



Jean-Jacques Rousseau

"Il faut être de soi, et ne pas le devenir"

— Jean-Jacques Rousseau



Liberalism

7th JCSC



Introduction

International Relations Theories

LIBERALISM

Hugo Grotius	Montesquieu
John Locke	Rousseau
Immanuel Kant	Adam Smith

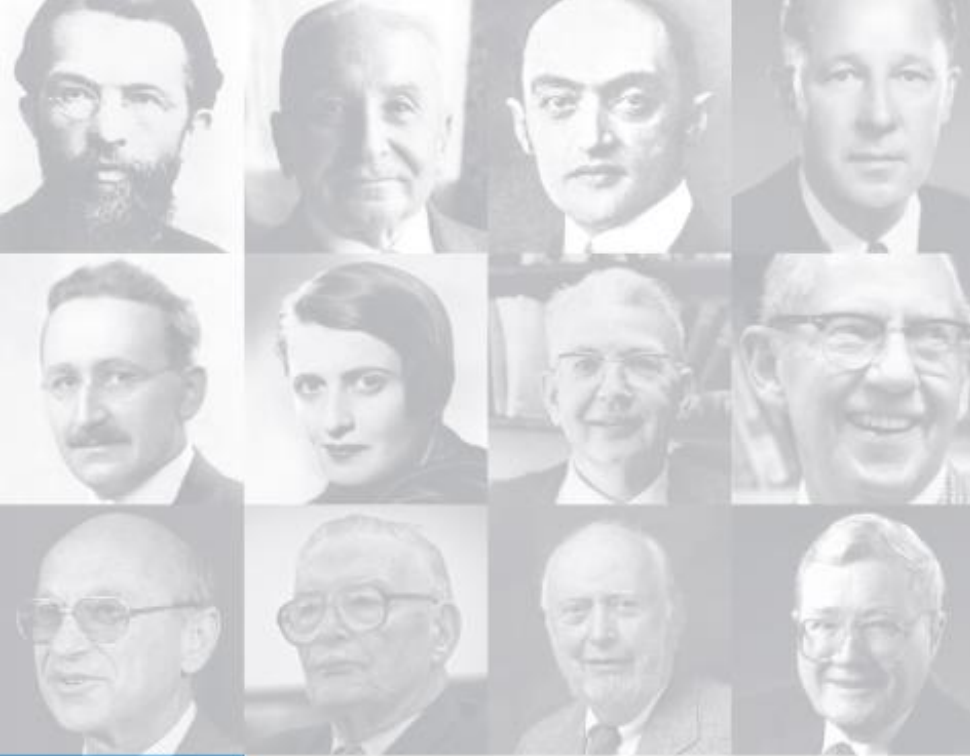
Development of liberalism

Democratic Peace

Liberalism vs Realism

End of History

- Liberalism is historic alternative to realism
- Liberals established discipline of IR in inter-war years
- Resurgence again after WWII with founding of UN and again at end of Cold War (Fukuyama 1989)
- But 9/11 resulted in further swing of the pendulum...



18 Essential
Classical Liberal Thinkers



Core Liberal Beliefs

- Individual liberty and personal freedom
- A belief in the power of reason
- Capacity of both individuals and humanity to progress
- Commitment to democratic government, esp. constitutionalism
- Equality before the law
- Respect for private property and an emphasis on free market capitalism

Major Liberal Thinkers

Liberal political theory was product of the European Enlightenment

Classic works by:

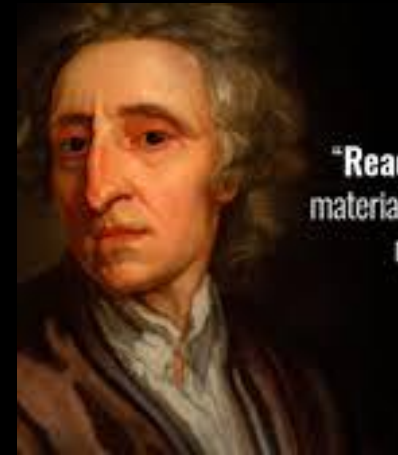
- Locke, Rousseau, Paine, Bentham, and John Mills
- Also, the economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo

Within IR, the works of following are also drawn upon:

- Augustine, Aquinas, and the Just War theorists
- Vitoria, Puffendorf and various other international law scholars/jurists
- But most importantly, **Locke & Kant**

John Locke

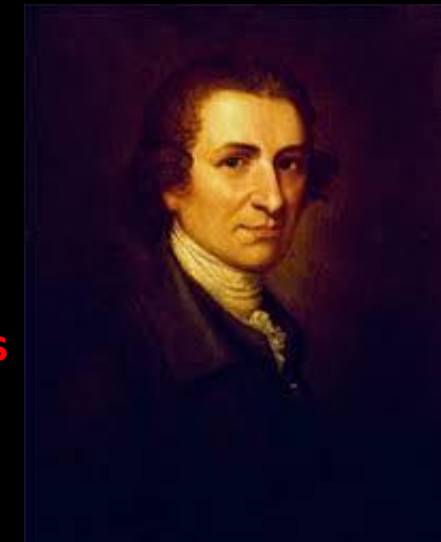
- The Social Contract; natural right to life, liberty & property. Governments must not violate these rights.
- British tradition of expanding democracy V French rejection of authoritarianism.
- Glorious Revolution of 1688
- American Revolution of 1776. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man*.
- French Revolution of 1789 – United Irishmen, Wolf Tone, Rebellion of 1798.



"**Reading** furnishes the mind only with materials of **knowledge**; it is thinking that makes what **we read ours**."

- John Locke

Goalcast



**Thomas
Paine**

Republicanism & Liberalism

- 19th Century, Europe & South America.
- In Victorian England, Liberalism is a critique of the political establishment, appealing to Science & reason on behalf of the people.
- Post-Napoleonic Period – “Concert of Nations”
- Bismarkian Germany



Immanuel Kant



- Immanuel Kant was born in Königsberg, East Prussia, on 22 April 1724
- Enormous influence in every area of philosophical, political and moral thought
- Kant was a prolific writer, but wrote relatively little on practical politics; exception is his essay on international relations: *Perpetual Peace* (1795)

CLASSIC REPRINT SERIES

LAST DAYS OF IMMANUEL KANT

And Other Writings

by
Thomas de Quincey

Forgotten Books

Kant & His Legacy (Cont.)

- Kant's political philosophy was developed during and after the French Revolution (1789 – 1799)
- Central idea = “all politics must bend the knee before right”
- “[A] true system of politics...cannot take a single step without first paying tribute to morality”

Kant's Categorical Imperative

The first or 'Universal Law
formulation' states:

"Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law"

The second or 'End in Itself
formulation' states:

"Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end."

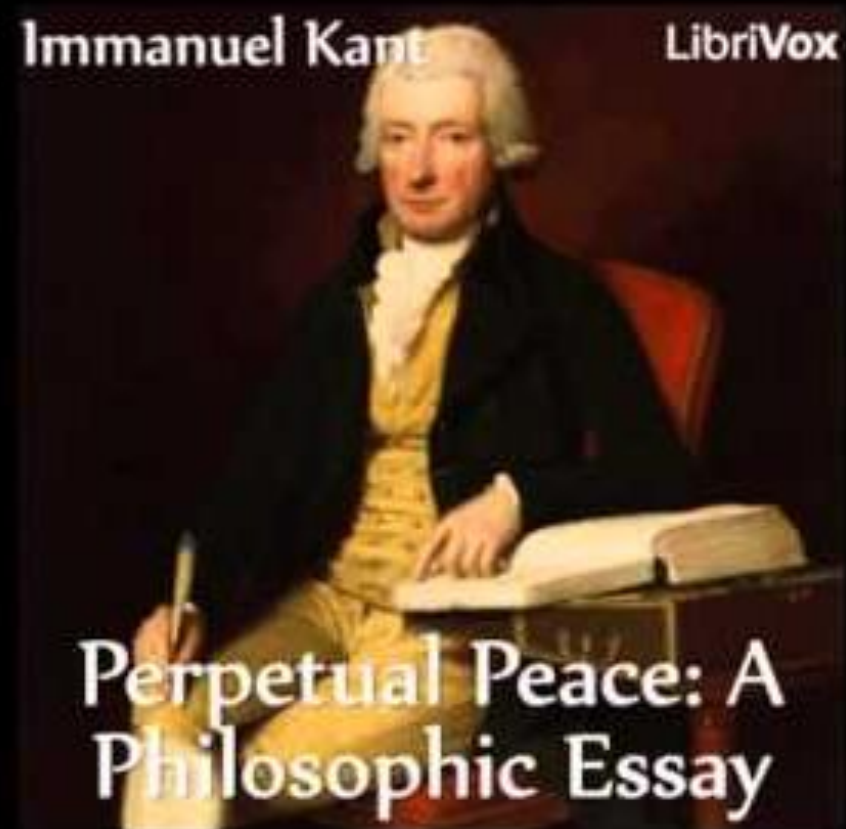
Kant on War

- War--which necessarily treats people as mere means to an immoral purpose--causes the state to attack and subvert morality
- This is contrary to the purpose of the state (and its legal order), which ought to provide a stable context of peace and security in which persons can safely exercise the sole unqualified good: a “good will”
- The solution?



Perpetual Peace (1795)

- Core value/concept for Liberal IR theorists = **Collective Security**
- Collective security = the formation of a broad alliance of most major actors in an international system for the purpose of jointly opposing aggression by any actor
- Kant proposed a *federation* of the world's states; he called this a **"League of Nations"**
- The majority of states could unite to punish any one state that committed aggression via the League
- This would safeguard the collective interests of all states together against narrow self-interest of one state that might otherwise profit from aggression
- The League would also protect the self-determination of small states



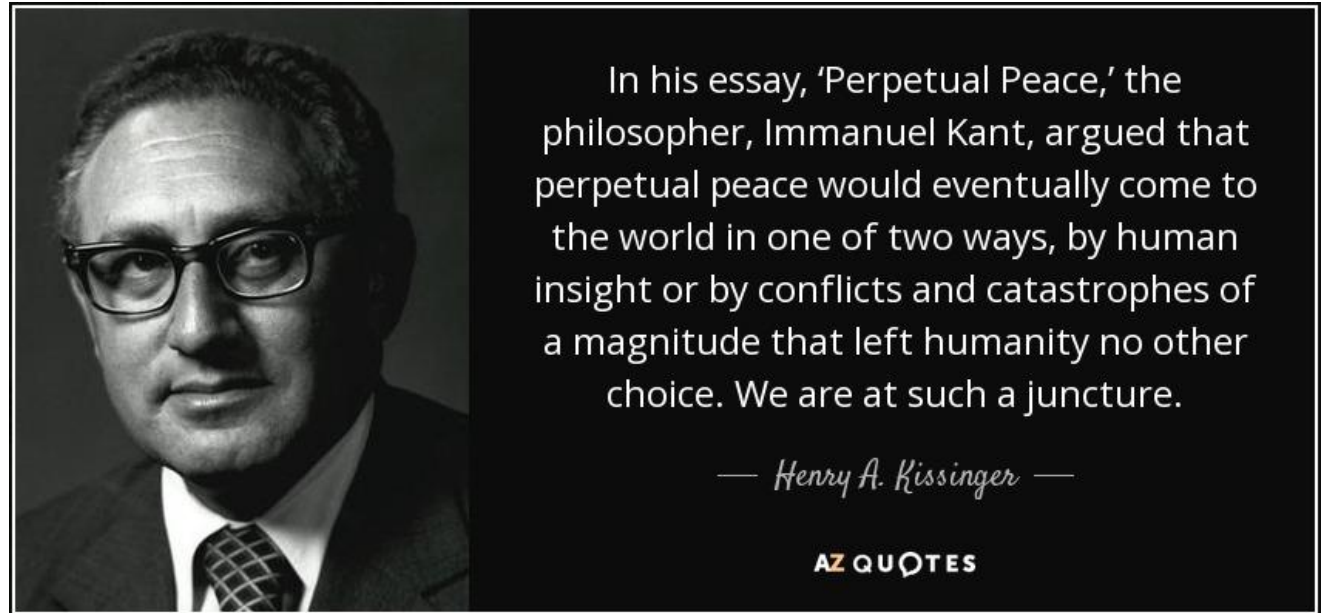
Sources of Perpetual Peace?

The **definitive articles** of a perpetual peace, according to Kant:

- Civil constitution of every state should be republican
- Federation of free states internationally
- Universal hospitality

Also,

- No secret reservations as to future wars
- No inheritance, exchange, purchase, gift of states
- No standing armies
- No national debt
- No forcible intervention in other states
- Adherence to basic laws of war





On perpetual peace

A timely assessment

Kant

- Kant predicts that “the human race has always been progressively improving and will continue to develop in the same way.”
- Claims, too, that a Republican mode of government will eventually dominate, although unsure of the precise time at which this will occur, as it is dependent upon chance.
- Kant has an innate belief in “pursuing evolution instead of revolution”

Is Perpetual Peace Likely?

- Kant admits perpetual peace may not be realisable. However, continual processes designed to approach the idea are not impracticable, and because this is a project based upon duty, Kant believes that the latter can indeed be put into execution
- So, according to Kant, we must act as if perpetual peace were realizable, despite the fact that it may be impossible



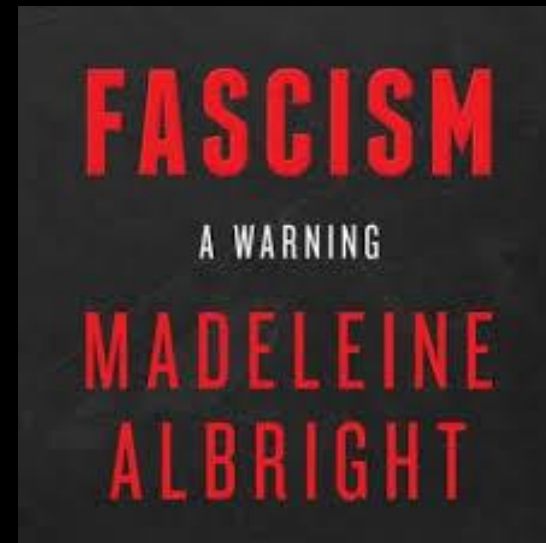
Perpetual peace is a futile dream.

— *George S. Patton* —

AZ QUOTES

20th Century Ideological Challenges

- Liberalism faces challenges from Fascism & Marxist-Leninism.
- Ideas propagate, Liberal democracies on winning side in both wars.
- League of Nations



The League of Nations

- Versailles.
- Wilson & Liberalism
- Appeasement
- Manchuria
- Ethiopia
- Finland
- De Valera???

DeValera & League of Nations 1932 – 1939



De Valera believed in the power of the League of Nations to protect, especially, the rights of small nations in the world.

President of the League of Nations Council: 1932



Liberalism in the 20th Century

- Liberalists views state's as the primary actors, HOWEVER it recognises the presence of significant other actors, anarchy is less pernicious.
- Agree that IR can be highly Realist in character, they DEPART from Realists as to whether it **MUST BE**.
- Main determinant of Governmental policies is who rules, which elite 9s), leaders (s) or parties (s)
- States are NOT unitary actors, but are instruments of DOMESTIC forces. Ergo a GAP of what officials **VIEW** for the safety of the state & the POLICIES that appeal to a **DOMESTIC** audience.

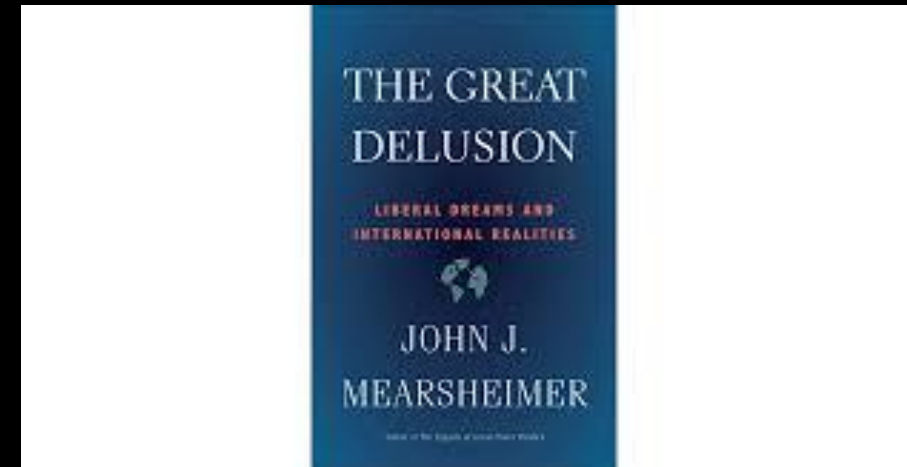


Liberalism what did it ever do for us???



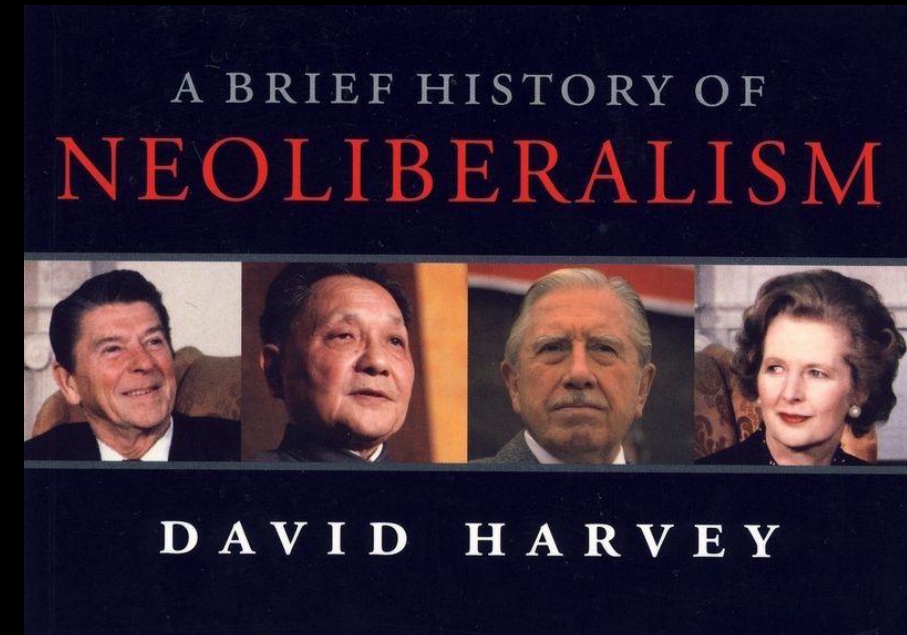
Core Liberal Tenets

- Multinational Agreements & Institutions, trading SOME autonomy for trade-off in IR.
- Rule by Govt RESTRAINED. Why?
- Directly at Odds with Realism on Anarchy. Anarchy NOT necessarily detriments. (Free Trade)
- Anarchy can be pernicious
 - The UN
 - International Atomic Agency
 - World Bank, Intl Monetary Fund.



Neoliberalism

- Neoliberalism argue that Anarchy is NOT self-reinforcing. Governments 'tire' of constantly competitive environment. Cooperation is **DURABLE** when it meets needs & interests.
- The 'Security Dilemma' is NOT inherent in IR, even with WMD.
- People & Govt's accept that Security is **INTERDEPENDENT**, seeking Scty **UNILATERALLY** is ultimately **FUTILE**. Counter to Hobbesian Construct.
- Corallry, capitalist ECONOMIES & interdependence. War is bad for business!!
- European Coal & Steel Community (ECSC). Treaty of Paris (1951)
- "War not only unthinkable BUT materially impossible"
Schumann (1950). ECSC first IO based on **SUPRANATIONALISM**.

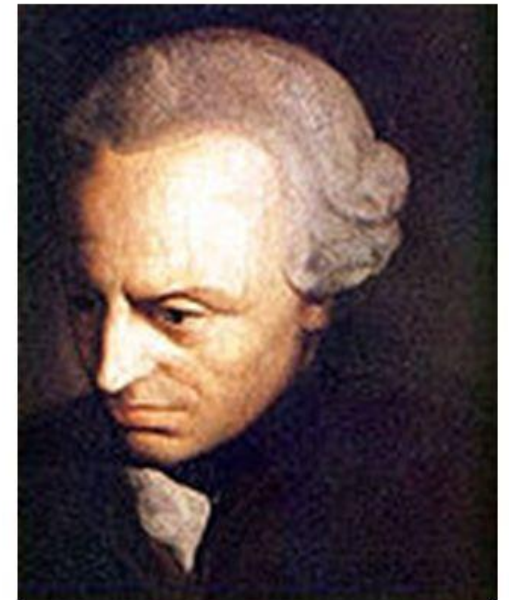


Democratic Peace Theory

- Democracies are naturally peaceful amongst themselves.
- They don't see each other as threatening.
- Analysts believe that crucially it is a union of COMBINING DEMOCRACY with an OPEN ECONOMY.
- Democracies more open to a multitude of influences, NOT closed societies.

DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY (also Liberal peace theory and Republican liberalism)

- Theory related to the research on relationship between the democracy and peace
- Conflicts and wars are rare to democracies
- Systematic violence is in general less common within democracies



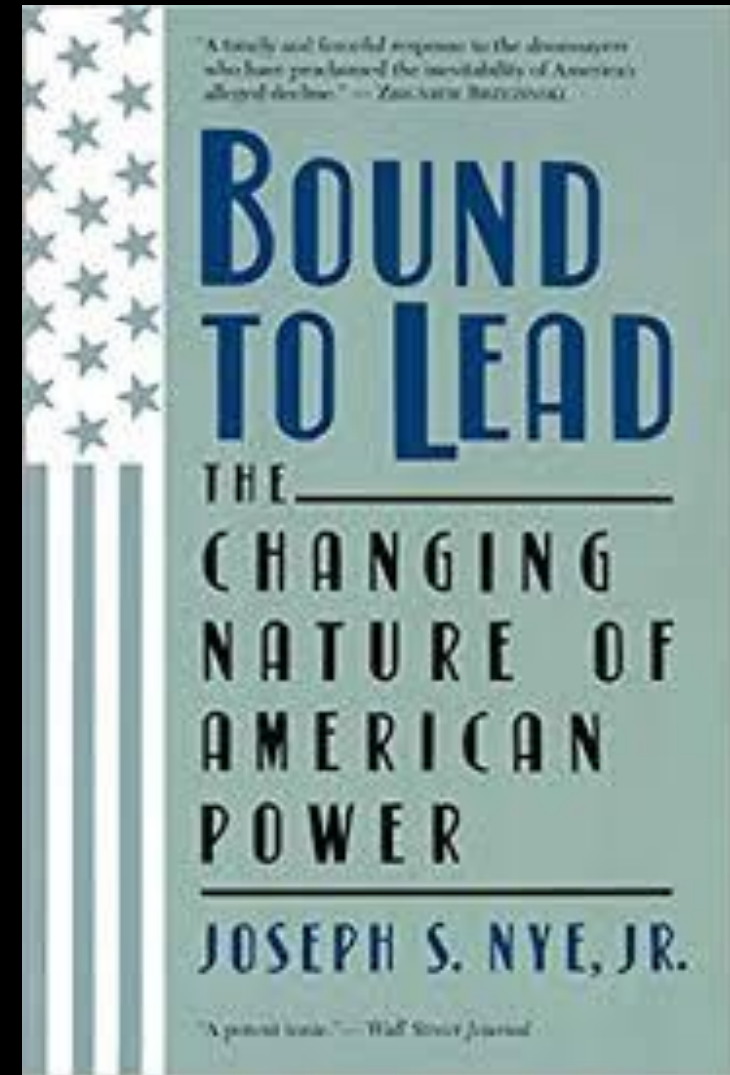
Realism and Liberalism

- Focus in on the international system
 - External factors (beyond the state)
 - System factors can lead to:
 - Conflict
 - Cooperation
- Conflict is the dominant theme in realism
- Cooperation is the dominant theme in liberalism



International Civic Society

- Webs of activities by private citizens & Orgs.
- Ergo leap to SOFT POWER, supplementing for Hard Power
- Putin & the EU???



IGOs

From the nineteenth century, such ideas were embodied in practical organizations in which states participated to manage specific issues:

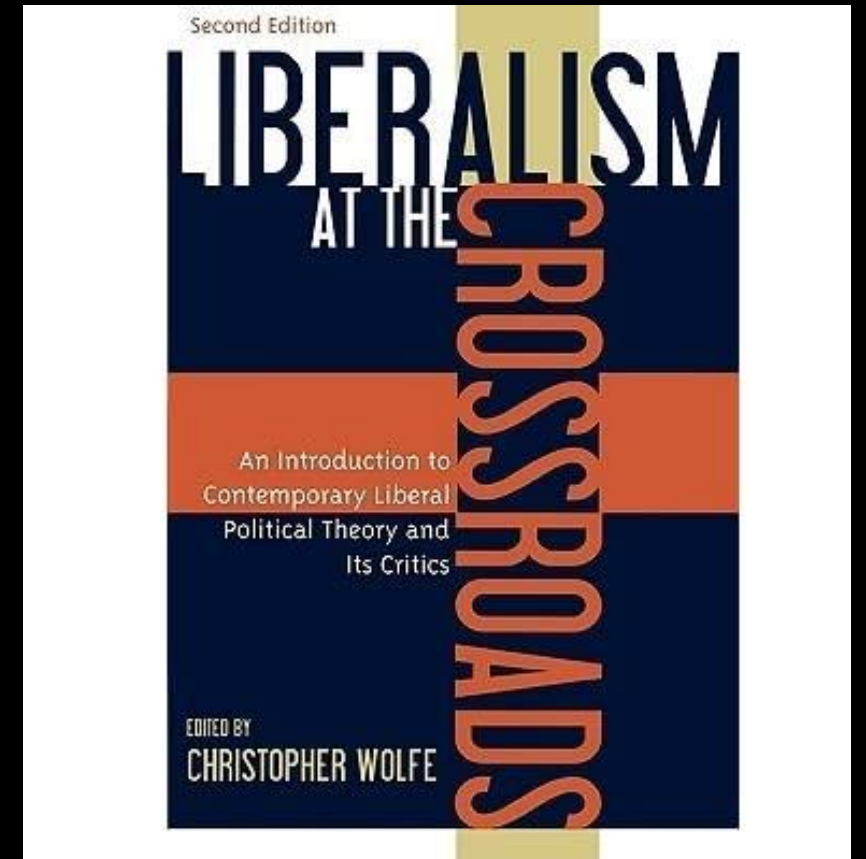
- Control of traffic on European rivers (e.g. the Rhine Commission)
- International postal service (i.e. the Universal Postal Union)
- Air Traffic Control (i.e. International Civil Aviation Organisation)

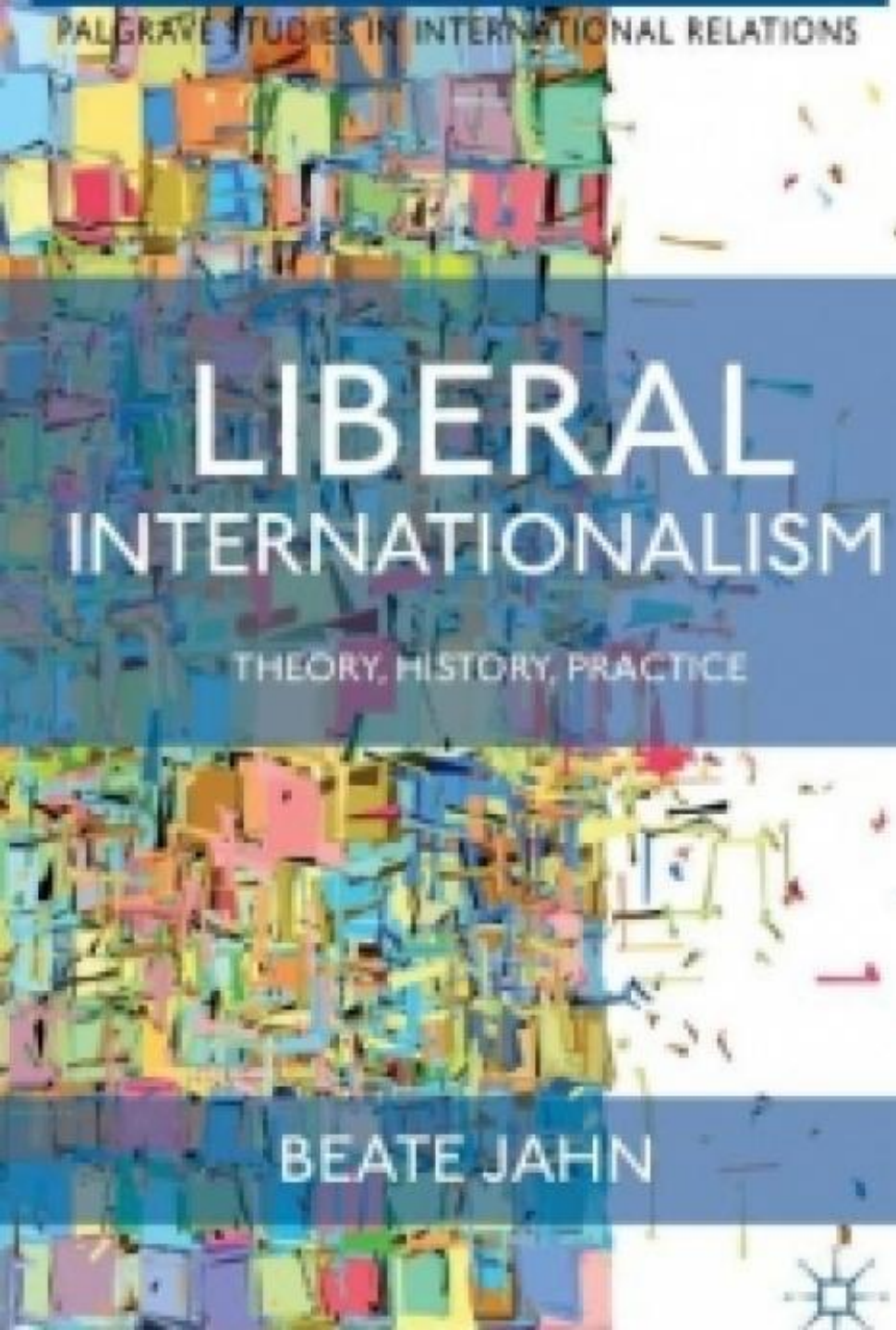


Prominent Contemporary Liberalisms

1. Liberal Institutionalism
2. Interdependency
3. Democratic Peace Theory

All have been influenced by Kant





1. Liberal Institutionalism

- Kant argued that states could join a worldwide federation like today's United Nations, and respect its principles even at the cost of foregoing certain short-term individual gains
- To Kant international cooperation was a more *rational* option for states than resort to war
- The European Union takes the ideas of Kant a step further



2. Interdependency

- Also known as Liberal Internationalism
- Free markets, wealth creation → Interdependency: not profitable to war, more rational to trade
- Keohane & Nye *Power and Interdependence* (1977)
- Problem: Illiberal outcomes of neo-liberal trading policies?

Pierre Trudeau

3. Democratic Peace Theory

- Michael Doyle in a 1986 article sought to prove Kant's assertion that democratic states would be more peaceful
- Shows that democratic states have established "a separate peace"
- They do not fight amongst each other
- But they do war on undemocratic states
- Raises problem: Should democracy be allowed to spread gradually or should it be 'encouraged' through force?
- Is there, as Realists fear, a crusading and therefore an imperial zeal inherent within liberal IR?



Summing-Up

- If neo-realists work from the outside in, liberals work from the inside out
- “...the historical prophecy of liberalism is the domestication of the international” (Dunne)
- Focused not just on states, but also individuals (thence respect for human rights, etc.) and a variety of non-state actors
- Draws heavily on the work of Kant and has (had?) a moral component
- Modern liberals focus on democratic peace and also power of markets/interdependency to bring about peace internationally
- Problem is that in practice the results of these are often illiberal
- So radical/classical liberals want to get back to basics and focus on individuals and transnational networks: global civil society/grass roots activism



Liberalism in one cartoon

The background of the slide is a close-up photograph of numerous circular buttons or pins. Each button is shaped like a different country and features a map of that country with its name and major cities printed on it. Visible countries include Italy, Hungary, Argentina, Ireland, Thailand, Morocco, New Zealand, and the United Arab Emirates. The buttons are scattered across the slide, creating a textured, world-map-like background.

Liberal Realists – The English School

- The English School of international relations theory (sometimes also referred to as liberal realism, the International Society school or the British institutionalists) maintains that there is a 'society of states' at the international level, despite the condition of anarchy (that is, the lack of a global ruler or world state).
- The classical English school starts with the realist assumption of an international *system* that forms as soon as two or more states have a sufficient amount of interaction. It underlines the English school tradition of realism and *Machtpolitik* (power politics) and puts international anarchy at the centre of IR Theory

Hedley Bull

- Hedley Bull, however, argued that states share a certain common interest (usually the "fear of unrestricted violence") that lead to the development of a certain set of "rules". He thus defined an international society as existent when:
- "...a group of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behaviour of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognise their common interest in maintaining these arrangements."
- The international society is a "norm-governed relationship whose members accept that they have at least limited responsibilities towards one another and the society as a whole". States thus follow their interests, but not at all costs. Another way of looking at this would be through Adam Watson's term '**raison de système**', a counterpoint to '**raison d'état**', and defined as 'the idea that it pays to make the system work



What we may be witnessing is not the end of the Cold War but the end of history as such; that is, the end point of man's ideological evolution, the universalization of Western liberal democracy.

(Francis Fukuyama)

izquotes

Francis Fukuyama

- He wrote his famous article 'The End of History?' in 1989 in an optimistic atmosphere, during the collapse of Socialist regimes which was symbolised by the pulling down of the Berlin Wall. He declared the ultimate victory of liberal democracy and argued that "it may constitute the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the final form of human government and as such constitute the end of history." In his article, he celebrated the victory of liberalism over all other ideologies, stating that liberal states were more stable internally and more peaceful in international relations.



Huntington - Overview

- Huntington began his thinking by surveying the diverse theories about the nature of global politics in post-cold war period. Some theorists & writers argued that human rights, liberal democracy and capitalist free market economy had become the only remaining ideological alternative for nations in the post-cold-war period. Specifically Francis Fukuyama argued that the world had reached 'the end of history' in a Hegelian sense.
- Huntington believed that the age of **ideology** had ended, the world had only reverted to a normal state of affairs, characterized by **cultural conflict**. In this thesis he argued that "the primary axis in the future will be along the **cultural & religious lines**."



The Clash of Civilizations Twenty Years On

Huntington, Clash of Civilizations

- World Politics is entering a new phase, in which the great divisions among humankind & the dominating source of international conflict will be cultural. Civilizations – the highest cultural groupings of people are differentiated from each other by religion, history, language and tradition. These divisions are deep & increasing. From Yugoslavia to the ME to Central Asia, **the fault lines of civilizations** are the **battle lines of the future**. In this emerging era of cultural conflict the US must forge alliances with similar cultures & spread its values where possible. With alien civilizations, the West must be accommodating if possible, but confrontational if necessary. In the final analysis, however, all civilizations will have to learn to tolerate each other.

