

The Teacher

of egalitarian education. By definition I have more access to computers and computing staff than my students do. Nonetheless, one of the consequences of the newsgroup was that in these out-of-class discussions, my words looked no different than anyone else's. The lasting results of the experiment are that silent students "spoke"; students paid respectful and constructive attention to each other's comments; and we explored lacunae in the discipline in an interactive fashion that permitted time for digestion and reflection. These are at least partial indicators of successful pedagogy in feminist International Relations.

Notes

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1. The texts for the course included du Plessix Gray (1990); Elstain (1987); Enloe (1990); Grant and Newland (1991); and Harding (1991).

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About the Author

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Capitalism and Democracy: A Play

Delmer Lonowski, *South Dakota State University*

There are a variety of ways to present the material in a political science class. One that is not often considered is the use of play-acting. Creating a play to present the material is relatively simple as will be demonstrated below.

In teaching a course on Russian politics, I felt that there were lessons to be learned from contrasting the reform experiences of the Chinese prior to Tiananmen Square to those experienced by the Soviet Union under *glasnost* and *perestroika*. These two events raise serious questions about the relationship of democracy to capitalism. Therefore, I was pleased to find Gabriel Almond's (1991) article on this relationship. My initial presentation in the fall of 1991 was a lecture based on the article. This fall, I found a new approach that may be more effective. It involved transforming Almond's article into a play, which the class then performed.

This method of presentation is

recommended by Georgi Lozanov. Lozanov (1978, 256-57, 261-62) argues for attempting to reach not only the student's conscious level but also the unconscious and para-conscious levels as well. He suggests that these different levels can be accessed through three different means. First, by psychological means that involve both emotional stimulus and peripheral perceptions. This extends the scope of the assimilated material in the long-term memory. The second means is the didactic in which the instructor attempts to overcome the limitations of short-term memory through generalization and the enlargement of perspectives. Generalization makes it possible to overcome the limitations of short-term memory, while enlarging the perspective provides the student with an overall view of the material to be studied. Finally, the three levels of consciousness can be accessed by the introduction of various art forms, such as music, literature, and acting

into the teaching and learning process. In doing so, the instructor creates not only a pleasant atmosphere but facilitates the student in his or her efforts to receive, memorize, and understand the information being presented.

The evidence that Lozanov (1978, 264-65) reports from studies using these methods is impressive. In one study of instruction in mathematics, in the pre-test, 57% obtained the correct answer. Following instruction with these methods, 74% of the students obtained the right answer. A second study utilized the method to teach English. The pre-test obtained 4.9% correct answers, the post-test, 13.5%. Even more striking is the fact that without the students having had an opportunity to do any homework, a follow-up test was given the next day which obtained 23.7% correct answers. The differences between the tests in both studies were statistically significant ($p > 0.001$).

It was on the basis of Lozanov's

theory that I developed the play that is printed below. It might be useful for the reader to compare this play to Almond's (1991) original article to see how easy it is to produce this type of activity. By using this method of presentation, it is possible to bring both the names and the ideas of the leading authorities on capitalism and democracy to the students' attention without a dry, boring lecture.

With regard to the actual performance, the students were assigned and given a copy of their individual parts in the play. Immediately following the play, even though the students had not seen this material prior to the performance, they were able to effectively discuss the various ideas presented. At the conclusion of class, I gave each of the students a complete copy of the play with a suggested reading list based on Almond's bibliography so that they could further explore the ideas presented.

The Play

Gabriel Almond: I am Gabriel Almond. When the Tiananmen Square demonstrations took place, it was suggested that the reason that the Chinese had the demonstrations was because government was bringing about reforms that were leading to a market system without at the same time reforming the political system. In other words, making it more democratic. At least one explanation of the failure of Gorbachev's *perestroika* is that he instituted *glasnost* too soon. He needed to maintain control of the economy because the radical reforms he proposed could not withstand democratic opposition.

Today we have with us some of the foremost experts on democracy and capitalism who will discuss the relationship between the two concepts for us. First, we will consider how capitalism supports democracy followed by a discussion of how capitalism subverts democracy. Then we will reverse our analysis and consider how democracy subverts capitalism and how democracy fosters capitalism.

Turning first to the idea that capitalism supports democracy, I would ask that Joseph Schumpeter share his ideas with us.

Joseph Schumpeter: History clearly confirms that modern democracy rose along with capitalism and in causal connection with it. Modern democracy is a product of the capitalist process. The bourgeoisie reshaped and, from its own point of view, rationalized the social and political structure of its day, namely feudalism. The democratic method was the political tool of that construction. Capitalism and democracy are mutually supportive parts of a rising modern civilization.

Almond: That argument certainly supports the explanation in the

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Chinese case. Barrington Moore, you have done some work in this area. What are your ideas here?

Barrington Moore: I believe that there have been three historical routes to industrial modernization. The first is that followed by Britain, France, and the United States. It involved the subordination and transformation of the agricultural sector by the rising commercial bourgeoisie, producing democratic capitalism. The second route was followed by Germany and Japan. In those two countries, the landed aristocracy was able to contain and dominate the rising commercial classes, producing an authoritarian and fascist version of industrial modernization. It was a system of capitalism encased in a feudal authoritarian framework dominated by a military aristocracy and an authoritarian monarchy. The third route is that followed by Russia where the commercial bourgeoisie was too weak to give content and direction to the modernizing process.

In Russia, industrial modernization took the form of a revolutionary process drawing on the frustration and resources of the peasantry, which was created by a mobilized authoritarian Communist regime along with a state-controlled industrialized economy.

Almond: Robert Dahl, can you add something to this discussion?

Robert Dahl: Yes I can. It is a historical fact that modern democratic institutions have existed only in countries with predominantly privately owned, market-oriented economies. It is also a fact that all socialist countries with predominantly state-owned centrally directed economic orders have not enjoyed democratic governments but have been ruled by authoritarian dictatorships. However, it is also a historical fact that some "capitalist" countries have also been, and are, ruled by authoritarian dictatorships.

To put it more formally, it looks like market-oriented economies are necessary to democratic institutions though they are certainly not sufficient. State-owned centrally directed economic orders are strictly associated with authoritarian regimes but authoritarian regimes definitely do not require state-owned centrally directed economies.

Almond: What are your thoughts on this, Peter Berger?

Peter Berger: I agree with Professor Dahl. Capitalism is necessary to democratic decision making but by itself, it is not sufficient to cause democracy.

If a capitalist economy is subjected to increasing degrees of state control, a point will be reached at which democratic governance becomes impossible. On the other hand, if a socialist economy is opened up to increasing degrees of market forces, a point will be reached at which democratic governance becomes a possibility.

Almond: Are you suggesting then that the Chinese explanation is correct?

Peter Berger: You might say that. If capitalist development is successful in

generating economic growth from which a sizable proportion of the population benefits, pressures toward democracy are likely to appear.

Almond: Okay then, let's consider the idea that capitalism subverts democracy. Let's consider first what John Stuart Mill has to say about this.

John Stuart Mill: Capitalism is unjust because a free market is destructively competitive and aesthetically and morally repugnant. What is needed is a less competitive society, ultimately socialist, which will still respect individuality. To accomplish this, it is necessary to limit inheritance, improve the property system so that everyone gets to share in society's benefits, limit population growth, and improve the quality of the labor force through the provision of high quality education. Ultimately what we need to do is control the excesses of both the market economy and the majoritarian polity through education to produce both a morally improved free market and to make democracy work.

Almond: We are fortunate to have with us one of the foremost advocates of socialism, Karl Marx. Professor Marx, what is your reaction to all of this?

Karl Marx: I agree that it might be possible to improve the capitalist and democratic order, but I feel that as long as there is capitalism and private property, there can exist no genuine democracy. Capitalist democracy is bourgeois democracy. It can only result in an increasing exploitation of the working classes. Only by the elimination of capitalism and private property can you obtain true democracy. Under socialism, on the other hand, there would be no need for distinctive democratic organization because the capitalist class would no longer exist. Therefore, there would be no need for democratic institutions to resolve conflicts.

Almond: Jürgen Habermas, do modern Marxists feel the same way?

Jürgen Habermas: I cannot presume to speak for all of them, but many would basically agree. However, the

modern democratic state is a class struggle state rather than an unambiguously bourgeois state. At least the working class now has access to it; it can struggle for its interests; and as a result of that struggle, the working class will receive some benefits.

Almond: Joseph Schumpeter, what is your reaction to these ideas?

Joseph Schumpeter: I agree that there is a tension between capitalism and democracy. The means at the disposal of private interests are often used to thwart the will of the people. These means are often used to interfere with the democratic decision-making process. Political life has all but resolved itself into a struggle of pressure groups and has failed to conform to the spirit of the democratic method. On the other hand, full democracy is likewise impossible. There are too many complex issues that confront the modern electorate. The best that we can hope for is republicanism. This kind of democracy will work even though not perfectly.

Almond: Finally, on this issue of whether capitalism subverts democracy, let's hear from Professor Dahl.

Robert Dahl: Democracy in the United States is seriously compromised and impaired by the inequality of resources among its citizens. There seem to be three historical stages to democratic development. During the first stage, we see direct participatory democracy. This is similar to what we think of in New England town hall democracy. The second stage is similar to that experienced by the United States up to now. It is an indirect, representative, inegalitarian democracy. We are now ready to move into a new stage of democratic development. We are living in the era of the mega-corporation. If we are going to maintain a democratic system, we are going to have to democratize the economic order. We will have to give control of corporate industry to its employees. Doing so would improve the distribution of political resources without at the same time destroying pluralism which is what occurs when you have state ownership.

Almond: Now let's look at the other side. Let's consider how democracy subverts capitalism. One of the dominant traditions of capitalist economics is that given us by Adam Smith. Adam Smith, what are your ideas?

Adam Smith: An economy must be relatively free of governmental intervention in order to produce to its maximum capability. The only role for government is to protect the market from itself. Left to their own devices, business people are prone to corner the market and attempt to establish a monopoly. For capitalism to work properly, government must prevent this. Other than that, government's only role is to provide for the national defense and for domestic order.

Almond: Milton Friedman, I understand that your ideas are quite similar to Adam Smith's.

Milton Friedman: Yes, they are. As I see it, the principal threat to the survival of capitalism and democracy is the assumption of the responsibility for welfare on the part of the modern democratic state. It results in a gradual encroachment by the state on the private sector which compromises both freedom and productivity. The real threat to freedom and capitalism arises out of the excesses of democratic politics.

Almond: There are several schools of thought that have taken different approaches but reach similar conclusions. William Mitchell, can you tell us about these?

William Mitchell: Yes, two in particular, the "Public Choice" school led by James Buchanan of Virginia and the "Positive Theory" school led by William Riker of Rochester. They conclude that a private economy is much more successful than political processes in efficiently allocating resources. Unfortunately, failures of political performance are inherent in the democratic political process. Inequity, inefficiency, and coercion are the general results of democratic policy formation. In a democracy, the demand for publicly provided services seems to be insatiable. It ultimately turns into a special interest society.

Almond: Mancur Olson, can you tell us why this is?

Mancur Olson: Yes, I think so. Individuals and firms in stable societies inevitably form dense networks of collusive, cartelistic, and lobbying organizations that make economies less efficient and politics less governable. Countries that have had democratic freedom of organization without upheaval or invasion the longest will suffer the most from growth-repressing organizations and combinations. The solution to this state of affairs is a democratic state with sufficient regulatory authority to control the growth of special interest organizations.

Almond: We have just heard, especially from Professors Friedman and Olson, that democratic politics tends to reduce productivity and hence welfare. I tend to disagree because all of the advanced industrial democracies are welfare states. So, let's consider whether democracy fosters capitalism. Peter Flora, you have some ideas on this.

Peter Flora: Yes. It can be argued that had capitalism not been modified in the welfare direction, it might not have survived. There is a close relationship between the development and spread of capitalist industry, democratization in the sense of an expanding suffrage and the emer-

gence of trade unions and left-wing political parties. This relationship led to the gradual introduction of the institutions and practices of the welfare state.

There were serious confrontations between the upper- and middle-class leaders and the trade union movements. These upper- and middle-class leaders decided that the concession of a welfare state was cheaper than the losses that would be incurred from strikes by unions that bring production to a halt or the costs of suppressing the union movement. Without this welfare adaptation, it is doubtful that capitalism would have survived, or rather, its survival, "unwelfarized," would have required a substantial repressive apparatus. The choice would have been between democratic welfare capitalism and repressive undemocratic capitalism.

Almond: Let's conclude with a summation from Moses Abramovitz.

Moses Abramovitz: The democratic welfare state is a pragmatic compromise between the competing virtues and defects of decentralized market capitalism and encompassing socialism. Its goal is to obtain a measure of distributive justice, security, and social guidance of economic life without losing too much of the allocative efficiency and dynamism of private enterprise and market organization. It seeks to retain for

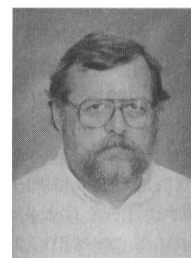
most people that measure of personal protection from the state which private property and a private job market confer. At the same time, it seeks to obtain for the disadvantaged minority of people through the state that measure of support without which their lack of property or personal endowment would amount to a denial of individual freedom and capacity to function as full members of the community.

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Civic Education as Public Leadership Development

Harry C. Boyte, *University of Minnesota*

In the last several years, many critics have observed the erosion of Americans' commitments to politics or participation in the public world (Dionne 1991). Such erosion is connected to the virtual disappearance of any active idea of "public life" in recent America. Politics has largely become an unpopular spectator sport. The public world, in many people's view, is the arena dominated

by politicians or simply the rich and famous. When ordinary people enter a public environment, they do so as *privatized* individuals, as claimants, or as righteous crusaders, with little of the sort of responsible exchange, development, or problem-solving that conveys serious public agency. Single issue advocacy, call-in talk shows, or Phil Donahue-style intimacies are the norm.

Over the past four years, Project Public Life, a theory-building experiment in civic education, has developed a framework called "citizen politics" to redress the civic disaffection of students and of a variety of other constituencies, in different institutional settings.¹ Project Public Life is part of the Center for Democracy and Citizenship at the University of Minnesota. Its framework of