Contact Information

- **Course Webpage:** [https://quote.ucsd.edu/lake/teaching/ps142a/](https://quote.ucsd.edu/lake/teaching/ps142a/)
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Teaching Assistants

- D.G. Kim (Students A-Ma)
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  - SSB 331; office hours Monday 11 AM-12 PM and Tuesday 2-3 PM

- Nathan Mariano (Students Mc-Z)
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  - SSB 332; office hours Thursday 3:45-4:45 PM
Books and other readings

*The American Age*
Walter LaFeber

*Liberal Leviathan*
G. John Ikenberry

*Entangling Relations*
David A. Lake

*The Statebuilder's Dilemma*
David A. Lake
Grades

- Daily iClicker quizzes on readings (25%)
- Response paper 1 (due January 29; 25%)
- Response paper 2 (due February 19; 25%)
- Final, March 19: 11:30-2:29 (25%)
Are we living through the end of the Liberal International Order?

- Is the order crumbling from within?
  - Diverging interests between major powers
  - Populism and economic nationalism
  - Isolationism

- Will China challenge the U.S.?

- Not just about President Trump
  - He is a symptom of an underlying change, not its cause.
Trump is Reforming

Every nation — every nation — must honestly acknowledge its responsibilities to its citizens and ask if the current international order serves the good of its people as well as it could. And if not, we must ask we how we can right it. This is what President Trump is doing. He is returning the United States to its traditional, central leadership role in the world.

Sect. of State, Mike Pompeo, 12/4/2018

Trump is Destroying

Our strength as a nation is inextricably linked to the strength of our unique and comprehensive system of alliances and partnerships. …We must do everything possible to advance an international order that is most conducive to our security, prosperity and values, and we are strengthened in this effort by the solidarity of our alliances.

Sect. of Defense, James Mattis, 12/20/2018
Questions

- Where does an international order come from? How is order established?
- How does an international order work?
- What role did the U.S. play in the Liberal International Order (LIO)?
- What are the challenges now before the U.S.?
- What is the likely future of international order?
Organization

- Themes and theory
- Empire of Liberty (founding to Civil War)
- Informal Empire in the Caribbean
- World War I and League of Nations
  - First Paper Assignment
- World War II and Origins of the Liberal International Order
- The Cold War: Origins and Outbreak
Organization

- The Cold War: Crises and Detente
- Vietnam
- The End of American Hegemony
  - Second Paper Assignment
- The End of the Cold War
- The New World Order
- The Backlash to Empire and the War on Terror
Organization

- Democracy Promotion and Statebuilding
- Iraq
- Populism at Home and Abroad
- The Rise of China
- The Future of the Liberal International Order
  - Final Exam (March 19, 11:30-2:30)
What was the LIO?

- Political orders are patterned relationships between member states governed by rules, norms, and decision-making procedures.

- Hierarchy characterized by indirect rule.
  - U.S. hegemony or leadership

- Liberalism
  - Equality of individuals
  - Constraints on power: Multilateralism
  - Cushion the impact of markets (embedded liberalism)

- Potentially universal
  - But also exclusionary
“Westphalian” Foundation

The LIO was based on “Westphalian” rules:

- Sovereignty (formal equality)
  - Political authority is vested in the state
- Territorial integrity (no transfers by force)
- Non-intervention in “internal” affairs

Developed over centuries and embodied in the United Nations Charter
What was the LIO?

- **Pluralistic Security Community**
  - Peaceful resolution of disputes between members
  - Collective Security against outsiders

- **Economic Liberalism**
  - Free trade between members, extended to others
  - Open capital markets for members
  - Still restricted immigration

- **Political Liberalism**
  - Democracy for members
  - Universal human rights
Decline of Interstate War

FIGURE 3.1  The Percentage of States Involved in Interstate War per Year, 1820–2014

Civil Wars

**FIGURE 6.1** *Interstate and Civil Wars, 1946–2014*

- CIVIL WARS
- INTERSTATE WARS

![Graph showing the number of wars ongoing from 1946 to 2014. The graph indicates a rising trend for civil wars and a generally lower trend for interstate wars.](image-url)
Battle Deaths

Followers of the news in the mid-2010s might have expected the Syrian carnage to have erased all of the historic progress of the preceding decades. That's because they forget the many civil wars that ended without fanfare since 2009, including Angola, Chad, India, Iran, Peru, and Sri Lanka, and to forget earlier ones that had massive death tolls, such as the wars in Indochina (1946–54, 500,000 deaths), India (1946–48, a million deaths), China (1946–50, a million deaths), Sudan (1956–72, 500,000 deaths, and 1983–2002, a million deaths), Uganda (1971–78, 500,000 deaths), Ethiopia (1974–91, 750,000 deaths), Angola (1975–2002, a million deaths), and Mozambique (1981–92, 500,000 deaths).

The geography of war also continues to shrink. In 2016 a peace agreement between the government of Colombia and Marxist FARC guerrillas ended the last active political armed conflict in the Western Hemisphere, and the last remnant of the Cold War.

Battle deaths per 100,000 people per year
What was the LIO?

- **Pluralistic Security Community**
  - Peaceful resolution of disputes between members
  - Collective Security against outsiders

- **Economic Liberalism**
  - Free trade between members, extended to others
  - Open capital markets
  - Still restricted immigration

- **Political Liberalism**
  - Democracy for members
  - Universal human rights
Growth of Trade

**FIGURE 14.3** The Expanding Volume of World Trade, 1950–2015

- **EXPORT VOLUME**
- **WORLD GDP**
Trade and the United States

**FIGURE 7.1  Importance of Trade to the U.S. Economy, 1960–2013**

Unprecedented Prosperity

**Figure 1.1** *Gross Domestic Product per Capita, 1500–2010*

- World
- United States
- Western Europe
- Latin America
- Asia
- Africa

Year

1500 1600 1700 1820 1870 1913 1950 1973 2010

GDP per capita in various regions over time.
What was the LIO?

- **Pluralistic Security Community**
  - Peaceful resolution of disputes between members
  - Collective Security against outsiders

- **Economic Liberalism**
  - Free trade between members, extended to others
  - Open capital markets for members
  - Still restricted immigration

- **Political Liberalism**
  - Democracy for members
  - Universal human rights
Global Trend in Democracy
Human Rights Improve


- Traditional Human Rights Measure
- Farryss’s New Human Rights Measure
Political Persecution

MAP 12.1  *Imprisonment for Nonviolent Politics: Beliefs and Actions, 2011*

- MANY PEOPLE IMPRISONED FOR RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, OR OTHER BELIEFS
- SOME PEOPLE IMPRISONED FOR RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, OR OTHER BELIEFS
- NO PEOPLE IMPRISONED FOR THE ABOVE REASONS
- NO DATA AVAILABLE


*Note:* The data presented in this map measure the incarceration in 2011 of people by government officials because of their speech; their nonviolent opposition to the government; their religious beliefs and practices; or their membership in a group, including an ethnic or racial group.

*The data for maps 12.1, 12.2, and 12.3 is no longer being compiled by David Cingranelli and David Richards, and as of 2015 no new data have replaced theirs.*
Torture

MAP 12.2 Torture, 2011

TORTURE PRACTICED FREQUENTLY
TORTURE PRACTICED OCCASIONALLY
TORTURE NOT PRACTICED IN GIVEN YEAR
NO DATA AVAILABLE

Map note: The data presented in this map measure in 2011 the purposeful inflicting of extreme pain, whether mental or physical, by government officials or by private individuals at the instigation of government officials. Torture includes the use by police and prison guards of physical and other force that is cruel, inhuman, or degrading. This also includes deaths in custody due to negligence by government officials.
Women’s Rights

MAP 12.3 Women’s Political Rights, 2011

- Guaranteed in law but severely prohibited in practice
- Guaranteed in law but moderately prohibited in practice
- Guaranteed in both law and practice
- No data available


Map note: The data presented in this map measure in 2011 women’s political rights to vote, run for political office, hold elected and appointed government positions, join political parties, and petition government officials. Many countries in which rights are guaranteed in law but moderately prohibited in practice have only limited proportions of women (less than 30 percent) in elected or appointed government office.