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(1989), he recognized the value of an active citizenry and associated polyarchy with political rights such as freedom of expression and association.

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democracy to its own knees' (Chou 2012: 67). Democracy, even today, has an unfortunate capacity to come undone, to risk its own safety, to take its own life, all while doing what it was intended to do (Chou 2013: 24).

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Western liberal states ending the Cold War inspired the hope that international relations could be guided by the ideals of democracy and the rule of law.

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