

I. Explaining Democratic Stability And Instability A Two Paths To Stable Democracy

1. Incremental - Gt Britain:

- a. 1832 - Middle Class Franchise
- b. 1867 - Skilled Working Class
- c. 1884 - Move To Universal
Manhood Suffrage

2. Discontinuous - France 1793 - 1871

- a. Democratic Constitutions Are
Imposed After Crises Caused
by WAR And Revolution

3 Contrast Incremental/ Bargaining vs. Imposed Democracy That Threatens Core Interests

II. Conceptual Contrast +

A. Stable Democracies

Founded On the Basis of
Broad Bargains That Buy
Out Anti-Democratic Interests

B. Unstable Democracies - Imposed Democracies That Threaten Key Interests And Generate Anti-Democratic Coalitions With Sufficient Power To Destabilize Democratic Institutions

1 Outcomes of Destabilization

a. Military Coups

b. Anti-Democratic Elections

1 Germany 1928-32

c. Civil War - (Manu-

Ind - WAR Europe

III. The Core Explanatory Hypothesis

A Stable Democracy Requires A Process of Democratization That Rests On a pro-Democratic Consensus of All Major Interests

A Consensus Rests On A Fundamental Bargain Between Pro And Anti-Democratic Coalitions

a. Anti-Democratic Coalitions Accept Democratic Elections As The Basis of State Power And Policy

b. Pro-Democratic Coalitions Accept A Limitation On Demands And No Social Survival Threats To Opponents

B. The Demand For Democracy
Becomes Mass, Effective Demand
Because of Its Linkage To
Concrete Social And Economic
Demands (Like Land Reform,
Labor Rights, Meritocracy)

C. The Linkage Effect Can
Threaten The Most Important
Interests of Key Groups.

1. This Is The Social
Survival Threat (example!
Radical Demands For Redistribution
of Property Rights Threaten To
Destroy Middle Class Interests)

2. The Threat to Social Survival
Generates The Incentive To Form
ANTI-Democratic Coalitions

C. The Formation of Pro And
Anti-Democratic Coalitions
Generates Social/Polarization
And Political Instability

D. The Alternative - Pro And
Anti-Democratic Coalitions,
Reach Consensus Bargains That
Lead To Democratic Stability
Rooted In Mutual Concessions
E. Pro-Democratic Coalitions
Must Moderate Demands
In Order To Buy Out Opposition
An Example - Demands For
Radical Redistribution Must
Become Moderate Demands For
Redistributive Reform (Expropriation vs.
Taxation)

IV. How Do We Explain
The Divergence of Outcomes
(Stable - Unstable) - Identifying
The Independent Variable

A Hypotheses

1. Market Logic and
Economic Development

2. Middle Mass - Middle
Classes Inherently Favor Stable
Democracy

3. Development - Development
of Civil Society and Civilizing
Politics

4. Globalization of Democratic
Values

5. Institutional Bridges Institutional

* The Strategic
Problem In
Democratization Is To
Transform Radical
Redistributive Mass
Demand That Mobilizes
Mass Support For Democracy
Into Redistributive
Reform (50% Rather Than
100% of Demands) Without
Losing Mass Support
How? (Strategic Problem)

I. The German Case: 1871-1945

Imposed Democratization; Social Polarization, & Democratic Collapse

A Pre Background - Germany 1871-1918

1. Parliamentary Monarchy -
 - a. King (Emperor) with Veto Power
2. National Reichstag
 - a. Upper Chamber - elected by German States
 - b. Lower Chamber - elected by universal manhood suffrage
 - c. Potential - Incremental Democratization Based on 46 Reichstag As Bridging Institution

3. Breakdown - The Crisis of WAR, Defeat, & Revolution - 1918-1919

B A Left-Center Coalition
Imposes full Democratization
1. Coalition of Radical Societies
(Communists after 1919; Social
Democrats, and the Catholic Center
Party)

2. The Opponents of Democracy
(Right and Right Center Perceive
This Transition As a Social Survival
Threat - Weimar Republic
Political Means

a. Abolition of Aristocracy,
Military, Bureaucratic Privileges
without Bargained Compensation
b. General Perceived Threat to
Established Property Rights
c. Radical Redistribution
d. National Weakness -
Treaty of Versailles

C. Polarization of German Politics - Pro and Anti-Democratic Coalitions

1. Social Democrats and Catholic Center Represent Pro-Democratic Coalition
2. Nationalists, Monarchists (Frings) (Ulrich) Nazis Represent A Large (Perhaps 40% - 50%) of Population (Anti-Democratic Coalition)
3. Communists Are Ambiguous But Tend to Anti-Democracy Under The Influence of Stalin's U.S.S.R.
4. 1921-29 - Hyper-Inflation (1919-1920) Followed By Economic Growth and Relative Prosperity For Middle Class Groups
 - a. The Facade of Stability

D. However, economic good times did not eliminate polarization
c. lead to political moderation
1 The Incremental growth of
the extreme right (Nazis,
Nationalists

E. 1929 - The Great Depression
And The Politics of Crisis

1 The Catholic Center Is The
Pivotal Party - The Republic
Can Only Survive With Center-
Support, Begins To Unravel
When Voters Desert The Center

F. The Nationalists And Nazis
And The Path to Electoral Dictatorship
1 Anti-Democratic Elections -
1928, 1932-33

2. The Far Right Control of
The Prussian Legislature (Landtag)

G. Weimar Welfare State
Politics.

1 Defender of Weimar
Campaign On A Platform
Supportive of Weimar's
(Relatively) Generous Welfare
State, Anti Militarism, And
Economic Progress

H. However, Counter To Predictions,
This does not Stop + Rise of
The Right

I. 1932-33 Hitler Selected
Chancellor by Presidential Order

2 The Far Right's Vote -
Nationalists + Nazis + Fringe Groups
Approaches 51%

3 Hitler Utilizes Constitution /
Decree (Emergency Powers) To End Democracy

* The Nazi Appeal - Explaining Nazi Electoral Success

A. Multi-Class and Multi-Regional / (Nazi Pioneer - "Modern Campaigning")

1. Defense of the Middle Class and Property Rights

B. Nationalism - National Security and National Greatness

2. Reversal of Versailles

C. Pro-Growth and Prosperity

D. National Unity -

Consensus / Anti-Semitism

E. The Balance of Property and Prejudice.