Abbé Sieyès (Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès)  
distinction between constitutive power and constituted power, 80–1  
nation-state, concept of, 82, 154–5  
representation and the general will, 81–2, 99–100  
on the Terror, 101  
threeory of popular sovereignty, 79–80, 86–7  
Adams, John, 60–1, 68, 69, 108  
American Civil War  
as a failure of democracy, 131–2  
and inevitability of democracy, 132–3  
American Revolution  
adoption of republicanism, 46, 50–2, 53–4, 71–2  
aliance with France, 56–7, 78  
concern over European intervention, 61, 62  
constituted power vs. constitutive power, 65, 66, 69–70  
Continental Congress, powers of, 58, 63  
creation of representative government, 66–9  
democracy as mixed regime, 49–50  
doubts over strength of confederacy, 60–1  
European scepticism of republicanism, 57, 58, 64–5  
fears over despotic democratic rule, 61, 65–6, 69  
influence of Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 50–1  
lack of interest in democracy, 46–7  
perception of democracy as dangerous  
mob rule (Ancient Greece), 47–9, 50  
and popular sovereignty, 46, 54, 64–5, 71–2  
proposed federal government, 63–4  
as protest against English misrule, 46–7  
republic seen as weak and chaotic, 58–60  
territory size and republican model, 53, 63, 64  
ancien régime  
abolition of feudalism, France, 83  
attacks to restore, post-revolutionary  
Europe, 106, 110, 114, 115, 131  
and autocracy, 146–7  
democracy as alternative to, 9, 205  
European belief in, 84  
in France, 75–8  
legitimisation of, historical, 111  
weakness of, 1848 revolutions, 126  
ancient Greece see Greece, ancient  
Ankersmit, Frank, 6, 220  
Arab Spring, 4, 213–14  
Aristotle, 48–9  
Armstrong, David, 72  
Aron, Raymond, 7  
authoritarianism  
authoritarian capitalism (China), 200–1  
and move towards democracy, 3  
movement towards, interwar years, 176, 177  
and radicalisation of popular sovereignty, 178  
WWII as fight against, 182  
autocracy  
as counter-concept for democracy, 146–7  
exclusion from, League of Nations, 164  
Germany as, 151  
WWI as fight against, 144–8, 151, 152–3, 169  
Barkawi, Tarak, 24, 25  
Beaumont, Gustave de, 120  
Bentham, Jeremy, 117–18, 124–5  
Bermna, Sheri, 189, 214
The Rise of Democracy

Bobbitt, Philip, 8, 173
Bonald, Louis de, 108, 109
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 197–8
British Empire, 136–7 see also imperialism
Brown, Ivor, 174–5
Bryce, James, 142, 174, 202, 218
Bukovansky, Mlada, 30, 77
Bull, Hedley, 43 n.7
Burke, Edmund, 45, 77, 83, 98, 111
Bush, George W., 198, 200
Bush, H. W., 195
Canfora, Luciano, 122–3
capitalism and democratic peace, 149
Carey, George, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69–70
Carlyle, Thomas, 106, 129, 131
Carothers, Thomas, 3, 215–16
Carr, E. H., 189–90
Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Lord, 115, 116
Cecil, Lord Robert, 159, 160
Chamberlain, Neville, 180
Chartist Internationalism, 127
China
  authoritarian capitalism of, 200–1
  non-democratic of, 3
  rise of non-democratic society, 5
Churchill, Winston, 140, 168–9, 183–4
civilisation, standard of
  civilised-barbarian conceptual pairing, WWI, 147
  constitutionalism and, 135
  and definition of self-government, League of Nations, 163–4
democracy as conceptual characteristic of, 199
  imperialism and, 135, 167–8
Clark, Ian, 10, 18, 27, 158, 172
Clinton, Bill, 198
Cold War
  and contestation of democracy, 192–4
  end of and dominance of democracy, 2–3, 18
  see also post-Cold War
Colour Revolutions, 4
communism
  democracy as stepping-stone to, 149–50
  failure compared with democracy, 2–3, 8, 9
  fear of and move towards authoritarianism, 176, 177
  historical association with democracy, 127–8, 193
and ideological contestation of
democracy, 173, 177, 188, 192–4
  key role in WWII, 184, 188, 202
as threat, pre-WWII, 180
conceptual history
  basic concepts (Grundbegriffe), 35, 37–8
  Cambridge school, 34
  causal role of concepts, 35
  conceptual change in Thucydides, 41
  conceptual contestation, 118
  conceptual revisions, legitimisation of, 36
counter-concepts, 37, 51
diachronic analysis, 34, 35
German approach (Begriffsgeschichte), 34
ideational apologists for conceptual change, 36–7, 108, 113
innovating ideologists for conceptual change, 36, 67, 111–12, 120, 147
linguistic acts, role in conceptual change, 35–6, 38, 41, 89, 161
pre-history of a concept, 47
synchronic analysis, 34–5
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), 196–7
campaign
  and conceptualisations of democracy, 9
democratic belligerence, rise in, 23–4
  research, relationship between democracy and war, 25
Congress of Vienna
derisive view of democracy, 137
and homogenisation of international society, 114–15
interventionary doctrine of, 115–16
  legitimisation of monarchy, 111–14
  principles for membership of international society, 110–11
  principles of legitimacy, 111–13
conservatism
  alliance with liberals, 127
democracy as tyranny of the majority, 121
  interventionary doctrine of, 115–16
  principles of legitimisation for, 111, 114
  re-establishment of monarchy, attempted, 138
  resurge in, post 1848 revolutions, 130–1
Constant, Benjamin, 109, 121
constitutionalism
  representative democracy within, 134–5
  as standard of civilisation, 135
constitutive power
as distinct from constituted power, American Revolution, 65, 66, 69–71
the nation as, French Revolution, 80–1
Cooper, James Fenimore, 121–2
Correlates of War data, 21
critical democratic peace research
contested nature of key concepts, 25–6
democratic peace research’s lack of engagement with, 22–4
need for development of research programme, 24–5

Dahl, Robert, 21, 208
Declaration of Independence, USA
lack of articulation of national government, 58
legitimacy and consent of the people, 54–6
and membership of international society, 55
natural rights argument of, 123
reception in Europe, 56–7
and rejection of European monarchical powers, 56
decolonisation, and self-determination, 172, 194
definitions of democracy
American Independence, 67
change over time, 21
within democratic peace research, 21
as historically fluid concept, 26–7
and mutual recognition by states, 21–2
post-Cold War, 196–7
democracy
achievements and limitations of, 12–13, 208–9
centrality of humility to, 210–12, 213
changing concepts of, 1–2
as contested concept, 33–4, 123, 138, 161–2, 174–5
decreasing role, state legitimacy, 204–5
democracy promotion, 214–16
flexibility of, 209
as historical construct, 11–12
humanity of, 212–13
increasing vulnerability of, 5–6
lack of ideological competition, 2–3, 5–6
modern disillusionment with, 209
pivotal role of history of, 207
reification of, 1, 2
scholarly bias/assumption of, 12
self-determination vs. international homogenisation, 206
as stable, post-World War II, 205–6
status, post-Cold War, 206–7
as uncertain outcome, twentieth-century conflicts, 210
as universal value, 4–5, 6
democratic government
crisis in, interwar years, 177
within international order, 172–3
democratic peace, as labelled construct, 26, 198
democratic peace research
democracy as a constant, definition of, 12, 21, 26, 34
influence beyond academia, 19
lack of engagement with critical democratic peace scholarship, 22–4
lack of focus on democratic belligerence, 23–4
limitations and application of, 216–18
limits of ahistorical approach, 21–2
quantitative studies, 11, 20–1, 22
readings of Thucydides, 38–9
Deneen, Patrick, 12, 211
despotism
democracy as, post-revolutionary Europe, 108, 109
fears of, American Revolution, 61, 65–6, 69
fears of, pre-revolutionary France, 76
and institutional concerns, 122
and levelling effect of democracy, 121
Dewey, John, 156, 178–9
Diamond, Larry, 3, 209
diplomacy
international, pre-French Revolution, 77
lack of democracy in, WWI, 142–3
‘old’ vs. ‘new’ diplomacy, 146–7
domestic regimes
assertive democracy promotion, post-Cold War, 199–200
decreasing concern over, 201
domestic/international dichotomy, International Relations (IR), 10–11, 18–19, 27–8
and international society, 114–15, 156, 194–5
legitimacy of, Versailles settlement, 156, 173
type and legitimacy of, post-Cold War, 197–8, 203
Doyle, Michael, 20
Dunn, John, 17, 75, 104, 218
economic processes
correlation with democracy, 4, 194
ties with social processes, 189
Engels, Friedrich, 127–8, 129
Europe
1848 revolutions, 126–31
as ancien régime, 84
distrust of republic regimes, 52–3, 57, 58, 64–5
dominance of monarchical sovereignty, 77, 78
fears of intervention by, post-independent USA, 61, 62
and inevitability of democracy, 133–4
reaction to French Revolution, 84–5
reception of the Declaration of Independence, 56–7
war with revolutionary France, 89–90, 95–6
warmongering of, eighteenth-century Europe, 51
Farr, James, 38, 47
fascism
attacks on democracy, 177–8
and contestation of democracy, 173–4
defeat by democracy, 2–3, 8, 9, 208
extreme nationalism of, 178
and mobilisation of the people, 178–9
radicalisation of popular sovereignty, 33, 178–9
WWII as fight against, 187–8, 202
forma imperii (state form)
democracy as, WWII, 186
as distinct from forma regiminis, 8, 31–2, 33
within League of Nations, 163
as merged with forma regiminis, 154
and revolutionary America, 54
separation from forma regiminis, 173, 192, 202
supplantation of monarchy with, 172
forma regiminis (government form)
as distinct from forma imperii, 8, 31–2, 33
emphasis on, post-Cold War, 197
within League of Nations, 163
as merged with forma imperii, 154
and revolutionary America, 54
separation from forma imperii, 172–3, 192, 202
France
1830 revolution, 117
abdication of Louis-Philippe I, 126
alliance with United States of America, post-independence, 56–7, 78
the ancien régime, 75–8
and definition of pays libres, 162, 163
on definition of self-government, League of Nations, 161
demands for reciprocal right of non-intervention, 129
identification of as a democracy, 129–30
Manifesto on Europe, 129
monarchical sovereignty, 75–7
Napoleonic Code, 103
perceptions of USA, post-independence, 59
restoration of Bourbon monarchy, 112
self-determination in Versailles statement, 166
term démocratie, 76
Treaty of Paris, 56–7
universal male suffrage, 128–9, 130
Franck, Thomas, 30, 197
French Revolution
abolition of the monarchy, 92–3
bond between popular sovereignty and nationalism, 93–5
breakdown in representation, 91–2
Brunswick Manifesto, 92
as challenge to European monarchies, 102–3
and concept of democracy, 96–7
Declaration of Peace to the World, 85–6
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 83, 123
declaration of war against Hungary, 90–1
democracy as discredited by, 106–10
democracy as non-viable, 77
direct consequences of to international society, 82–3, 85–6, 98, 102–3
direct vs. representative democracy, 97–8, 99–100
and emergence of democracy, 9
Estates-General meetings, 79, 82
European reaction to, 84–5
growing republicanism, 87–8, 91
Jacobins, 94, 96, 101, 102–3, 107, 109, 110
the nation as source of sovereignty, 79–80, 83–4, 88–9
National Assembly, 82–3
new constitution, 88–9
new National Convention, 92–3
reaction to attempted escape of Louis XVI, 87–8
and redefinition of democracy, 104
Reign of Terror, 99–100, 101–2, 107
removal of hierarchical structure, 82–3
as a republic, 92–3
ruthlessness towards threats against, 101
and subsequent negative perceptions of
democracy, 107–8
Thermidorian Reaction, 103
as virtuous republic, 93–4, 100–1
war with Europe, 89–90, 95–6
Fukuyama, Francis, 2–3, 5, 103, 195, 203, 205
Furet, François, 74, 78, 103
Gallie, W. B., 33–4
Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar, 218
Gat, Azar, 5, 210, 217
Geis, Anna, 20, 216
Germany
as autocracy, 151
exclusion of colonies of from League of
Nations, 167
Hitler’s advance through Europe, 180–1
invasion of the USSR, 183–4
reconstruction as democracy, 187
WWI as democracy/autocracy conflict,
153
see also World War I; World War II
Gettysburg address, 44 n.12, 133
Giddens, Anthony, 28, 29
Global War on Terror, 10, 18, 200
globalisation, 27, 205
Godwin, William, 107, 121
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 195–6
Great Britain
as absolute monarchy, eighteenth century,
51
adoption of self-determination as WWI
aim, 151
draft for the League of Nations, 159
entry into WWI, 142
lack of democracy in diplomacy, 142–3
non-interventionist policies, post-
revolutionary Europe, 115–16
Third Reform Act (suffrage), 133
US Civil War as failure of democracy,
132
war with France, 95–6
see also British Empire
Great Depression, 176, 177
Greece, ancient
demokratia, 8, 32, 47–8
democracy as dangerous mob rule, 47,
48–9, 50
direct nature of democracy, 48
distinction between forma imperii and
forma regiminis, 32
limited representation within, 48
numerical approach, Aristotle, 49
oral culture of Athenian democracy, 39
republic, term, 52
see also Thucydidès
Guizot, François, 126–7, 129, 138
Hall, Rodney Bruce, 166–7
Hamilton, Alexander, 60, 61–2
Havel, Václav, 214–15
Hitler, Adolf, 171, 177
Hobbes, Thomas, 8, 28, 32, 33, 39–40
Holy Alliance, 115–16, 117
Hont, Istvan, 32, 75, 80, 102–3, 105 n.1
Hungary, 201
Huntington, Samuel, 175, 176, 179, 194, 214
imperialism
and civilised states, 135, 167–8
decolonisation and self-determination,
172, 194
synergistic relationship of democracy and
empire, 136–7
unsuitability of democracy with, 135–6
International Relations (IR) see also
democratic peace research
domestic/international dichotomy, 10–11,
18–19, 27–8
new era of, post-Cold War, 5
resurgence of scholarship on democracy,
18
see also democratic peace research
international society
acceptance of separation of popular
sovereignty and democracy, 8–9
adherence to raison d’état, 78, 84, 86
American membership of, Declaration of
Independence, 55–6
anarchical nature of, 206
constitution of shared values, 29–30
and democratic government, 172–3
diplomacy, pre-French Revolution, 77
dominance of monarchical societies, 77, 78
dynastic order of, 111
emergence of democracy, 9
and the existence of the nation-state, 28
homogenisation of, Congress of Vienna,
114–15
legitimacy principles for, post-Cold War,
196–7
legitimisation of self-determination, 172
international society (cont.)
national legitimacy and popular sovereignty, 147–8
as pluralist, 29–30, 202, 203
principles for membership of, Congress of Vienna, 110–11
principles of legitimacy, 30–1
reaction to attempted escape of Louis XVI, 88
rebuilding of, post-WWII, 189–90
reduced emphasis on democracy, 200
relationship with domestic legitimacy, 114–15, 156, 194–5
social dimension of, 28–9
solidarist, 29–30
threat from French popular sovereignty, 82–3, 98, 102–3
Western democracies, post-WWII, 190–1
Wilson’s vision of, 152, 155, 157–8
see also Europe; League of Nations; United Nations

Iraq, 5, 200
Iraq War, 2003, 20, 23, 24
Isaac, Jeffrey, 206, 209, 213
Ish-Shalom, Piki, 20, 25, 217
Italy
and definition of pays libres, 162, 163
on definition of self-government, League of Nations, 161–2
self-determination in Versailles statement, 166
World War II, 179

Jacobins, 94, 96, 101, 102–3, 107, 109, 110
Japan, 179, 185, 187
Jay, John, 60, 61, 107
Jefferson, Thomas, 53, 59–60, 61, 72, 119

Kaiser Wilhelm II, 152, 153
Kant, Immanuel, 8, 20, 26–7, 109, 121
Keane, John, 210–11
Koselleck, Reinhart, 34, 35, 107

Lafayette, Marquis de, 58, 60
Laffey, Mark, 24, 25
Lake, David, 22, 24
language
linguistic acts and conceptual change, 35–6, 38, 41, 89, 161
new language of democracy, Settlement of Vienna, 171–2
Lansing, Robert, 144, 165–6, 170
Latin America, 116, 117

League of Nations
the colonies and ‘civilisation’ process (mandate system), 167–8
Commission on the League of Nations, 159–60
concept of self-government within, 161–5
exclusion of autocratic governments, 164
forma imperii and forma regiminis within, 163
identification of democratic states, 156–7, 161
as inclusive (British draft), 159
initial drafts, 158
membership and popular sovereignty, 162, 165
self-determination in Versailles statement, 166–8, 169
Wilson’s vision of, 145, 155

legitimacy
and consent of the people, Declaration of Independence, 54–6
decreasing role of democracy in, 204–5
doctor of domestic regimes, 114–15, 156, 194–5, 197–8, 203
from dynastic to democratic, 141
of monarchical sovereignty, 108–9, 111–14
popular sovereignty and democracy as criteria for, 54–5, 147–8
principles for international order, post-Cold War, 196–7

Lenin, Vladimir, 148–9

liberal democracy
as contested mode of governance, 200–1
ideational supremacy of, 2–4, 195, 198, 214–15
during the interwar years, 175
liberal internationalism, 18
liberalism
alliance with conservatives, 127
democracy and failure to protect individual rights, 121, 124, 127
democracy as negative force on, 121
ey early liberal thinkers, 109
increasing doctrine of, 134–5
negative perception of democracy, 109–10
Wilson’s vision of, 157

Lincoln, Abraham, 44 n.12, 133
Lloyd George, David, 151–2, 153
Locke, John, 123
Louis XIV of France, 75–6
Louis XV of France, 75–6
Louis XVI of France, 76, 78–9, 87–8, 89, 92–3
Macpherson, C. B., 193
Madison, James, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 81, 109
Maine, Henry Summer, 133
Maistre, Joseph de, 98, 99, 108–9
Manin, Bernard, 66, 72
Mann, Michael, 24, 175, 188, 208
Manning, C. A. W., 28, 30
Marx, Karl, 35, 127, 129
Mayall, James, 140–1, 154, 172
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 107, 125–6
McClellan, James, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69–70
Metternich, Prince Klemens von, 77, 103, 110–11, 113–14, 115, 117, 121, 126
Mill, James, 124
Mill, John Stuart, 16, 121, 129, 134, 154
mixed constitutions, 53, 66
monarchical sovereignty
abolition of, Revolutionary France, 92–3
attempted constitutional monarchy, French Revolution, 86–9, 92–3
as belligerent, 86
dominance of, pre-revolutionary Europe, 77, 78
elective monarchy and popular sovereignty, 85–6
French Revolution as challenge to, 102–3
Germany’s defence of, WWI, 153
and hierarchical social order, 77
legitimisation as counter-concept to democracy, 108–9, 111–14
move towards constitutionalism, 135
pre-revolutionary France, 75–7
rejection of, US Declaration of Independence, 56
supplantation of by popular sovereignty, 10, 32–3, 113–14, 165, 170
warmongering of, eighteenth-century Europe, 51
Montesquieu, 49–50, 52, 64, 68, 76
Müller, Harald, 25, 217
nationalism
and democracy for self-determination, 154–5, 167
and empire, 137
extreme version of and fascism, 178
and popular sovereignty, French Revolution, 93–5
and the rise of democracy, 125, 138
nation-state
domestic constitution and international society, 114–15, 156, 194–5
foundation of, revolutionary France, 93–5
and international society, 28
self-determination as national self-determination, 154–5, 167
as source of sovereignty, 79–80, 81, 83–4, 88–9
and understanding of self-determination, WWI, 154
natural rights, 123, 138
Netherlands, 51, 52, 57, 58, 59
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 12, 13, 211, 218
9/11 attacks, 199
non-interventionism
non-interventionist policies, post-revolutionary Europe, 115–16
within the UN Charter, 192
Onuf, Nicholas, 64, 67
Onuf, Peter, 56, 58, 64, 67
Oren, Ido, 22, 24, 25
Paine, Thomas, 87, 98, 107
Common Sense, 50–1, 52, 53, 62
The Rights of Man, 68, 97, 123
peaceful societies
democracies as, post-Cold War, 197–8
democracies as, post-WWI understanding, 151, 170
democracy as foundation for, 4–5, 11, 19–20
democracy as only one factor for, 217
‘peace-loving states’, UN Charter, 191
revolutionary France as non-belligerent, 85–6
see also democratic peace research
Perpetual Peace, 20, 26–7 see also Kant, Immanuel
Phelps, Edith, 155
Pitt, William, 74, 102–3
Plato, 48–9
Pocock, J. G. A., 55
Poggi, Gianfranco, 134–5
political processes
democracy as negative force on, 121
democracy’s centrality in, interwar years, 174–5
political equality and democracy, 120
and the rise of democracy, 123
Polybius, 49, 107
Ponsonby, Arthur, 141
popular sovereignty
adoption by American Revolution, 46, 54, 64–5, 71–2
The Rise of Democracy

popular sovereignty (cont.)
as basis for republican constitution, post-independence, USA, 7–8, 71–2
concept of, 32–3
and concept of self-determination, WWI, 154–5
constitutional forms of, 33
democracy as a form of rule (constituted power), 80
and democratic rule (demokratia, ancient Greece), 8
direct consequences of to international society, 85–6
disaggregation of from popular rule, 99–100
as a form of state, 8, 101–2
global acceptance of, 1
and international legitimacy, 147–8
legitimacy and consent of the people, 54–5
mediated form of, French Revolution, 99–100, 101, 104
and membership of the League of Nations, 162, 165
the nation as source of sovereignty, French Revolution, 79–80, 81, 83–4, 88–9
and nationalism, 93–5
principle of, Atlantic Charter WWII, 184–5
radicalisation of by fascism, 33, 178–9
and representation, 9, 64–5, 70–1, 81–2, 88–9, 102–3, 134
as ‘ré-publique’, 101–2, 104, 105, 110
as ‘ré-totale’, 101–2, 104, 105, 110
separation from democracy, 8–9
supplantation of monarchical sovereignty, 10, 32–3, 113–14, 165
as threat to international society, French Revolution, 82–3, 98, 102–3
transition to, WWI, 170
in the UN Charter, 191–2
see also self-determination
post-Cold War
consensus around liberal democracy, 195–6, 198
legitimacy and domestic regime type, 197–8, 203
non-democracies as a threat, 198–9
promotion of democracy, 199–200
rogue regimes, 198–9
status of democracy, 206–7
third wave of democratisation, 203
see also Cold War
practical association, 43 n.8
Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 127, 129, 131
purposive association, 43 n.8
religion, democracy as God’s will, 125–6
representation
breakdown of, French Revolution, 91–2
constituted power vs. constitutive power, 65, 69–71, 80–1
contrasted with democracy, 109–10
democracy and republicanism within, American Revolution, 46, 50–2, 53–4, 67–9, 71–2, 118–19
democracy as representative system of rule, 97–8
denial of under ‘ré-totale’, 101–2, 105
direct vs. representative democracy, 99–100
and the general will of the people, French Revolution, 81–2, 99–100
limited, ancient Greece, 48
mediated form of, French Revolution, 101, 104
the National Assembly, French Revolution, 82–3
and popular sovereignty, 9, 64–5, 70–1, 81–2, 88–9, 102–3, 134
representative democracy
and constitutional movement, 134–5
United States as, 46, 71–2, 118–19
utilitarianism and, 124–5
republican regimes
adoption by American Revolution, 46, 50–2, 53–4, 67–9, 71–2, 118–19
definitions of, 52
and democracy (Kant), 26–7
European distrust of, 52–3, 57, 58, 64–5
as incompatible with federal governments, 64
mistrust of, 52–3
Robespierre, Maximilien, 90, 93, 98, 99–100, 101, 102, 103, 108
rogue regimes, 1, 198–9, 203
Roosevelt, Franklin, Four Freedoms speech, 181–3
Rosanvallon, Pierre, 11
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 28, 32, 76, 81, 100, 108, 212
Russett, Bruce, 20, 23, 38
Russia
Bolshevik counter-discourse of democracy, 148–9
challenge to democracy, 201
in the Entente, WWI, 142
increasing authoritarianism of, 5
role in WWII, 188, 202
West’s fear of communism, pre-WWII, 180
see also Soviet Union (USSR)
Russian Revolution, 144, 176

Schmitt, Carl, 31, 114, 137, 138, 141, 177, 178
self-determination
as aim of WWI, 144, 150–2, 165
within the Atlantic Charter, WWII, 184–5
and consent of the people, 152, 154
and decolonisation, 172, 194
of eastern European countries, post-Cold War, 196
as national self-determination, 154–5
and socio-economic tensions, interwar years, 175–6
term, use by Russian provisional government, 150–1
within the UN Charter, 192
and understanding of popular sovereignty, WWI, 154–5
within the Versailles Statement, League of Nations, 166–8, 169
as ‘Western value’, 196
Wilson’s vision of, 154
see also popular sovereignty
self-government
centrality of to Wilson, 154–5, 158–9
within the League of Nations draft, 161–5
Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph see Abbé Sieyès (Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès)
Skinner, Quentin, 34, 35–6, 37, 171
Smith, Tony, 18, 24, 190
Smuts, Jan, 152–3, 158, 167
social equality
American Civil War and moral purpose, 133
association of democracy with, 119, 120
democracy as stepping-stone to communism, 149–50
and the rise of democracy, 123
social welfare state, 189
social-contract theory, 123–4
socialism
as counter-concept for democracy, 128, 177
growing association with democracy, 127–8, 193
sociological processes and the rise of democracy, 123, 138
sovereignty, concept of, 27–8
Soviet Union (USSR)

absence of democracy, founding UN Charter, 191
and the Atlantic Charter, WWII, 186
invasion by Germany, 183–4
key role in WWII, 184, 188
as people’s democracy, 193–4
self-determination, eastern European countries, 196
see also Russia
Stalin, Joseph, 184, 192, 193–4
suffrage
during the interwar years, 175
Third Reform Act, Great Britain, 133
universal male suffrage, France, 128–9, 130
Switzerland, 51, 52, 57, 126

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, 111–13, 114
the state
behaviour and influence of democracy, 20
democracy as determined by, 18–19
domestic/international dichotomy, 27–8
inter-state relationships and international society, 28–9
third wave of democratisation, 3, 4, 213–14
Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War
Cleon, as demagogue, 40–1
democratic peace theory readings of, 38–9
linguistic acts and conceptual change, 41
as a negative interpretation of democracy, 39–40
opposing images of democracy, 40–1
Pericles, Funeral Oration, 40, 41
Timasheff, N. S., 193
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 106, 119–22, 123, 128
Treaty of Versailles
and definition of pays libres, 162–3
as foundation of modern democracy, 171–2
importance of public opinion, 158, 163
legitimacy of domestic constitutional forms, 156, 173
new language of democracy, 171–2
self-determination within, 166–8, 169
see also League of Nations
Trotsky, Leon, 149

Union of Democratic Control (UDC), 142–3, 170 n.1
United Nations
absence of democracy, founding UN Charter, 191–2
United Nations (cont.)
the Allies as, 186
founding of, 191
non-interventionism and, 192
popular sovereignty and, 191–2
promotion of democracy as universal value, 4
United Nations Democracy Fund, 4
United States of America (USA)
entry into WWI and fight for democracy, 9–10, 145
establishment of party system, 119–20
French Revolution as threat to, 108
influence on trajectory of democracy, 200
isolationist policy, interwar years, 180, 181
Monroe doctrine, 116
popular sovereignty, 8
as positive understanding of democracy, 45, 117–19, 122
as representative democracy, 46, 71–2, 118–19
self-identification as democratic, 21
Tocqueville’s study of, 119–21
see also American Revolution; Declaration of Independence; Wilson, Woodrow
utilitarianism, 124–5, 138

Versailles settlement see Treaty of Versailles

Washington, George, 58
Wells, H. G., 156
Wendt, Alexander, 18–19
Whitman, Walt, 133
Wight, Martin, 30, 31, 56, 78, 111, 171, 206
Wilson, Woodrow
belief in liberalism, 157
centrality of concept of self-government, 154–5, 158–9
Churchill, Winston on, 168–9
Commission on the League of Nations, 159–65
democracy and popular sovereignty as merged, 154, 194
democracy as evolutionary process, 167
dissatisfaction with Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 152
draft for the League of Nations, 158–9
entry into WWI and fight for democracy, 145, 161
as ideological innovator, 147
and survival of American democracy, 143
UDC arguments and, 143, 170 n.1
vision of new international order, 145, 152, 154, 155, 157–8, 169

World War I
American entry to, 9–10, 145
core of democracy and, 9–10, 140–2
as conflict between democracy/autocracy, 144–8, 151, 152–3, 169
the Entente, 142, 144, 151
as a form of state, 152
outset of, 141–2
self-determination and the understanding of popular sovereignty, 154–5
self-determination as aim of, 144, 150–2, 165
and the transition from monarchic to popular sovereignty, 170
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 152

World War II
Allies’ defence of democracy, 184
Atlantic Charter, 184–5
collapse of democratic countries, 180–1
communism, key role of, 184, 188, 202
democracy as war aim, 185–7
as fight against authoritarianism, 182
invasion of the USSR, 183–4
and near collapse of democracy, 188–9
underestimation of German threat, 179–80
USA’s defence of democracy (Four Freedoms speech), 181–3
as war against fascism, 187–8, 202