# Liberalism

### Liberalism

#### Idealism/Liberalism

- Idealism
  - Focus on individual welfare and humanity
    - Emphasize the importance of ethical values and ideals in foreign policy making
    - Reflect optimism for international peace
- Idealistic attempt
  - Establishment of League of Nations

- Decline of idealism
  - Reality
    - Non-functioning League of Nations based on Idealism after World War I
    - Appearance of Dictatorship
    - WWII
  - Response
    - Strong reaction against international government
    - Criticism of idealism
- Rise of Realism

#### Liberalism

#### **Neoliberalism**

- The re-rise of liberalism in the 1970s
  - Détente, globalization, and thirdwave democratization
- Convergence with (neo)realism
  - Recognize the state as a key actor in international politics
    - + non-state actors
  - Agree on state's interest in security
    - + non-security issue

- Emphasis on cooperative action within the international system
- Mechanisms for cooperation
  - Interdependency
  - Role of international laws, rules, and organizations

# Liberalism/Idealism

### Republican Liberalism

- Thinkers and leading scholars
  - Immanuel Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Michael W. Doyle
    - "Civil constitution of every state should be republican (Kant)."
- Focus on citizens and leaders
  - Democratic states: Citizens have freedom of expression through voting, and thus self-interested leaders must earn citizens' support
    - Leads democratic states to seek compromise and peace when there is a conflict of interest
  - Totalitarian states: Citizens do not have freedom of expression and thus leaders are free from taking responsibility
    - Leads totalitarian states to be more willing to take aggressive and possibly militaristic actions
- Democratic peace theory
  - No wars between democracies
  - War broke out between democracies and other regime types



PERPETUAL PEACE A PHILOSOPHICAL SKETCH

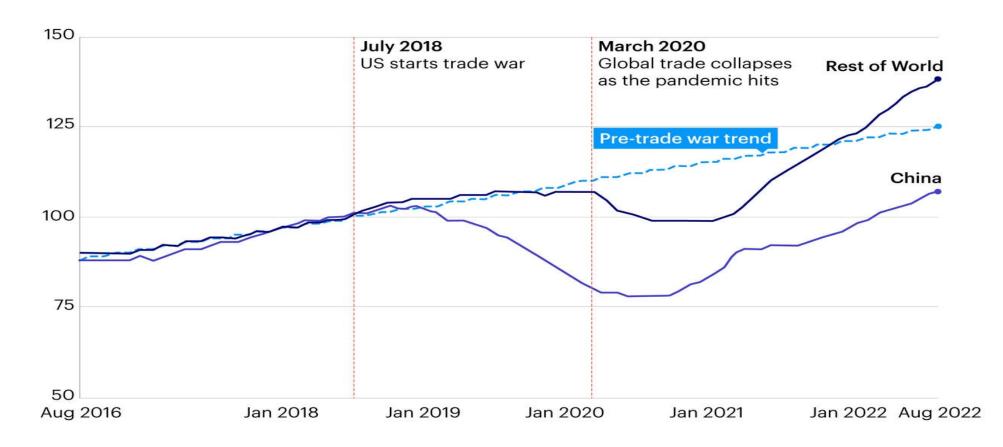


#### Commercial Liberalism

- Leading scholars
  - David Ricardo, Richard Cobden, etc.
- Focus on consumers and producers
  - Through trade, consumers and producers achieve prosperity and economic benefit
- The value of free trade and the permanent peace
  - States benefit economically from free trade
  - The economic interdependence network formed by free trade brings peace and universal prosperity to the international community

### **US-China Trade**

Value of US goods imports from China and rest of world, 2016–2022 (June 2018 = 100)



- Motivation
  - Observation: States sometimes engage in cooperative activities
  - Aim: Construct a framework for international cooperation
- Problems in international cooperation
  - Collective action problem
    - Public goods obtainable by international cooperation
      - Characteristics: nonexcludable and indivisible
      - Incentive to cheat (not cooperate)
        - Incentive not to be exploited
        - Incentive to be a free rider
          - Reason of cheating: cost for cooperation
      - Tragedy of public goods

- Liberalistic solutions to the problem of promoting international cooperation
  - (1) Hierarchic rather than anarchic international system To detect and punish cheaters and free riders

Who can have hierarchic authority?

(A) Hegemonic state with dominant power

Limitation: difficulty of having a real hegemon

Burden on hegemon is too great

Hegemon's interest might conflict with providing public goods

(B) International organizations

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- (B) International organizations
- (2) Change of the characteristics of interaction

Make short-term cheating less desirable; Make states realize long-term loss of cheating

- Tit-for-Tat
- Grim Trigger

### Liberal Institutionalism

- Leading scholars
  - Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye, G. John Ikenberry
- Importance of international organizations or institutions
  - Solve collective action problem
    - Mitigate competitive behavior
  - How?
    - International institutions promote cooperation between states
      - Provide information
        - Help to calculate other's behavior

 "International systems containing institutions that generate a great deal of high quality information and make it available on a reasonably even basis to the major actors are likely to experience more cooperation than systems that do not contain such institutions, even if fundamental state interests and the distribution of power are the same in each system." (Keohane 1984, 245)

## Neoliberalism Summary

- Fungibility of power
  - Power is issue-specific
  - Power is not transferable
    - Japan's economic power≠ Japan's military power

- National interest in wealth, not only security
  - In 1990, Iraq and Kuwait cooperated in one area, but fought in other areas at the same time.

## Neoliberalism Summary

- Emphasis on absolute gains
  - Individualistic state defining interests in terms of individual gains (Grieco, 1988)
    - Care about their gain
    - Care less about comparing their own gain with others' gains
  - How can states maximize absolute gains?
    - Follow the rule of comparative advantage in international trade
      - Focus on areas of comparative advantage
      - Rely on others in areas of comparative disadvantage
  - States cooperate with others for better outcomes instead of trying to gain an advantage over the others