

PSCI 421/441
The Liberal Project in Global Politics
Spring 2022

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PSCI 421/441
Environmental Center 104
MR 1.10pm-2.25pm

Office Hours: Tuesdays 2.00-3.00, Fridays 9.30-11.00, and by appointment

Course Description

The most powerful actors in global politics are liberal ones, and a liberal project around democratic states, international law and organizations, and free trade dominates the global agenda. This course is an investigation into this global liberal project, engaging both theory and practice. We will discuss signature liberal theorists both classical and current as well as some of their most notable critics. We will also attend to empirical evaluations of signature liberal efforts around democratization, development, and human rights. The course ends with a discussion of the successes and failures of the European Union as the principal embodiment of the liberal project today.

Readings

As a 4xx-level senior seminar, this is a book-focused reading-intensive course. The level and amount of reading is challenging but certainly not beyond any student's capabilities. All students will be expected to keep up with the readings during the semester and contribute constructively to class discussion.

This course is structured around 10 books and a course reader in two parts. The books are:

1. Immanuel Kant, *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Edited by Pauline Kleingeld. Yale University Press, 2006.
2. John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples, with "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited"*. Harvard University Press, 2001.
3. Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology*. University of Chicago Press, 2006.
4. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, expanded edition. University of Chicago Press, 2007.
5. Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace*. W.W. Norton & Co., 2000.
6. Nina Munk, *The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty*. Anchor, 2014.
7. Stephen Hopgood, *The Endtimes of Human Rights*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
8. Kathryn Sikkink, *Evidence for Hope*. Princeton University Press, 2017.
9. Pierre Manent, *Democracy Without Nations?* Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2013.
10. Ivan Krastev, *After Europe*, updated edition. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020.

You may pick up the first course reader now at Whitmans Dining Hall through Feb. 8. Beginning Feb. 10 the packets will be available in the packet room in the Class of '37 House (51 Park St.). Subsequent readers will be available later in the semester. All books are available for purchase at Water Street Books or from your favorite on-line retailer.

Course requirements and grades

This course demands active student participation. Your engagement with the material and with one another is the heart of any seminar, and for this one to succeed, your constant commitment is essential. For most of you, this is the senior seminar in your major. If you are tempted to cut back your academic effort, arrange your schedule so that you do so in some other class. Regular critical engagement with the ideas presented in class is the backbone of our work this semester. The assignments have been crafted with that goal in mind.

Every class session

For every class session, one student will write a 1700-2400 word **review and reaction paper** on that day's assigned readings which will form the basis of class discussion. Roughly half the paper should be dedicated to outlining the arguments of the author(s) and about half to a critical engagement with those arguments. Each student should endeavor to speak to me in my office before class about his/her paper. Each student also must distribute an electronic copy of that paper to me and to the student(s) offering a critical reply (described in the next paragraph) at least 24 hours before class. The student will present that paper orally in class to begin discussion. The presentation should last 9-10 minutes with a 10 minute maximum. I will time your presentation. It is preferable to speak from notes rather than read your paper verbatim—especially considering it is impossible to read a 2400-word paper aloud in 10 minutes without droning and gasping like a college debater!

Zero, one or two other students will offer a **critical reply** to each review and reaction paper. This is strictly an oral response presented in class. There is no need to hand in a typed paper to me. The presentation should last 4-5 minutes with a 5 minute maximum. I will time your presentation.

During the semester each student must complete one of the following three options:

- [1] 3 review and reaction papers and 0 critical replies; or
- [2] 2 review and reaction papers and 2 critical replies; or
- [3] 1 review and reaction paper and 4 critical replies;

Students preparing neither a review and reaction paper nor a critical reply for a particular class will write 1-2 **discussion questions** relevant to the day's readings. These questions should be thoughtful engagements with the main ideas from the text(s) and thus go beyond a simple one-sentence query. Possible questions might explore unclear passages in the readings, point out notable gaps in an author's discussion, or offer critiques of an author's argument. The best questions will be framed by a brief (< 300 words) discussion. I will use these questions to guide class discussion each day, including calling on you in class based on your remarks. Use our course Glow page to submit them. Questions are due by 9.00am the day of class. Glow will lock automatically at that time and will not accept any questions submitted after the deadline. I will grade questions on a check-plus/check/check-minus scale.

Term paper

As this is a senior seminar, you will write a 4000-5000 word paper on a subject of your choice related to the topic of the liberal project in global politics. Students may incorporate review and reaction papers into this project as they see fit. I will meet with each student individually in early May to assist in formulating a topic and writing plan.

Class participation

Regular attendance and constructive participation is necessary for this course to be successful and is therefore expected; unexcused absences and a failure to engage the material in class will be noted. More than one unexcused absence will result in a grade penalty.

Honor Code

While you may consult with your friends, fellow classmates, professors, and printed sources on the ideas discussed in this class, all written work must ultimately be yours and yours alone. In particular, be scrupulous in avoiding plagiarism. Be sure to use quote marks when quoting directly and cite appropriately. For most this is your last semester at Williams. You do not want an Honor Code violation stopping you from graduating.

Grades

Review and reaction paper	16% ea.
Critical reply	8% ea.
Term paper	30%
Discussion questions	12%
Class participation	10%

A NOTE ON DEADLINES

All review and reaction papers are due to me and to student repliers 24 hours before class. Critical replies are presented (and thus are due) at the beginning of class. **All such work that fails to meet these deadlines receives a score of zero.** There may be no opportunities to make up missed review and reaction papers in particular, so please plan accordingly.

Discussion questions are due to me by 9.00am the day of class. There are no extensions or make-up opportunities for questions. If you miss the deadline, simply resolve to meet it next time.

The term paper is due at 5.00pm on May 21. Early papers are always welcome; **late term papers will be penalized one partial letter grade per day late** (e.g. from A to A-, B+ to B). I will accept no term papers after May 26.

Course calendar

THEORY

Wednesday
Feb. 2

Introduction

- no readings

Monday
Feb. 7

Liberal foundations I

- Immanuel Kant, Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings, 3-16, 17-23, 67-109, 139-149. [book]

Thursday
Feb. 10

Liberal foundations II

- John Rawls, "The idea of the original position," Political Liberalism (1993), 22-28. [reader]
- John Rawls, "The law of peoples," in The Law of Peoples, 3-128. [book]

Monday
Feb. 14

Liberal foundations III

- John Stuart Mill, "A few words on non-intervention," Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. 3 (1865-75), 238-263. [reader]
- John Stuart Mill, Considerations on Representative Government. Edited by Curran V. Shields (1959 [1861]), chs. 3-4 & 18. [reader]

Thursday
Feb. 17

Anti-liberal foundations I

- Joseph de Maistre, Considerations on France (1974 [1797]), chs. 1, 6 & 9. [reader]
- Carl Schmitt, Political Theology. [book]

Monday
Feb. 21

Anti-liberal foundations II

- Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political. [book]

Thursday
Feb. 24

Anti-liberal foundations III

- Alasdair MacIntyre, After Virtue (1981), chs. 5-6 & 17. [reader]
- Alasdair MacIntyre, Whose Justice? Which Rationality? (1988), ch. 17. [reader]
- Ryszard Legutko, The Demon in Democracy (2016), ch. 3. [reader]
- Adrian Vermeule, "All human conflict is ultimately theological," Church Life Journal, 26 July 2019. [reader]

SECURITY

Monday
Feb. 28

The liberal democratic peace I

- Bruce Russett and John Oneal, Triangulating Peace, chs. 1-3. [book]
- “Interpreting regression output (without all the statistics theory),” GraduateTutor.com [online]. [reader—optional]

Thursday
March 3

The liberal democratic peace II

- Bruce Russett and John Oneal, Triangulating Peace, chs. 4-5. [book]
- Jon Pevehouse and Bruce Russett, “Democratic international governmental organizations promote peace,” International Organization 60 (2006), 969-1000. [reader]

Monday
March 7

The liberal democratic peace III

- Bruce Russett and John Oneal, Triangulating Peace, chs. 6 & 8. [book]
- Bruce Russett, “Bushwhacking the democratic peace,” International Studies Perspectives 6 (2005), 395-408. [reader]

Thursday
March 10

Critiques of the liberal democratic peace

- Michael Mousseau, “The social market roots of democratic peace,” International Security 33 (2009), 52-86. [reader]
- Michael Mousseau, “The democratic peace unraveled: It’s the economy,” International Studies Quarterly 57 (2013), 186-197. [reader]
- Erik Gartzke and Alex Weisiger, “Permanent friends? Dynamic difference and the democratic peace,” International Studies Quarterly 57 (2013), 171-185. [reader]
- Allan Dafoe, John R. Oneal, and Bruce Russett, “The democratic peace: Weighing the evidence and cautious inference,” International Studies Quarterly 57 (2013), 201-214. [reader]

Monday
March 14

Liberal democratic war

- Anna Geis et al., eds., The Militant Face of Democracy (2013), chs. 1 & 10. [reader]
- Lothar Brock, “Triangulating war: The use of force by democracies as a variant of democratic peace,” in Anna Geis et al., eds., Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace (2006), 90-119. [reader]
- Frank Sauer and Niklas Schörnig, “Killer drones: The ‘silver bullet’ of democratic warfare?” Security Dialogue 43 (2012), 363-380. [reader]

Thursday
March 17

No class – enjoy an early spring break!

Spring break

DEVELOPMENT

Monday
April 4

Development as a liberal project

- United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 1990, 9-16. [reader]
- United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2010, 85-100. [reader]
- Amartya Sen, Development as Freedom (1999), chs. 1-2. [reader]
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, The End of Poverty (2005), ch. 18. [reader]

Thursday
April 7

A liberal explanation of poverty

- Jeffrey D. Sachs et al., “Ending Africa’s poverty trap,” Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 1 (2004), 117-144. [reader]
- Nina Munk, The Idealist, parts 1-2. [book]

Monday
April 11

A liberal agenda to end poverty

- Jeffrey D. Sachs et al., “Ending Africa’s poverty trap,” Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 1 (2004), 144-187. [reader]
- Nina Munk, The Idealist, parts 3-4. [book]

Thursday
April 14

Jeff Sachs and the end of poverty

- Shira Mitchell et al., “The Millennium Villages Project: A retrospective, observational, endline evaluation,” The Lancet Global Health 6 (5) (May 2018), 500-513. [reader]
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, “The Millennium Villages Project: A personal perspective,” The Lancet Global Health 6 (5) (May 2018), 472-474. [reader]
- Nina Munk, The Idealist, parts 5-8. [book]

Monday
April 18

Critiquing liberal development economics

- Louis Putterman and David N. Weil, “Post-1500 population flows and the long-run determinants of economic growth and inequality,” The Quarterly Journal of Economics 125 (2010), 1627-1682. [reader]
- Quamrul Ashraf et al., “The ancient origins of the wealth of nations,” CESifo Working Paper Series 8624 (November 2020). [reader]

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Thursday April 21 **Liberalism, realism, and international law**

- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Sovereignty and power in a networked world order," 40 Stanford Journal of International Law 283 (2004), 283-327. [reader—skim pp. 311-327]
- Anne-Marie Slaughter and Williams Burke-White, "The future of international law is domestic (or, The European way of law)," Harvard International Law Journal 47 (2006), 327-352. [reader]
- Martti Koskeniemi, "Out of Europe: Carl Schmitt, Hans Morgenthau, and the turn to 'international relations'," in The Gentle Civilizer of Nations (2001), ch. 6. [reader]

Monday April 25 **A critique of human rights I**

- Stephen Hopgood, The Endtimes of Human Rights, chs. 1-4. [book]

Thursday April 28 **A critique of human rights II**

- Stephen Hopgood, The Endtimes of Human Rights, chs. 5-8. [book]

Monday May 2 **A defense of human rights I**

- Kathryn Sikkink, Evidence for Hope, chs. 1-4. [book]

Thursday May 5 **A defense of human rights II**

- Kathryn Sikkink, Evidence for Hope, chs. 5-7. [book]

THE FUTURE OF THE LIBERAL PROJECT

Monday May 9 **The European Union I**

- Pierre Manent, Democracy Without Nations? [book]

Thursday May 12 **The European Union II**

- Ivan Krastev, After Europe. [book]