

ROBERT A. DAHL



**DEMOCRACY
AND ITS CRITICS**



**Yale University Press
New Haven and London**

Copyright © 1989 by Yale University. All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, including illustrations, in any form (beyond that copying permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law and except by reviewers for the public press), without written permission from the publishers.

Set in Times Roman type by The Composing Room of Michigan, Inc.
Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dahl, Robert Alan, 1915—

Democracy and its critics / Robert A. Dahl.

p. cm.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

ISBN: 10 0-300-04938-2 ISBN: 13 978-0-300-04938-1

1. Democracy. I. Title

JC423.D2478 1989

89-5375

321.8—dc19

CIP

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

CONTENTS



Acknowledgments	vii
Introduction	1

PART ONE • THE SOURCES OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

1. The First Transformation: To the Democratic City-State	13
2. Toward the Second Transformation: Republicanism, Representation, and the Logic of Equality	24

PART TWO • ADVERSARIAL CRITICS

3. Anarchism	37
4. Guardianship	52
5. A Critique of Guardianship	65

PART THREE • A THEORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

6. Justifications: The Idea of Equal Intrinsic Worth	83
7. Personal Autonomy	97
8. A Theory of the Democratic Process	106
9. The Problem of Inclusion	119

PART FOUR • PROBLEMS IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

10. Majority Rule and the Democratic Process	135
11. Is There a Better Alternative?	153
12. Process and Substance	163
13. Process versus Process	176
14. When Is a People Entitled to the Democratic Process?	193

PART FIVE • THE LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF DEMOCRACY

15. The Second Democratic Transformation: From the City-State to the Nation-State	213
16. Democracy, Polyarchy, and Participation	225
17. How Polyarchy Developed in Some Countries and Not Others	232
18. Why Polyarchy Developed in Some Countries and Not Others	244
19. Is Minority Domination Inevitable?	265
20. Pluralism, Polyarchy, and the Common Good	280
21. The Common Good as Process and Substance	299

PART SIX • TOWARD A THIRD TRANSFORMATION

22. Democracy in Tomorrow's World	311
23. Sketches for an Advanced Democratic Country	322
Notes	343
Appendix	373
Bibliography	375
Index	385