

International Studies 602, Chamberlin 2120

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Spring 2018, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Office hours: T (10-11), R (12:30 to 1:30), and by appointment

The Rise (and Fall?) of Liberal Democratic Institutions

Course description:

This is an interdisciplinary seminar on the origins, current state and future viability of what is known as the “liberal international order.” The approach is composed of a “history of ideas” along with the theoretical framework of International Relations theory in Political Science, and some recent sociological work on citizenship and identity in post-industrial economies. The primary focus will be on the European and US nation states and other governmental entities (the European Union, UN, IMF, etc.), how they came into existence and fostered global reach, and how they are currently challenged by the waning of the US as hegemon and the rise of China and India. While the disciplines of history and political science are often at odds, we will try to take the best from each—the context of past decisions from history without drawing mistaken historical analogies, and the search for objective frameworks to analyze governments from political science which are “reproducible” and therefore more scientific, without resorting to constructing frameworks for their own sake.

Readings: the course will require you to engage with what are known as “primary sources,” or documents establishing the original parameters of the concepts covered in this course, or what the ideas’ writers might have originally meant when transcribing them. We will also read conventional scholarship and opinion pieces on the current state of liberalism, which by most accounts is breathing its last. All course materials will be available through the Journals tab at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Main Library, online, or by posting to Canvas. While you will not have to purchase books, I may assign two or more chapters of two recent works later in the course (Patrick J. Deneen, *Why Liberalism Failed*, 2018, and/or Charles Noble, *The Collapse of Liberalism*, 2004). One of your primary sources will also be a special issue of *Foreign Affairs* (dated March 2017), entitled “What Was the Liberal Order?: the World We May Be Losing” and made up of over 20 articles written between 1943 and 2017. In addition, a subscription to the *Economist*, *New York Times* or the *Financial Times* is highly recommended as your primary tool for your written work. All three have student subscription offers.

Seminar oral contribution: a substantial portion (30%) of this course will be assessed according to your participation in the course during discussions. Groups will be assigned to lead the discussion each week: the leader will be chosen at random and there will also be respondents chosen from each working group. This means all must be ready to participate at all times, and no one should waste their time being terrified about being “up at bat.”

Written work and exams: responses to discussion questions are mandatory before each class, as indicated in the syllabus. These will be done on Canvas before class, thus, at the latest by 9:00 am T/R mornings. These answers will compose 10% of your grade. There will be an in-class midterm, essay version on Thursday, March 22, composing 30% of your grade. The final paper will be worth 30%, and will be a personalized research paper that you prepare in consultation

with me. In short, if you are expecting a course in which you sit back and take notes and wait for exams on lectures presented to you on Powerpoint, this course is not for you.

Course timeline: (I anticipate changes as we're dealing with quickly-moving current events).

Week One (January 23, 25), What is liberalism?

Quiz and lecture: Sovereignty, 1648 through Hobbes and Locke.

Croxton, re: Peace of Westphalia (1991),

https://www.jstor.org/stable/40109077?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Globalization Counter-Revolution, *Economist* Buttonwood 2017 06/1914 effect

Week Two: (January 30, February 1), What is nationalism?

Primary source: Wilson's 14 Points (find them somewhere, and come prepared to defend why your version of them is clean, or tainted and why).

Trygve Throntveit, The Fable of the Fourteen Points: Woodrow Wilson and National Self-Determination *Diplomatic History* 35:3 (June 2011):445–481

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7709.2011.00959.x>

“Nationalism: Vladimir's Choice,” *The Economist* (December 23, 2017)

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity’” *Theory and Society* 29: 1-47: 2000; read pp. 1-18 only.

Week Three: (February 6, 8), Liberalism and Nationalism up to 1945

Jeffrey A. Frieden, Chapter Six of *Global Capitalism*, “All That is Solid Melts into Air.”

Find a copy or short analysis of J.M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

Tooze, Introduction, *The Wages of Destruction: the Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (2006)

Week Four: (February 13, 15), The Atlantic Charter, FDR and Churchill's Intent, Embedded Liberalism

Selections from *Foreign Affairs*, Alvin Hansen and C.P. Kindleberger, “The Economic Tasks of Postwar World (April 1942); Hamilton Fish Armstrong, “Datum Point,” (October 1943); Henry Morgenthau, Jr. “Bretton Woods and International Cooperation (January 1945).

Tony Judt, *Post War: A history of Europe since 1945*, Chapter Three on Rehabilitation of Europe in 1945

Week Five: (February 20, 22), Neoliberalism to the Euro Crisis

David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), pp.

Week Six: (February 27, March 1) But did it Work? Or IR theory since the Fall of the Wall
Anne-Marie Slaughter (1997) *The Real New World Order*, “new medievalism” in *Foreign Affairs* (FA)

G. John Ikenberry (May/June 1996) “The Myth of a Post-Cold War Chaos” (FA)

Stanley Fischer, *The Washington Consensus*, Peterson Institute for International Economics

Week Seven (March 6, 8) The Case of Eastern Europe and EU Accession, Illiberal Democracy

James Dawson and Sean Hanley: "The Fading Mirage of the 'Liberal Consensus,'" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27, 1, Jan 2016; Ivan Krastev, "Liberalism's Failure to Deliver," in same. Lectures: Cold War, the decline of the Soviet Union, Fall of the Wall, Eastern Europe as the laboratory for 20th century ideologies.

Week Eight (March 13, 15) Geopolitics and Money

G. John Ikenberry, (May/June 2014) The Illusion of Geopolitics (FA), versus Walter Russell Mead "The Return of Geopolitics: the Revenge of the Revisionist Powers"

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. Will the Liberal Order Survive? The History of an Idea (Foreign Affairs, 2017), ½ of class read this document

Richard Haass, Out of Order? The Case for Sovereign Obligation, Foreign Affairs 2017

World Order 2.0, The Case for Sovereign Obligation, ½ will read this

Thomas Oatley, *International Political Economy* for International Studies, Fifth Edition, pp. 212-246.

Week Nine (March 20, 22)

In-class revision

Midterm

Spring Break (March 24-April 2)

Week Ten (April 3,5)

Dani Rodrik, Afterword or "Parable for the World Economy" the Globalization Paradox (2011)

http://rodrik.typepad.com/dani_rodriks_weblog/2011/04/a-parable-for-the-world-economy.html

Copelovitch, Frieden and Walter, selection from the Political Economy of the Eurocrisis (2016) *Comparative Political Studies*

Rebecca Liao, The End of the G-20 (September 2016), *Foreign Affairs*

Stewart M. Patrick, "Trump and the World Order: the Return of Self-Help" *Foreign Affairs*

Week Eleven (April 10, 12)

The Return of Isolationism: the waning of Internationalism

What is the place of technology in all of this? Internet, social media and the gathering of lunatic fringes. "Populism on the March," 2017 Fareed Zakaria, etc.

Mark Blyth (November 2016) Global Trumpism: Why Trump's Victory was 30 Years in the Making and Why It Won't Stop Here (*Foreign Affairs*)

Week Twelve: (April 17, 19)

Pippa Norris and Ron Inglehart

Yascha Mounk

Week Thirteen: (April 24, 26)

Individual presentations on specific course-related readings chosen for final papers

Weeks 14: (May 1, 3)

Individual appointments to prepare for final papers. The assigned final examination date and time are not relevant for this course.

Other standard campus information:

- Policy on academic conduct and integrity: I follow standard campus policy on academic integrity including what qualifies as plagiarism and cheating—serious offenses. Please see the website for further particulars <https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/academic-integrity/>;
- Special accommodation: anyone needing special examination accommodations should consult the McBurney Center and bring me the appropriate documentation as soon as possible. See <https://mcburney.wisc.edu/>;
- Examination dates fixed: there will be NO exceptions granted for changes of examination, in particular, the midterm, except for situations involving well-documented family emergencies or travel on University business;
- Attendance: as this is a course where attendance is of prime importance, any absences over two can seriously affect your course participation grade;
- This course follows the standard Carnegie Definition of course time and preparation per unit earned, meaning two hours of class preparation expected for every hour in class; thus, this course meets 150 minutes total per week (3 times 50 minute hours) and requires six hours of preparation in exchange for 3 credits.
- Learning objectives: students are expected to learn how to amass interpretations of evidence from sources with different conclusions, and learn to draw their own conclusions supported by the evidence of which interpretation is closer to the facts. They are also expected to learn how to present these ideas in brief format in front of their peers, and to learn to facilitate conversation and carefully considered argument on highly-charged topics such as democracy, foreign policy, ideology, the global distribution of wealth, and inequality.