40, 48
 trade agreements, 268, 273
- capitalism
 communism versus, 166–167
 crony, 42
 federalism and, 101–103
 new communication technologies (NCTs) and, 290
 ownership rights in, 102–103
 requirements of, 102–103
 U.S., 102, 166–167
- Central Europe, 11–13, 145–162
 corruption in, 153–154
 democratization challenges in, 148–157
 EU and, 13–14, 153, 161–162
 experiments with democracy, 11, 31
 human rights and, 153–156
 international diffusion and, 11–12
 law and, 151–153
 nature of, 145–148
 party systems in, 156–157
 political participation in, 41
 as post-communist, 12, 13
 social malaise in, 157–162
 transition from communism, 145–151
- chaebols*, 203
- change, dialectic of, 84–85
- charity, 37
- Chechnya
 intolerance and, 38
 social cohesion and, 41
- child labor, industrial revolution and, 36
- China, 19–25, 197–226
 authoritarian system of, 22–25, 201–209
 communism in, 21–22, 201–209
 Confucianism and, 20–21, 23–24
 corruption in, 214–216, 223–224
 decentralization of economic power, 22, 201–209
 “democracy movements” in, 208–209, 224
 democratization avoidance in, 22–25, 201–226
 East Asian model and, 22–23, 198–201, 203–205, 209–211, 217–220
 economic growth and, 201–209, 211, 220–226

- elections in, 207, 225
- federalism and, 100–101, 104, 114–115
- historical perspective on, 201–209
- human rights in, 36, 208–209, 211–217
- international migration and, 276–277
- law in, 198, 211–217, 224, 225–226
- Mohism and, 20–21
- nationalism in, 24–25
- opening the world to, 81
- Qin Dynasty, 21
- socialist market economy of, 198, 201–209, 211, 220–226
- Taoist philosophy and, 20–21
- U.S. policy toward, 313
- Christians and Christianity
 - Akeidah (sacrifice of Abraham's son), 53–60
 - liberal democracy and, 64–65
- citizenship, democracy and, 314
- civil wars, social cohesion versus, 40–41
- Cold War, end of, viii, 11, 16, 17, 31, 40, 95, 107, 138, 166–167
- collectives, tolerance and, 38
- Colombia, 26
 - circularities of migration from, 263
 - economic context of migrant populations, 268
 - geographic concentration of migrants from, 265
 - legal status of immigrants in U.S., 264–265
 - political participation of migrants from, 267
- colonialism
 - in Africa, 234–235, 236, 245, 246, 252
 - American Revolution, 68–69
 - federalism and, 107
- COMECON, 158
- Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER), 125
- communication, 281–297
 - consciousness in, 285
 - as dialogue, 28, 284–286, 287–288, 293–296
 - globalization of, 281–282
 - philosophy of communication (Oakeshott), 67–68
 - as term, 281, 283
 - as transmission, 28, 283–284, 286–287, 288–297
 - voting as, 286–287
 - See also* new communication technologies (NCTs)
- communism
 - capitalism versus, 166–167
 - in China, 21–22, 201–209
 - collapse of, viii, 11, 16, 17, 31, 40, 81
 - as old elite, 90
 - post-communist states, 12, 13
 - in Russia, 174–183
 - see also* China; Cuba; Soviet Union, former
- Comoros, federalism in, 93, 106
- conflicts
 - among economic and social strata, 84–85, 89–90
 - between old and new elites, 84, 90–91
 - among regions, 84, 88–89
- Confucianism, 20–21, 23–24
- consciousness
 - in communication process, 285
 - workplace as locus for raising, 4
- constitutionalizing of democracy
 - EU and, 8, 9–11, 119, 122–123, 126, 127–136
 - Wolin and, 69
- conversation, philosophy of (Oakeshott), 67–68
- corruption
 - in Africa, 240–243, 254
 - in Central Europe, 153–154
 - in China, 214–216, 223–224
 - federalism and, 98
 - in modern democracy, 304
 - in Russia, 17, 98, 179, 181–183, 186–187

- counter-Reformation, freedom and, 33
- creativity, liberation of individuals and, 77–79
- Croatia
 democratization process and, 149, 151, 152, 158–159
 EU and, 136, 141
- crony capitalism, 42
- Cuba, 26
 circularities of migration from, 263
 economic integration and, 267–268
 geographic concentration of migrants from, 265
 immigrant mobilization in, 269
 legal status of immigrants in U.S., 264–265
 number of migrants from, 262
 old elites in, viii, 90
 political participation of migrants from, 266–267
 Soviet Union and, 268
- culturologists, authoritarianism in
 Russia and, 14, 17–19, 166–167, 172–175, 177–189
- Cyprus, cultural diversity and, 105, 139
- Czechoslovakia
 collapse of, 95, 146, 147, 149
 democratization process and, 149
 social cohesion and, 40
- Czech Republic, democratization process and, 151, 154, 158
- Dahomey. *see* Benin
- Dao De Jing*, 20–21
- Darfur (Sudan), social cohesion and, 41
- Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), 150–151
- decentralized unitary systems
 demographic bases of, 103–106
 economic performance of, 99–103
 federalism versus, 93, 97–103
 human rights and, 97–99, 111
 list of, 93
 quality-of-life performance of, 99–103
- deconstruction, 67
- de facto theory of revolution, 61–62
- democracy
 ancient versus modern views of, 301–313
 central goals of, 28
 citizenship and, 314
 core values of, 32–46
 de Beauvoir and, 322–324, 331–335
 deepening of, 41–42
 de Tocqueville and, 322–324, 325–326
 diversity/assymetry and, 1–2
 European Union (EU) democratic deficit, 7–9, 119–120, 122, 124–127, 140
 failure in Russia, 17–18, 168–175, 177–189
 federalism and, 93–99, 101–103, 106, 108–109
 flaw in majoritarian, 108–109
 in France, 326–332
 globalization as threat to, 94
 Guizot and, 326–332, 333
 as history, 80–84
 as ideology, 1–2
 just society and, 46–47
 as learning, 79–80
 Lévy and, 323–324, 335–336
 liberal. *See* liberal democracy
 minority rights and, 4, 306–307
 nature of regimes and, 305–306, 308
 near-universal embrace of, 314–315
 participatory, 3–4, 69
 as philosophy of modern liberalism, 28
 plasticity of, 301–305
 as popular rule, 3–4, 302–303
 prospects in undemocratic times, 28–29, 313–317
 pursuit of physical goods and, 310
 requirements for, 119–120
 self-interest and, 305–306, 310, 316
 struggle within Mexico, 27

- women and, 311, 322–324, 331–335
see also democratizations
- Democracy in America* (de Tocqueville), 322, 325–326
- “democratic deficit,” 7–8, 119–120, 122, 124–127, 140
- democratic pluralism
 - importance of, 2–3, 49–51
 - political tolerance and, 3, 49–50
- Democratic Republic of Congo,
 - economic growth of, 237
- democratizations
 - in Africa, 25–26, 82, 233, 234–255
 - anti-democratic movement in
 - Russia, 168–175, 177–189
 - avoidance in China, 22–25, 201–226
 - avoidance in East Asia, 198–201
 - in Central Europe. *See* Central Europe
 - challenges of, 148–157
 - defined, 2–3, 31
 - determinants of, 1
 - as development, 75–79
 - dialogic model of communication
 - in, 287–288
 - emplacement of value as
 - multiplicative process, 43–44
 - of European Union. *See* European Union (EU)
 - federalism and, 93–99, 101–103, 106, 108–109
 - fundamental processes of, 39–42
 - globalizations and. *See* globalizations
 - immigration to U.S. and, 26–27, 259–277
 - impediments to, 249–251
 - liberal democracy and. *See* liberal democracy
 - as localization of globalizations, 78
 - “mature” democracy and, 42–43, 48, 49
 - in Mexico. *See* Mexico
 - in modern conception of democracy, 310–311
 - multiple forms of, 316–317
 - nature of, 2
 - near-universal embrace of
 - democracy and, 314–315
 - new communication technologies (NCTs) in. *See* new communication technologies (NCTs)
 - as open-ended processes, 1
 - openness and, 80–84
 - in paradigm of modern liberal democracy, 28, 305
 - paradox of, 311–313
 - processes of, 3
 - rate of increase of, 42
 - in Russia. *See* Russia
 - societal core values in, 38–42
 - transforming, 1–2
 - unfinished nature of, 47–49
 - waves of, 94–97, 103–104, 107
 - as Western conspiracy, 22–25, 40–41
- Denmark, EU and, 134, 138
- dependence, globalizations and, 74
- détente, 138
- development. *See* democratizations; economic growth and development; globalizations
- dialectics
 - of change across levels of human organization, 84, 85–87
 - of different rates of change, 84, 87–88
- dialogic model of communication, 28, 284–286, 287–288, 293–296
- diasporas, 26–27, 262. *See also* immigration
- direct democracy, 53
- diversity
 - closed systems versus, 77
 - contributing factors, 2, 3
 - federalism and, 6, 104–106, 111
 - globalizations and, 5, 77–80
 - importance of, 2–3
 - law of attractiveness of variety, 84, 85–87
 - varying rates of change, 84, 87–88

- Dominican Republic, 26
 circularities of migration from, 263
 economic context of migrant populations, 268
 geographic concentration of migrants from, 265
 immigrant mobilization in, 269–270
 legal status of immigrants in U.S., 264–265
 number of migrants from, 262
 political participation of migrants from, 267
- East Asia
 Asian Financial Crisis of 1990s, 198, 217–220
 China compared with, 22–23, 198–201, 203–205, 209–211, 217–220
 democratization avoidance in, 198–201
 difficulty of economic model, 22, 23, 198, 205–206, 217–220
 economic growth of, 22–23, 76, 81, 198–201, 203
 emergence as key economic player, 81
 law and, 209–211, 219
 “tiger” economies of, 22–23, 76, 198–201
- Eastern Europe, EU and, 10, 12, 128, 136–139
- East Germany. *See also* Germany
 democratization process and, 149
 economic growth and development, 75–79
 in Africa, 236–240, 241–243, 254
 in Central Europe, 157–162
 change across levels of human organization, 84, 85–87
 in China, 201–209, 211, 220–226
 conflicts among economic and social strata, 84–85, 89–90
 conflicts among regions, 84, 88–89
 conflicts between old and new elites, 84, 90–91
 democratic pluralism and, 49–50
 in democratization process, 39, 41–42
 dimensions of integration in, 75–77
 in East Asia, 22–23, 76, 81, 198–201, 203
 economic context of migrant populations, 267–268
 equality of opportunity and, 36, 44
 failure in Russia, 178–180
 federalism and, 99–103
 foreign direct investment and, 83–84
 freedom and, 44
 in globalization, 75–79
 as goal of democracy, 28
 industrialization process in, 36, 44, 47
 inequalities in, 78
 just society and, 46–47
 in Mexico, 272–275
 stresses of, 88
 varying rates of change, 84, 87–88
- efficiency, as goal of democracy, 28
- El Salvador, 26
 circularities of migration from, 263
 economic context of migrant populations, 268
 geographic concentration of migrants from, 265
 immigrant mobilization in, 270
 legal status of immigrants in U.S., 264–265
 number of migrants from, 262
 political participation of migrants from, 266
- empiricism, of Hobbes, 58–59
- emplacement
 nature of, 39
 of societal core values in democratization, 38–46
 of value as multiplicative process, 43–44
- Enlightenment, democracy and, 302
- equality
 as core value of democracy, 32–33
 evolution of, 35–36

- before the law, 32–33
- liberal democracy and, 64
- of opportunity. *See* equality of opportunity
- equality of opportunity
 - economic growth and, 36, 44
 - freedom and, 44
 - nature of, 32–33, 35–36
 - social cohesion and, 45–46
 - tolerance and, 45–46
- equilibrium, in democracy, 32
- Estonia, democratization process
 - and, 145–147, 150, 151, 158–159
- Ethiopia, federalism in, 93, 106, 114
- EU. *See* European Union (EU)
- Euro, 121
- European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 7–8
- European Commission (EC), 7–8, 10, 120, 124–125, 130
- European Council, 10, 12, 124–125, 128, 130, 132, 153
- European Court of Justice, 125
- European Economic and Monetary Union, 121
- European Economic Area (EEA), 7–8
- European Economic Community (EEC), 7, 122
- European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 7–8
- European Union (EU), 7–11, 119–142
 - as alternative to U.S. hegemony, 9, 123, 137–139
 - candidate states, 7, 133–134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141
 - Central Europe and, 13–14, 153, 161–162
 - Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), 137–140
 - constitutionalization of democracy in, 8, 9–11, 119, 122–123, 126, 127–136
 - as delegative democracy, 120
 - democratic deficit in, 7–9, 119–120, 122, 124–127, 140
 - digestive integration and, 11
 - Eastern Europe and, 10, 12, 128, 136–139
 - economic migration and, 11
 - in Euro-optimist point of view, 9
 - in Euroskepticalist point of view, 9
 - federalism in, 95–96, 107, 109, 110, 114–115, 122, 131–132
 - formation of, 7–8
 - globalization and, 123
 - in Intergovernmentalist point of view, 9, 125–127, 131–132, 142
 - Iraq war and, 137, 138
 - legitimization of, 121–124
 - member states, 7, 122, 124, 132, 134–136. *See also* names of specific countries
 - pillars of, 132
 - Qualified Majority Vote and, 132, 133
 - as supranational state, 9, 131–132, 142
 - types of laws, 133
- extension, as dimension of integration, 75–77
- fascism, collapse of, 109
- fear, in negative theology of Maimonides, 55–56
- federalism, 6–7, 93–115
 - asymmetrical, 95–96
 - capitalism and, 101–103
 - centrifugal versus centripetal, 95
 - challenges to, 110–111
 - China and, 100–101, 104, 114–115
 - communitarian identity and, 109–111
 - corruption and, 98
 - creeping international treaty, 96
 - decentralized unitary systems versus, 93, 97–103
 - defined, 93
 - democracy and, 93–99, 101–103, 106, 108–109
 - demographic bases in, 103–106
 - economic performance and, 99–103
 - empirical perspective on, 94–95

- federalism (cont.)
 as highest stage of democracy, 106, 107, 114–115
 historical perspective on, 94–97, 103–104, 107, 110, 111
 human rights performance and, 97–99, 109–114
 individualism and, 109–111
 justice and, 112–114
 key interests in, 94
 list of federalist polities, 93
 normative perspective on, 106–107
 quality-of-life performance and, 99–103
 security and, 107
 territorial scope and, 107
 theoretical perspective on, 106–107
 U.S. and, 93, 94, 96–97, 98–99, 103–104, 107, 109, 110–111, 113
Federalist No. 10, 3–4, 306
Federalist No. 51, 110
 First Democratic Revolution, 74
 Forum of Federations, 97
 France
 Africa and, 239
 democracy in, 326–332
 EU and, 122, 128, 131, 134, 135–136, 137–138, 141
 French Revolution, 188, 226, 227
 human rights in, 34
 Jacobins in, 108–109, 110, 327
 social cohesion and, 40
 Vichy Regime of, 34
 freedom
 capitalism and, 102
 as core value of democracy, 33, 309
 in democratizations, 3, 33
 economic growth and, 44
 equality of opportunity and, 44
 evolution of, 35
 of expression, 308
 federalism and, 99
 immigration and, 263–268
 liberal democracy and, 64, 65–66
 political participation and, 45
 tolerance and, 45
 Freedom House, 97, 101–102, 105, 169–170
 Gazprom, 15, 17
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 267
 generalized agnosticism, 60–63, 66–70
 Georgia
 democratization process in, 169, 186
 EU and, 136
 Germany
 in Africa, 245
 democratization process and, 149, 154, 165
 EU and, 122, 123, 127, 128, 131, 137–138, 141
 fall of Berlin Wall, 7, 94
 federalism in, 93–97, 114
 intolerance in, 36
 globalizations
 change across levels of human organization and, 84, 85–87
 communication in. *see* communication
 in democratizations, 5, 47, 73–91
 as development, 75–79
 empires of conquest and, 73
 as history, 80–84
 immigration and. *see* immigration; international migration
 as learning, 79–80
 openness and, 80–84
 resistances to, 5–6
 Second Democratic Revolution and, 73–74
 theoretical approaches to, 5
 as threat to democracy, 94
 varying rates of change and, 84, 87–88
 Glorious Revolution, 62
 God
 monotheism and, 59–60
 as Other, 54, 56, 58
See also religion
 Gosplan, 15

- Great Britain
 colonies of, 107, 234–235, 236
 EU and, 134
 Iraq war and, 137
 social cohesion and, 40, 48–49
 as union versus federation, 107
- Greece, ancient
 constitutionalization of democracy
 and, 69
 democracy in, 301–313
 economic productivity and growth
 in, 39
 freedom in, 33
 tolerance in, 45
 virtue in, 32
- Greece, modern, EU and, 136
- Guatemala, 26
 circularities of migration from, 263
 economic context of migrant
 populations, 268
 geographic concentration of
 migrants from, 265
 immigrant mobilization in, 270
 legal status of immigrants in U.S.,
 264–265
 political participation of migrants
 from, 267
- Guide of the Perplexed, The*
 (Maimonides), 53–57
- Habsburg Empire, 146
- Hanseatic League, 107
- hedge funds, international financial
 crisis and, 24
- Hong Kong
 in East Asian model, 198, 204, 205,
 210, 217, 218–219, 221
 as “tiger” economy, 22–23
- human rights
 in Africa, 243
 in Central Europe, 153–156
 in China, 36, 208–209, 211–217
 democratization as, 43
 federalism and, 97–99, 109–114
 liberal democracy and, 64
 minority rights in democracy, 4,
 306–307
 in Russia, 16, 169–170
 slavery and, 36–37, 110–111,
 309–310, 311
 tolerance and, 33–34, 37
 in the U.S., 33–34, 36–37, 110–112,
 333
- Hungary
 democratization process and, 146,
 147, 149, 151, 158
 social cohesion and, 40
- Hutu-Tutsi conflict, 234, 244–247
- immigration
 borders and, 261–263
 China and, 276–277
 circularities in, 262–263
 diversity and, 2, 3
 economic contexts of, 267–268
 equality of opportunity and, 36
 flow of human capital in, 260
 flow of unskilled labor in, 260
 freedoms and, 263–268
 geographic concentrations of,
 265
 immigrant mobilization across
 Latin America, 26–27, 259–277
 integration of immigrants in,
 259–260
 numbers involved in, 261–262
 resources of migrants and,
 265–267
 Russia and, 14
- inclusion, as dimension of
 integration, 75–77
- India
 castes in, 36
 democratic challenge in, 45–46
 federalism in, 93, 94, 100–101,
 103–104, 107, 108, 110
 social cohesion in, 40–41
- individuality
 democracy and, 316
 development and, 78–79
 federalism and, 109–111
- Indonesia
 authoritarianism in, 82
 social cohesion in, 40–41

- industrialization process
 equality of opportunity and, 36, 44
 just society and, 47
- International Criminal Court, 137
- international financial crisis, 24, 198
- international migration, 259–277
 borders and, 261–263
 China and, 276–277
 circularities in, 262–263
 economic contexts of, 267–268
 flow of human capital in, 260
 flow of unskilled labor in, 260
 freedoms in, 263–268
 geographic concentrations of, 265
 immigrant mobilization across
 Latin America, 268–275
 integration of immigrants in,
 259–260
 numbers in, 261–262
 resources of migrants and, 265–267
- International Monetary Fund (IMF),
 96, 239, 241
- intolerance. *See* tolerance
- Iraq
 democratic challenge in, 45–46
 war in, 96–97, 137, 138
- Ireland, EU and, 134
- Islam. *See* Muslims and Islam
- Israel, social cohesion and, 40
- Italy
 EU and, 122
 social cohesion and, 40
- Japan
 in East Asian model, 198, 203, 204,
 211, 218, 220, 221
 federalism in, 96
 intolerance in, 36
 political freedom in, 44
- Jews and Judaism, Akeidah (sacrifice
 of Abraham's son), 53–60
- justice
 federal democracy and, 112–114
 Hume's theory of, 62–63
- just society
 nature of, 46–47, 67
 theory of justice, 62–63
- Kashmir, social cohesion and, 41
- keidanren*, 203
- Kenya, 25–26, 233, 234, 241–243,
 253–254
- Kremlin Inc., 14, 16, 183–187
- Ku Klux Klan, 333
- Kuwait, migrants to, 263
- Kyoto Protocol, 137
- Latin America
 democratizations in, 82
 immigration process and, 26–27,
 259–277
See also names of specific countries
- Latvia, democratization process and,
 145–147, 150, 158–159
- law
 in Africa, 241
 capitalism and, 102–103
 in Central Europe, 151–153
 in China, 198, 211–217, 224,
 225–226
 within democracy, 31–32, 46–47
 in East Asian model, 209–211, 219
 equality before, 32–33
 evolution of legal foundation for
 democracy, 32–33
 federal democracy and, 112–114
 just society and, 46–47, 67
 Russia and, 19
 status of migrant populations,
 263–268
- learning/ecological approach
 to democracy, 79–80
 to globalizations, 79–80
 theory of rational learning, 80
- Lebanon, social cohesion and, 40,
 41
- Leviathan* (Hobbes), 54, 57–62, 309
- liberal democracy, 3–5, 53–70
 advancement of, justifications for,
 303–305
 in Africa, 251–252
 Akeidah (sacrifice of Abraham's
 son), 53–60
 ancient democracy compared with,
 301–313

- constitutionalism and. *see*
 - constitutionalizing of democracy
- dialogic model of communication
 - and, 293–296
- Kekes critique of, 65–67
- metaphysical backdrop to, 4–5
- nature of, 3–4
- Oakeshott critique of, 67–68
- representation in, 53, 302–303, 306–307
- skepticism and, 69–70
- transmission model of
 - communication and, 286–287
- Walsh critique of, 63–65
- Wolin critique of, 68–70
- See also* democracy;
 - democratizations
- liberalism
 - agnosticism and, 60–63
 - democracy as philosophy of
 - modern, 28, 305. *see also* liberal democracy
 - of Hobbes, 59–60
 - of Hume, 62
- Lithuania, democratization process
 - and, 145–147, 150, 151, 158–159
- love, in negative theology of
 - Maimonides, 55–56
- Macau, in East Asian model, 204
- Macedonia, democratization process
 - and, 149–150, 152, 159
- Malaysia, federalism in, 93, 106, 108
- Mali, 252–253
- Marxism, 166–167, 247, 282
- “mature” democracies, 42–43, 48, 49
- media, in Russia, 176, 185
- Mexico
 - economic growth in, 272–275
 - economic integration and, 267–268
 - elections in, 27
 - federalism in, 93, 95, 99
 - geographic concentration of
 - migrants from, 265
 - historical perspective on, 270–275
 - immigration across U.S.-Mexico
 - border, 26–27, 259–277
 - legal status of immigrants in U.S., 264–265
 - political participation of migrants
 - from, 41, 266
 - trade agreements, 268, 273
- Micronesia, federalism in, 93
- military-industrial complex, 315
- minority rights, 4, 306–307
- modern liberal democracy. *see* liberal democracy
- Mohists, 20–21
- Moldova, democratization process
 - and, 152
- Monnet method, 121
- monotheism, negative theology and, 59–60
- Montenegro, democratization
 - process and, 148, 149–150
- morality, 37–38
- Moral Man and Immoral Society* (Niebuhr), 38
- Mozambique, 34
- Muslims and Islam
 - Akeidah (sacrifice of Abraham’s son), 53–60
 - terrorist attacks of 2001, 29, 53, 197, 315
- nationalism
 - in China, 24–25
 - as old elite, 90
- NATO, 12, 96, 138
- Nazi Germany, intolerance in, 36
- negative theology
 - of Hobbes, 57–59, 61, 62
 - of Maimonides, 54–57, 61, 62
- neopatrimonialism, 249–251
- Netherlands, EU and, 134, 135–136, 141
- new communication technologies (NCTs), 27–28
 - a-contextualization of, 283
 - development and implementation
 - of, 282–283
 - individualist traits and, 290–291
 - inevitability of, 290
 - preexisting markets for, 292–293

- new communication technologies (NCTs) (cont.)
 representation of human interests and, 293–297
 in transmission model of communication, 28, 283–284, 286–287, 291–297
 universal pragmatics (Habermas) and, 293–294, 296–297
 virtual communities and, 296
- New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), 254
- New World
 evolution of equality and, 35–36
 evolution of freedom and, 35
 migration to, 35, 36
 revolution and, 74
- Nigeria
 corruption in, 98
 economic growth of, 237, 254
 federalism in, 93, 94, 98, 104, 107, 108, 110
- nominalism, of Hobbes, 58–59
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 268, 273
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 12, 96, 138
- North Korea, old elites in, 90
- Of Democracy in France* (Guizot), 326–332, 333
- Olympic games, 33
- orange revolution, in Russia, 18, 186
- Organization of African Unity, 245
- organized crime, in Central Europe, 153
- Other
 in Akeidah (sacrifice of Abraham's son), 53–60
 in dialogic model of communication, 288
 God as, 54, 56, 58
 as One Absolute Being, 58
- Pakistan
 corruption in, 98
 federalism in, 93, 106
 social cohesion and, 41
- participatory democracy, 3–4, 69
- Pentagon terrorist attack (2001), 29, 53, 197, 315
- People's Republic of China (PRC). *See* China
- perestroika, 13, 179
- Philippines, social cohesion and, 41
- pluralism
 in democracy, 32
 in liberalism, 65–67
- Poland, 12, 33
 democratization process and, 146–149, 151, 155, 156–157, 158, 160–161
 EU and, 134, 138
 Solidarity Union, 156–157
- political development, social cohesion in, 39–40
- political economy, in democracy, 68–69
- political participation
 in democratization process, 39, 41, 47–48
 freedom and, 45
 just society and, 46–47
 of migrant populations, 265–267
 tolerance and, 45, 49–50
 voting as communication, 286–287
- politicization, 4
- popular rule, democracy as, 3–4, 302–303
- Portugal
 African colonies of, 235
 EU and, 134, 136
 fall of dictatorship, 94
- poverty
 in Central Europe, 159–160
 tolerance and, 38
See also social class
- power
Dao De Jing and, 20–21
 democratizations and, 1, 68–69
 dispersed, 6–7
 federalism and, 6–7
- power cycle theory, 32
- privacy, communication and, 290–291

- procedural republic, 62–63
 professionalization of politics, as
 goal of democracy, 28
 Puritan Revolution, 61
- Qin Dynasty, 21
 quality of life
 federalism and, 99–103
 in Russia, 178–180
- Reformation, freedom and, 33
 relative intolerance, 38
 religion
 Akeidah (sacrifice of Abraham's
 son), 53–60
 conservative theories of revolution
 and, 61–62
 freedom and, 33
 freedom of, 35
 generalized agnosticism and,
 60–63, 66–70
 liberal democracy and, 64–65
 negative theology of Hobbes,
 57–59, 61, 62
 negative theology of Maimonides,
 54–57, 61, 62
 in Russia, 184, 185
 See also God; *specific religious
 groups and religions*
- renminbi*, 222
 representation
 in liberal democracy, 53, 302–303,
 306–307
 in popular rule, 3–4, 302–303
 retroactive justice, democratization
 process and, 154, 155–156
 revolution
 American, 68–69
 conservative theories of, 61–62
 First Democratic Revolution, 74
 French, 188, 226, 227
 international migration and, 261
 religion and, 61–62
 Second Democratic Revolution,
 73–74, 81–82
- Romania
 democratization process and, 147,
 148, 150, 152, 158–159
 EU and, 138, 141
 social cohesion and, 40
- Russia, 13–19, 165–189
 anti-communist revolution and,
 17, 165, 167–168
 anti-democratic movement in,
 168–175, 177–189
 authoritarian system of, 14, 17–19,
 166–167, 172–175, 177–189
 corruption in, 17, 98, 179, 181–183,
 186–187
 culturologist views of, 172–175,
 188–189
 democratization process and, 31–
 32, 146–147, 158, 159–160, 165,
 167–168, 174–177
 failure of democracy in, 17–18,
 168–175, 177–189
 federalism in, 93, 95, 96, 103–104
 historical perspective on, 174–183
 human rights and, 16, 169–170
 immigration and, 14
 Kremlin Inc. and, 14, 16, 183–187
 new assertiveness of, 15
 orange revolution and, 18, 186
 social class in, 16, 183–185
 social cohesion and, 41, 178–180
 spontaneous elites in, 18–19,
 183–187
 stability of, 14–16
 structuralist views of, 167–168,
 171–172, 187–188
 See also Soviet Union, former
- Rwanda, 24, 34, 38
- St. Kitts and Nevis, federalism in,
 93
- Saudi Arabia, migrants to, 263
- Second Democratic Revolution,
 73–74, 81–82
- self-defense, justice and, 114
- self-interest, in democracy, 305–306,
 310, 316
- self-knowledge, 295, 310
- September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks,
 29, 53, 197, 315
- Serbia, democratization process and,
 148, 149–150, 152

- Singapore
 in East Asian model, 198, 204, 205, 209, 210, 219, 221
 migrants to, 263
 as “tiger” economy, 22–23, 76
 Single European Act of 1986, 121
 skepticism, 53–54
 connection between political liberalism and, 64–66
 EU and, 9
 in negative theology of Hobbes, 57–59, 61, 62
 in negative theology of Maimonides, 54–57, 61, 62
 participatory democracy and, 69–70
 in skeptical idealism, 58
 slavery
 democracy and, 309–310, 311
 federalism and, 110–111
 intolerance and, 36–37
 Slovakia, democratization process and, 151, 152, 158
 Slovenia, democratization process and, 12, 149, 151, 155–156, 158
 social class
 conflicts among economic and social strata, 84–85, 89–90
 poverty and, 38, 159–160
 in Russia, 16, 183–187
 slavery and, 36–37, 110–112, 309–310
 social cohesion
 in Central Europe, 157–162
 collective memories and, 48–49
 in democratization process, 39–42, 48–49, 157–162
 economic problems and, 178–180
 equality of opportunity and, 45–46
 just society and, 46–47
 problems with, 40
 tolerance and, 45–46
 societal core values, 32–46
 emplacement in democratization process, 38–46
 evolution of, 34–38
 nature of, 32–34
 South Africa, 93, 254
 Southeast Asia, economic collapse of, 82–83
 Southern Europe
 democratizations in, 82
 EU and, 128
 South Korea
 in East Asian model, 198, 203, 204, 205, 210, 217, 219, 220, 221
 as “tiger” economy, 22–23, 76
 sovereign democracy, 170
 Soviet Union, former
 collapse of, viii, 11, 16, 17, 31, 40, 95, 108, 109, 145–148, 165, 241, 268
 Cuba and, 268
 federalism in, 106–107
 intolerance in, 36
 U.S. versus, 166–167
See also Chechnya; communism; Georgia; Russia
 Spain
 EU and, 136
 federalism in, 93, 95–97
 social cohesion and, 40, 48
 Sri Lanka, social cohesion and, 41
 Stockholm Convention, 8
 strength, as dimension of integration, 75–77
 structuralism
 Africa and, 247–248
 Russia and, 167–168, 171–172, 187–188
 Sweden, EU and, 134
 Switzerland, federalism in, 93, 94, 96–97, 98–99, 109
 Taiwan
 in East Asian model, 198, 204, 209, 210, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221
 as “tiger” economy, 22–23
 Taoism, 20–21
 terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, 29, 53, 197, 315
 Thailand, authoritarianism in, 82
 tolerance
 as core value of democracy, 33–34
 democratic pluralism and, 3, 49–50

- equality of opportunity and, 45–46
- evolution of, 36–38
- freedom and, 45
- political participation and, 45, 49–50
- social cohesion and, 45–46
- totalitarian systems
 - in Central Europe, 145–148
 - extension and, 76
 - See also* authoritarianism
- trade
 - regional trade agreements, 267–268
 - social cohesion and, 39–40
- transmission model of
 - communication, 28, 283–284, 286–287, 291–297
- Transparency International, 98
- Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), 121, 124
- Treaty of Lisbon (rejected), 8
- Treaty of Maastricht (1993), 7, 114, 121, 127
- Treaty of Nice (2000), 121
- Treaty of Paris (1952), 7
- Treaty of Rome (1957), 7
- Turkey, EU and, 133–134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141
- Two Solitudes* (MacLennan), 38
- Ukraine, 12
 - democratization process in, 168, 169, 186
 - EU and, 136
- United Arab Emirates, federalism in, 93, 106
- United Kingdom, EU and, 10, 122, 131, 137
- United Nations, 96, 245
 - Human Development score, 99–100
 - Security Council, 138
- United States
 - American Revolution, 68–69
 - anti-Americanism and, 22–25, 29, 53, 197, 315
 - capitalism in, 102, 166–167
 - Cold War and, 166–167
 - EU as alternative to hegemony of, 9, 123, 137–139
 - federalism in, 93, 94, 96–97, 98–99, 103–104, 107, 109, 110–111, 113
 - global power of, 90
 - Great Depression, 178–179
 - humanistic record of, 33–34
 - human rights in, 33–34, 36–37, 110–112, 333
 - immigration from Latin America, 26–27, 259–277
 - international financial crisis and, 24, 197
 - Iraq war and, 96–97, 137, 138
 - legal status of immigrants in, 263–268
 - as liberal democracy, 3
 - military-industrial complex and, 315
 - output of, 90
 - policy toward China, 313
 - political freedom in, 44
 - slavery in, 36–37, 110–112
 - Supreme Court rulings, 111, 113, 308
 - terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, 29, 53, 197, 315
 - tolerance in, 33–34
 - trade agreements, 268, 273
- Vaduz Convention, 8
- values
 - consensus on, 295
 - societal core values, 32–46
- Venezuela
 - corruption in, 98
 - federalism in, 93, 95
- Vichy Regime, 34
- violence, intolerance and, 38
- virtual communities, 296
- virtue
 - Dao De Jing* and, 20–21
 - law-making and, 32
- voluntarism, Africa and, 248–249
- voting
 - as communication, 286–287
 - in democracy, 303, 308, 311

- voting (cont.)
 - in European Union, 132, 133
 - universal suffrage, 303, 311
 - See also* political participation
- women
 - democracy and, 311, 322–324, 331–335
 - equality of opportunity and, 36
 - feminist view of democracy, 322–323, 324, 331–335
- workplace
 - glass ceilings for women, 36
 - international flows of human capital and, 260
 - international flows of unskilled labor and, 260
 - as locus for raising consciousness, 4
- World Bank, 96, 239, 241
- World Trade Center terrorist attacks (2001), 29, 53, 197, 315
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 205, 211, 221, 222–223
- World War II, democratizations following, 94, 96

- Yom Kippur War (1973), 81
- Yugoslavia
 - collapse of, 40, 95, 147, 149
 - democratization process and, 149–151, 159
 - federalism in, 93