In this session, we explore the background to Liberalism, the first major paradigm in International Relations. We detail the context of its emergence in the interwar years and identify its major authors, assumptions, strengths and weaknesses. How relevant is this perspective for analyzing contemporary International Relations is the question we seek to address here.
ab1234.yolasite.com
Course content

• The History and Evolution of the International System
• Levels of Analysis and Foreign Policy

**POSITIVIST THEORIES**

**MAINSTREAM APPROACHES**

• Liberalism
• Realism
• Neorealism
• Neoliberalism

**STRUCTURALIST APPROACHES**

• Classical Marxism
• Dependency Theory
• Structural Imperialism
• Worlds System Theory

• International Society Theory (The English School)

**POST-POSITIVIST THEORIES**

• Constructivism
• Postmodernism
• Critical Theory
• Feminism
Readings:  
4. Burchill & Linklater, Chapter 2

At the Caspian Sea University:  
[https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B1_Z5ACd6MBPNGJDSUJLX2t4ZG8?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B1_Z5ACd6MBPNGJDSUJLX2t4ZG8?usp=sharing)


# Theory and Paradigm

## Theory

| a plausible or scientifically acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena | a coherent group of tested general propositions, commonly regarded as correct, that can be used as principles of explanation and prediction for a class of phenomena |

---

Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962):

## Scientific paradigm

| universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of researchers | a philosophical and theoretical framework of a scientific school or discipline within which theories, laws, and generalizations and the experiments performed in support of them are formulated |

---

Alternating periods of normal science = one dominating model revolution = the model undergoes sudden drastic change

IR has never experienced one dominating model → debates

---

*The model of the reversed pyramid*
EVERY TIME U SAYS "PARADIGM"

GOD KILLS A KITTEH
### The Great IR Debates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Alternative names</th>
<th>Alternative contenders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First IR Great Debate</strong></td>
<td>Realism - Liberalism (or Utopian Liberalism or Idealism)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second IR Great Debate</strong></td>
<td>Traditionalism - Behaviouralism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Intra-Paradigm Debate</strong></td>
<td>Neorealism - Neoliberalism</td>
<td>Neorealism - Neoliberalism [- Radical Theories]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Inter-Paradigm Debate</strong></td>
<td>The Third IR Great Debate</td>
<td>The first stage of the Third Great Debate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Third IR Great Debate</strong></td>
<td>The Fourth IR Great Debate</td>
<td>The second stage of the Third Great Debate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## First IR Great Debate: Realism - Liberalism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utopian liberalism</th>
<th>Realist response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1920s</strong>&lt;br&gt;Focus:</td>
<td><strong>1930s-1950s</strong>&lt;br&gt;Focus:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• International law</td>
<td>• Power politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• International organizations</td>
<td>• Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interdependence</td>
<td>• Aggression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cooperation</td>
<td>• Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Peace</td>
<td>• War</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Liberalism ('Pluralism')

- cooperation
- peace
- non-state actors


**Liberalism:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forerunners</th>
<th>John Locke (human nature= selfish → people establish a civil society to resolve conflicts in a civil way)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jean-Jacques Rousseau (social contract)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immanuel Kant ('Perpetual Peace', free republics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adam Smith (economic liberalism)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Immanuel Kant "Toward Perpetual Peace" (1795)

Steven Pinker on Perpetual Peace (Kant) (1min15) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J1qltxF-xFc
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IR vision</th>
<th>Optimistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'How the world <em>ought to be'</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reason, universal ethics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international organizations, law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation = possible despite anarchy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of <em>economic</em> exchanges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States=important, but</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary unit of analysis = the <em>individual</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of <em>non-state actors</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In most cases, <em>institutions</em> are needed to enforce cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Main element | Locke: satisfy their needs → 'social' relations at international level → relative harmony |
Created in American and British universities

18th-19th c. Liberals: rejection of war
↓
preconditions for a peaceful world order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peaceful vision:</th>
<th>Utopian liberals (‘Idealists’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rival states with <strong>common interests</strong></td>
<td>Norman Angell - <em>The Great Illusion</em> (1911)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>economic interdependence → war=obsolete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International law</td>
<td>Alfred Zimmern (contributed to the founding of the League of Nations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>Woodrow Wilson - 'Fourteen Points' (1918) →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International Organizations</strong></td>
<td>Collective security (League of Nations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalism</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International organizations achieve permanent peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilized and peaceful relations</td>
<td>Francis Fukuyama - <em>The End of History and the Last Man</em> (1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-lasting universal peace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Norman Angell (1872-1967)

Alfred Zimmern (1879-1957)
frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal
human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every
friend of mankind, and they have refused to compound their ideals
or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us
to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose
and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the
United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and
frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our
heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we
may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their ut-
most hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when
they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve
and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The
day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day
of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular govern-
ments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of
the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every
public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead
and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes
are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now
or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which
touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people im-
possible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all
against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is
nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and
safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-
loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, de-
terminate its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by
the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.
All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and
for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to
others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace,
therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible
programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there
shall be no private international understandings of any kind but
diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside terri-
torial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be
closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforce-
ment of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and
the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the

Original Fourteen Points speech,
January 8, 1918.

Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924)
Woodrow Wilson - 'The Fourteen Points'

1. Abolition of secret treaties
2. Freedom of the seas
3. Free Trade
4. Disarmament
5. Adjustment of colonial claims (decolonization and national self-determination)
6. Russia to be assured independent development and international withdrawal from occupied Russian territory
7. Restoration of Belgium to antebellum national status
8. Alsace-Lorraine returned to France from Germany
9. Italian borders redrawn on lines of nationality
10. Autonomous development of Austria-Hungary as a nation, as the Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolved
11. Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, and other Balkan states to be granted integrity, have their territories deoccupied, and Serbia to be given access to the Adriatic Sea
12. Sovereignty for the Turkish people of the Ottoman Empire as the Empire dissolved, autonomous development for other nationalities within the former Empire
13. Establishment of an independent Poland with access to the sea
14. General association of the nations – a multilateral international association of nations to enforce the peace (League of Nations)

The League of Nations: Wilson's League for Peace (10min04)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0ldr18Rnho, http://vimeo.com/9989564#at=0 (downloadable mp4)
Utopian liberals:
19th century belief = inevitable progress of mankind
WW I = unprecedented horrors → discredited power politics

doctrine of balance of power = rejected
history ≠ guide to the future
↓
extend citizenship to include membership of the global community of nation states

Collective security: concepts and practices of domestic society → IR
↓
Emergence of IR as a discipline
1918 the first chair in IR at Aberystwyth, University of Wales

Liberalism - Assumptions

states are the most important IR actors
• **impact of ideas** on behaviour, equality, liberty and dignity of the individual
• need to protect people from excessive state regulation

The **individual** = seat of moral value and virtue
People = ends, not means
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Liberalism</strong></th>
<th><strong>Realism</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• ethical principles</td>
<td>• pursuit of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• int. organizations</td>
<td>• states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ideas/economic welfare</td>
<td>• military capabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• int. politics=a struggle for consensus</td>
<td>• int. politics=a struggle for power and prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• democracy</td>
<td>• elitism / aristocracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• free trade</td>
<td>• autarky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• collective security</td>
<td>• balance of power system</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**war:**
war ≠ inevitable
war ≠ product of human nature
war = result of misunderstandings by politicians (WWI)
war = a global problem controlled through collective or multilateral efforts, not national ones
wars frequency = reduced by institutional arrangements

• Secret diplomacy ↓
• Self-determination, statehood
"cooperative anarchy"
- states work together even without a world government
- cooperation → satisfy their needs → power not so important → states matter less

International organizations
- social structure
  - mitigate the problems of anarchy
  - less world conflict

moral values:
- Ideas → shape state institutions → foreign policy
  - fundamental human concern for others' welfare → progress is possible
  - evil human behaviour = product of evil institutions
- compassionate ethical concern for
  - the welfare and security of all people
  - human rights and civil liberties
  - need of inclusion of morality in statecraft
- need of reforms:
international society
↓
eliminate the institutions that make war likely

states
↓
democratic governance and civil liberties
↓
• protect human rights
• help pacify relations among states

**ACTIONS**
Promote:
• **education** → public opinion against warfare
• **free international trade**, NOT economic competition between states
• "open covenants, openly arrived at" (not secret diplomacy)
• **end of interlocking bilateral alliances** and their balance of power
• **self-determination** (nationalities → voting → independent states)
• more **domestic democratic institutions** → peace (Democratic Peace theory)
End of the first great debate:
'utopian' liberals = peace → WW2 → victory of realism

Yet,
Francis Fukuyama - *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992)...

Francis Fukuyama (b. 1952)
Liberalism = very diversified
Other liberal schools:

| Sociological liberalism | Transnational relations:  
| Cross-border flows (at micro-level = individuals)  
| - communications 
| - transactions ↓  
| common values and identities ↓  
| security communities (ex. - the Western security community) | 1950s |
| Karl Deutsch |

| | Addition of the macro-level = human populations:  
| Individual transactions ↓ | 1990s |
| James Rosenau |
better-informed and more mobile individuals
↓
more complex world
↓
states' capacity for control and regulation decreases
↓
State-centric → multi-centric world
↓
An increasingly pluralist world = more peaceful

Liberalism
The billiard ball (realist) model and the cobweb (sociological liberal) model: One country - two images

Transactions stimulate cooperation, peaceful relations

Interdependence liberalism (complex interdependence)

Post-WWII: 'High politics' (security) = no priority over 'low politics'

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye

1970s
(economic and social affairs) coalitions both within governments and across them; NGOs, transnational corporations, international organizations

primary goal of states = welfare, not security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional liberalism (NEO-LIBERALISM)</th>
<th>International institutions, regimes</th>
<th>Robert Keohane</th>
<th>1980s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Liberal intergovernmentalism | A theory of European integration  
- preferences of groups and states  
- interdependence among states | Andrew Moravcsik | 1990s-2000s |

**Liberalism/Neoliberalism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Strengths</strong></th>
<th><strong>Weaknesses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Optimistic view of IR based on cooperation  
Promotes free trade, democracy  
Attempts to avoid war  
Can explain change in the int. system  
Considers social changes | Neglects power politics  
Fails to explain conflict  
Ignores competition within int. institutions  
It is not a cohesive approach (many diverging branches) |

Emphasis on **agency** over structure

\[ \downarrow \]

**Voluntarism** = peace is prevented mainly by bad leaders / governments

---

**LIBERALISM**

---

**A One Minute Guide to International Relations**

**Liberalism vs. Realism**

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9NCwwtxLxcM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9NCwwtxLxcM)
Liberalism is a MENTAL DISEASE!

ab1234.yolasite.com