

## Krogh Seminar: Challenges to the Liberal International System

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Class: Monday 3:30-6, CBN 170

Office hours: please schedule at (or use barcode below)

<https://calendar.google.com/calendar/selfsched?sstoken=UUdYVVF6YkU2dnZqfGRlZmF1bHR8ODAxZTQ2YjE4YzdmZjY4ODI4Y2EzOTJmMWViOWRlYWQ>



### Course Description

Commentators are claiming that the end for the liberal international system is near. What is (or was) the liberal international system? How would we recognize its demise (if it's really taking place)? Does it matter if the liberal international system collapses? What would take its place? How are these challenges playing out in different countries and issue areas?

In this class, we will explore these and related questions. We will discuss substantive readings about the origins and development of the liberal international system. We then turn to analyze current challenges, such as the rise of China, the domestic economic, cultural, and political effects of globalization, democratic backsliding, and the rise of populism. In the second part of the semester, we examine how these challenges affect specific issue areas: trade, human rights, global warming, security cooperation, and internet governance.

Most commentators make big statements about these questions based on hunches, pre-existing ideological beliefs, or attention-grabbing interpretations of anecdotes. Our goal is to make evidence-based statements about these questions. This evidence can come from interpretations of qualitative information. However, we will also explore quantitative evidence. The idea is to stimulate critical thinking about the kinds of claims analysts make about the world. For example, if someone says that democracy (or globalization) is in decline, this means that we should have some way to measure democracy (or globalization) quantitatively. We will discuss different ways to measure complex concepts like this and develop skills to put this critical thinking into practice.

Students will develop a functional knowledge of R: a free and powerful software environment for analyzing data and creating beautiful and informative data visualizations. I do not presume any pre-existing knowledge of R or other software or programming skills and I will also make available a teaching assistant who can help you with basic R questions. Many classes will start with a substantive discussion to be followed by a lab session focused on skills.

In the second half of the course, each student (or small groups of students) will develop their own research project. The first step is to write a short (two page) research proposal, which we will discuss in class. The research projects must ask a question that relates to the topic of the class. Each research project must make some use of data and we will use some class time as lab time (and I will help with finding data). The final projects can be research papers but I am open to some other form of presentation.

We will end the course with a dinner in the company of a special guest who has considerable experience in multilateralism. Guests in the past few years were Esther Brimmer (former assistant secretary of State for international organizations), Ivo Daalder (former US representative at NATO), Kemal Dervis (former head of UNDP and finance minister in Turkey), diplomat extraordinaire Thomas Pickering, Mark Lagon (then president of Freedom House and former special ambassador for human trafficking), Charlie Kupchan (former Europe director at the National Security council), and Dean Joel Hellman (formerly of the World Bank).

The main goals of this class are that you learn:

- What the liberal international system is (and is not) and what the threats to the system are (and what they are not);
- Get up to speed on contemporary debates about populism, social media, trade, and other issues.
- Develop a functional understanding of R;
- Learn how to make good visualizations of data;
- Read, discuss, research, write. You will learn how to do independent research using data.

### **Course Requirements**

Grading is based on three components:

- 1) Class participation (20%). This is a seminar, not a lecture course. Your contribution is essential. You are expected to come to class and to be prepared to discuss the week's readings. In a small seminar like this, it is immediately obvious if you have not read or thought about the readings. Take notes from the readings. These will help you participate in seminar discussions. Class participation is graded not just on the frequency or volume of comments but also on how thoughtful those contributions are and evidence that the readings were considered.

## 2) R work (20%):

- a. Datacamp courses: You will complete two on-line courses on Datacamp by January 28 (6pm). These courses are:
  - [Introduction to the TidyVerse](#)
  - [UN Voting Case Study](#), chapters 1,2 and 4
- b. Short lab assignments: There are several short lab assignments (usually to create a graph) that should be submitted by class time the week following the lab (we will work on them during class).

3) Final paper/project (60%): Each student will complete a final research project. There are three stages: a two page research proposal (due March 11), a research presentation (April 29) and a final paper/project delivery (due May 10 at 6pm). The final deliverable can be a research paper of around 25 pages (double spaced) but the project can also take the form of an on-line presentation or another form to be discussed.

### General Policies

- You need to provide adequate citations for the articles/books/internet resources you use in an essay. Your citations should be in a consistent style. If you are uncertain about exactly how to do this, there are many online guides that may help (e.g.: <http://www.liu.edu/cwis/cwp/library/workshop/citation.htm>). It is time well spent to learn how to properly reference secondary literature and primary sources as it increases the professional appearance of your essays.
- Please familiarize yourself with Georgetown's honor system. Write in your own words! Plagiarism includes cutting and pasting chunks of text from internet sources. Even if you change a few words, it's still plagiarism. For more detailed information, see <http://researchguides.dml.georgetown.edu/content.php?pid=305653&sid=4666346> and especially here: <http://guides.sfsq.georgetown.edu/c.php?g=40484&p=257322>
- No extensions are given for the assignments unless there are highly unusual circumstances. Allowance will be made for genuine emergencies, such as medical treatment or bereavement. A heavy work load, impending deadlines for other courses, job interviews, extra-curricular commitments, or family holidays are not normally considered emergencies. I reserve the right to deduct points for work that is turned in late.

### Required Books

S. Hopgood, J. Snyder, & L. Vinjamuri (Eds.), [Human Rights Futures](#). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kieran Healy: [Data Visualization: A practical introduction](#). Princeton University Press

## Course Outline

*Note: I reserve the right to change reading assignments during the semester.*

### PART I: UNDERSTANDING THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS CHALLENGES

#### 1. January 9: The Origins of the Liberal International System

(NOTE: this is a Wednesday with Monday schedule)

- John Ikenberry, "[Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Postwar Order](#)" *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 43-78 (Winter, 1998-1999)
- Schweller, Randall L. "[The problem of international order revisited: A review essay.](#)" *International Security* 26.1 (2001): 161-186.
- **From the [Foreign Affairs anthology](#):**
- April 1942, The Economic Tasks of a Postwar World [Excerpt] *Alvin H. Hansen and C. P. Kindleberger*
- January 1945, Bretton Woods and International Cooperation [Excerpt] *Henry Morgenthau, Jr.*
- April 1949, The Illusion of World Government [Excerpt] *Reinhold Niebuhr*

#### 2. January 14: The Evolution of the Liberal International System after the End of the Cold War

- Ikenberry, G. John. "[Liberal internationalism 3.0: America and the dilemmas of liberal world order.](#)" *Perspectives on Politics* 7.1 (2009): 71-87.
- Keohane, Robert O. "[International institutions: Can interdependence work?.](#)" *Foreign policy* (1998): 82-194.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. "[A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus.](#)" *British journal of political science* 39, no. 1 (2009): 1-23.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "[NATO expansion: A realist's view.](#)" *Contemporary Security Policy* 21, no. 2 (2000): 23-38.
- Parmar, Inderjeet. "[The US-led liberal order: imperialism by another name?.](#)" *International Affairs* 94.1 (2018): 151-172.

#### 3. January 28: The Rise of China and Great Power Competition

- Aaron Friedberg: "[The Future of U.S. China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?](#)" *International Security* 2005.
- Allan, Bentley B., Srdjan Vucetic, and Ted Hopf. "[The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects.](#)" *International Organization*(2018): 1-31.
- Lipsy, Phillip Y. "[Explaining institutional change: Policy areas, outside options, and the Bretton Woods institutions.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 59.2 (2015): 341-356.
- Barma, Naazneen, Ely Ratner, and Steven Weber. "[Welcome to the World without the West.](#)" (Foreign Policy 2014).
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A., and Sarah E. Kreps. "[The foreign policy consequences of trade: China's commercial relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992-2006.](#)" *The Journal of Politics* 75.02 (2013): 357-371.

### Lab: Plotting the Rise of China

Kieran Healy: [Look at Data](#) (Chapter one from a forthcoming book on data visualization, read sections 1.1 and 1.2, browse the rest)

Kieran Healy [Make a Plot](#)

#### 4. February 4: Globalization backlash?

- Dani Rodrik. 2000. [How far will International Economic Integration Go?](#). *Journal of Economic Perspectives*
- Jeffrey Frieden [The Politics of the Globalization Backlash.](#)
- Pepinsky, Thomas B., Dis-embedding Liberal Internationalism (October 16, 2017). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3054001> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3054001>
- Catherine De Vries [The Globalization Backlash: It's Both Culture And The Economy, Stupid .](#)
- Neil Irwin ["Globalization's Backlash is Here, Just at the Wrong Time" The New York Times](#)

### Lab: Measuring and Plotting Globalization Trends

Gygli, Savina, Haelg, Florian, and Sturm, Jan-Egbert. [The KOF-Globalization Index \(browse to get a sense of the measure\)](#)

Healy Chs 4 and 5

## 5. February 11: Democratic Backsliding

- Diamond, Larry. "[Hybrid regimes.](#)" *In Search of Democracy*. Routledge, 2015. 163-175.
- Sheri Berman "[The Pipe Dream of Undemocratic Illiberalism,](#)" *Journal of Democracy*, 28, 3, July 2017.
- Lindberg, Staffan I., et al. "[V-Dem: A new way to measure democracy.](#)" *Journal of Democracy* 25.3 (2014): 159-169.
- Mechkova, Valeriya, Anna Lührmann, and Staffan I. Lindberg. "[How Much Democratic Backsliding?.](#)" *Journal of Democracy* 28.4 (2017): 162-169.
- Treisman, Daniel. "[Is Democracy in Danger? A Quick Look at the Data.](#)" (2018).

**Lab:** How much democratic backsliding? (working with VDEM data)

Healy Chs 7 and 8

## 6. February 19: Populism and the Challenge to International Institutions

(NOTE: this is a Tuesday with Monday schedule)

- Cas Mudde. 2017. [Populism: An Ideational Approach](#) (from the *Oxford Handbook of Populism*.)
- Inglehart, Ronald F. and Norris, Pippa. 2017. '[Trump and Populist-Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse.](#)' *Perspectives on Politics*. 15(2): 443-454.
- Voeten. Forthcoming. Populism and backlashes against international courts. *Perspectives on Politics*.
- Chaudoin, Stephen, Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley et al. Forthcoming. "[A Liberal International American Foreign Policy Under Trump? Maybe Down but Not Out.](#)". In *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the 21st Century*, ed. Robert Jervis, Francis J. Gavin, and Joshua Rovner. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mead, Walter Russell. "The Jacksonian Revolt: American populism and the liberal order." *Foreign Aff.* 96 (2017): 2. .[Foreign Affairs anthology](#)

**Lab:** Working with public opinion data (World Values Surveys)

## PART III: ISSUE AREAS

### 7. February 25: Internet and Information

- Lazer, David MJ, Matthew A. Baum, Yochai Benkler, Adam J. Berinsky, Kelly M. Greenhill, Filippo Menczer, Miriam J. Metzger et al. ["The science of fake news."](#) *Science* 359, no. 6380 (2018): 1094-1096.
- Allcott, Hunt, and Matthew Gentzkow. ["Social media and fake news in the 2016 election."](#) *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31, no. 2 (2017): 211-36.
- 2017. ["From Liberation to Turmoil: Social Media and Democracy,"](#) with Pablo Barberá, Margaret Roberts, Yannis Theocharis, and Joshua Tucker, *The Journal of Democracy*. 28(4): 46-59.
- Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, ["The Transatlantic Data War: Europe Fights Back Against the NSA"](#), *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2016). [Ungated version.](#)

**Lab:** social media data: analyzing Trump's tweets

David Robinson [Analyzing Trump's tweets](#). [Here](#) is the RMarkdown document for the analysis.

### 8. March 11: Discuss research proposals in class (peer review)

**Lab:** Text as data, working with UN speeches

- ["Understanding State Preferences With Text As Data: Introducing the UN General Debate Corpus"](#). Alexander Baturo, Niheer Dasandi, and Slava Mikhailov, *Research & Politics*, 2017, 4(2). [Replication materials](#). Browse the cool [interactive dashboard for UN speeches](#)
- Read these two [blog posts](#) on the Washington Post on Obama and Putin's speeches

### 9. March 18: Trade

- Articles on NAFTA/trade dispute with China stands TBA.

**Lab:** Plagiarism in multilateralism

Allee, Todd, and Andrew Lugg. ["Who wrote the rules for the Trans-Pacific Partnership?."](#) *Research & Politics* 3.3 (2016): 2053168016658919.

### 10. March 25: Security Cooperation

- Articles on NATO burden sharing and non-proliferation TBA

**Lab:** Extracting preferences from text

Becker, Jordan and Edmund J. Malesky. [“Atlanticism and Transatlantic Burden Sharing: The Relationship between Strategic Culture and Disaggregated Defense Investment.”](#) *International Studies Quarterly*. 61 (1): 163-180

### **11. April 1: The European Union and Brexit**

- Stefanie Walter [“The Mass Politics of Disintegration”](#)
- Catherine de Vries [“Euroskepticism is here to stay”](#)
- Kathleen McNamara and Catherine deVries [How Choice Can Save Europe: Why the EU Needs Less Technocracy and More Democracy](#) *ForeignAffairs.com* (May 14, 2018)
- *Readings on Brexit TBA (NOTE: this is the day after the Brexit deadline!!!!)*

**Lab:** Research projects

### **12. April 8: Human Rights**

S. Hopgood, J. Snyder, & L. Vinjamuri (Eds.). 2017. *Human Rights Futures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Selected Chapters TBA).

**Lab:** Research projects

### **13. April 15: Global Warming**

Updated readings TBA, mostly centered on the Paris Agreement.

**Lab:** Research projects

### **14. April 29: Final presentations**