

## **Module 1 - The Role of Empires**

### **Chapter 2 - The Rise of Modern International Order**

1. In the international sphere, political units are forced to coexist in the absence of overarching authority
2. There is political multiplicity
3. International order - regularized practices of exchange amount political units that recognize each other to be in-depth
4. There have been many regions international order s but only in the past two centuries did a modern international order emerge

#### **Historical International Orders**

1. Some think that international order emerged when communities became sedentary and began to trade, developed specializations, and put themselves at risk of attack
2. These groups then developed processes of diplomacy
3. The majority of academics date the birth of modern to the Peace of Westphalia
4. This peace gave states sovereignty over their territories
5. Criticisms include
  - a. It was not a global agreement, not even a pan-European one
  - b. The gains were relatively slight
  - c. Set limits to the principle of sovereignty
6. Regularized exchange occurs through economic interactions
7. There were ecological transfers of diseases and plants
8. Interdependence is generated when the events in one place have a major effect on others
9. Before the last two centuries, international orders were limited in scope, limited to about 20 miles
10. The pace of change has increased

#### **How Did the Modern International Order Emerge**

1. Until 1800 there were no major differences between living standards across the world
2. There was a rapid turnaround of this in the 19th century called the great divergence
3. Frequency of European interstate wars led to technological, tactical advances, development of standing armies and expansion of permanent bureaucracies
4. European success was predicated on imperialism
5. European powers assumed control over the trade of commodities
6. There were three elements, industrialization, development of rational states, and imperialism

#### **Industrialization**

1. British wave occurred in the early 19th century
2. There was substantial gains in productivity through increased engineering
3. Second wave in Germany and the us happened in the last quarter of the century and had advanced in chemicals, Pharmaceuticals and electronics
4. World trade was increasing at 10% per year and industrialization was occurring elsewhere

#### **Rational States**

1. There were changes in how states were organized

2. Increased control over the use of force in their territory
3. Armies and navies became more national
4. Permanent bureaucracies were created

#### Imperialism

1. Bulk of imperialism occurred during the scramble for Africa
2. Imperialism included direct rule colonies, settler colonies, protectorates, treaty ports, bases and spheres of influence
3. They established partnerships with local power brokers
4. Imperialism involved ecocide and genocide

#### **The consequences of the global transformation**

##### Shrinking the Planet

1. Rome and han china knew of each other and had some trade but their armies never met, they had no diplomatic relations, and trade between them was indirect, in the form of a relay
2. Infrastructure gains resulted in efficiency savings and things like railways, steamships, and the telegraph
3. Steamships were more predictable than windships
4. Railways cut the cost of transportation and standardized time
5. Telegraph use was widespread but uneven
6. Allowed information to be transformed as it happened but reduced the freedom of ambassadors

#### **Intergovernmental organizations in international non-governmental organizations**

1. They covered a range of issue areas
2. Number of groups formed in response to inequities of industrialization

#### **Inequality**

##### Racism

1. Scientific racism was based on an unequal view of world politics
2. Allowed Europeans to demarcate zones within imperial territories and to homogenize diverse indigenous people
3. Global colour line was strengthened by mass immigration from Europe to settler states

##### Economic Exploitation

1. Developed new areas of production and new products
2. They deindustrialized areas like India resulting in the loss of centuries-old skills
3. Created a difference between primary and secondary product producers

#### **Lecture 1**

##### Order

1. Created by groups, regardless of size
2. A group with the capacity to enforce rules on everybody
3. Order is created through generating consent, or creating coercion
4. There is always intergroup competition
5. Agriculture surplus allows populations to increase and group size to grow
6. As groups got larger order became more complex
7. Competition would often cause war
8. Empires emerge because some groups outcompete others and establish larger orders

9. When groups establish order they have to provide public goods
10. Public good - good that all members of the polity can benefit from or enjoy (like standardized measures, or currency)
  - a. Established by authority, but created to benefit members of the order
11. Private good - something that the individual buys and sells in the market
12. To create public goods authorities require power
13. Governance - any action by public authorities in relation to citizens and others
  - a. Important element is the provision of public goods
14. Public goods are easier to supply when everyone agrees on the nature of goods and who should supply them
  - a. When there are different views things get complicated
  - b. Easier to implement in small groups rather than large groups, as large groups have more differences
15. In large organizations like empires, the provision of goods becomes very complex
  - a. Empires have a lot of diversity between language, culture, nation
  - b. They have to try to gain the consent of most people, as this reduces the cost
  - c. Coercion is more expensive
16. The nation-state is now the most important political unit in the political system
17. Throughout history imperial authorities have developed assimilation, or accommodation or both
  - a. Nation-states have mostly adopted assimilation
18. Assimilation - when imperial authorities try to homogenize the people on the territory that they govern
  - a. This creates a sense of imperial unity
19. Accommodation - when imperial authorities decide that there is too much resistance to assimilate, or it is too expensive, so they make a deal that allows the conquered people to retain some of their distinctive qualities
  - a. Grants groups more autonomy even though they might still be ruled
  - b. One example would be the accommodation of francophones in Canada
20. The US is an informal empire as it has a lot of dependents
21. China is very powerful and has some elements of empire
22. These occur throughout history, as they all involve groups forming and having conflict with each other

#### Inca Empire

1. Controlled the western portion of South America
2. It defeated its rivals
3. As it grew it built temples and roads
4. It was a monarchy based on reciprocity, in return for public goods provided by the king subjects gave some of their surpluses to the capital
5. This order lasted for centuries, only collapsed after Spanish colonization

#### Aztec Empire

1. Ruled Mexico
2. Built temples, roads, systems of religion and exchange
3. Based on monarchy

4. Spanish were able to defeat them as the Spanish exploited external divisions
5. They did not have the wheel so transportation was more complex and time-consuming
6. Ruled with a strategy of accommodation

#### Han China

1. One of the world's most powerful empires
2. Spread culture around southeast Asia through the tribute system
3. It was more economically and technologically advanced than Rome
4. It collapsed several times due to internal fighting but collapsed and rose again several times
5. There was trade between the Chinese and Roman empires, but it was through intermediaries on the silk road
6. Took 6 months to travel between the capulets
7. Communication and interaction between them was relatively limited
8. Focused mainly on assimilation

#### Rome

1. Collapsed in 476
2. The order in the region split up into separate political entities

#### Arabs

1. Like Rome, it was very assimilationist
2. Rose in the 7th century
3. Mohammad was instructed to spread the "truth" to the pagans in the region
4. He spread Islam in the Arabian peninsula
5. Caliphs spread it across the middle east, all the way to China, parts of Europe
6. Spread their language, religion, technological innovations

#### Turks

1. Replaced the Arabs in the same area
2. They developed into the ottoman empire
3. Converted to Islam and superseded the Arabs
4. This lasted into the early 20th century

#### Spanish

1. Reached peak in the 16th century
2. Colonized the Americas
3. Assimilationist
4. Spread Spanish, catholicism, legal system, currency, architecture

#### French

1. In 30 years war, the French prevailed
2. Assimilation strategy
3. They still accommodated many groups but were mainly assimilationist
4. This was big after the french revolution and Napoleonic wars
5. They spread the ideas of the french revolution
6. British prevailed at the battle of waterloo and this was decisive
7. Forced the french to defeat, which lead to a shrinking of their forces

#### British

1. British empire was a combination of assimilation and accommodation

2. Spread common law and English to all their territories, but there were a lot of differences in how they treated their colonies
3. During their rule, the industrial revolution occurred
4. This changed the source of power
5. The source of power changed from raw materials to industry
6. This allowed small groups of people to develop technology and power which allowed them to rule large areas of territory
7. This also increases productivity
8. As other groups copied the British they also industrialized

#### Overall

1. At the time there was no global power as there were no global politics
2. Each was most powerful in their region
3. Empires go through cycles of
  - a. Growth - conquering
  - b. Peak - where they have to put in place assimilation and accommodation policies
  - c. Decline - other groups start to gain power, or people get disaffected
4. Have to determine what things are important, and what our priorities are

#### Seminar

1. Watch lecture before zoom sessions
2. No participation grade, but come to session to get questions answered
3. The nation state is the primary political order that we have now
4. Most nation states have established a system of assimilation
5. Nation states want to create public goods as it is an essential part of their power
6. In accommodation there is a lot more negotiation with groups, like the accommodation we have with francophones
7. The US is a strong assimilationist nation

### **Module 2 - From British to American Empires**

#### Lecture - Decline of Empire and the rise of the Nation State

1. Formal empires have ended
2. System dominated by the nation state
3. This has implications for public goods and accommodation and assimilation
4. The current system we have is accommodationist (relatively)
5. This affects how public goods are implemented and achieved
6. War is often the major driver of change in world politics
7. New forms of domination have arisen in the absence of formal empire

#### 19th century was dominated by Britain

1. Provided mainly technology and currency for around the world
2. It had the reserved currency
3. This facilitated trade
4. The dollar is now the reserve currency
5. It spread the English language
6. Empires are the main beneficiaries of public goods
7. During 19th century imperialism is the dominant political form in the international system
8. In 19th century Britain dominated using formal empire

- a. This ended with WW1
- 9. Germany also wanted an empire, but most of it had been carved up
- 10. Inter-imperial competition between imperial powers and germany
- 11. America put an end to the war, supposed to be quick and decisive
  - a. Only when america came it did the war come to an end
- 12. America blamed germany and imperialism
- 13. America was also an imperial power, but came to europe as an anti-imperial power
- 14. WW 14 points had the idea of self-determination
  - a. Not everyone had self-determination, only the europeans had it
  - b. French and British were swayed by this idea
- 15. Ottoman and Germans lost so french and british took their territories
  - a. They called them protectorates, needed to be taught self-determination
    - i. Used this language to satisfy the americans

#### WW2 was decisive

- 1. UN depends on self determination, and these were established after ww2
- 2. This period saw significant progress in decolonization
- 3. Indian independence, but this was bloody
- 4. Decolonization in some areas took much longer
- 5. French decolonized later
  - a. Algeria was bloody, they were considered part of france
  - b. Sub-saharan africa declared relatively peacefully its independence
  - c. France continued to play a role in their ex-colonies
- 6. From WW2-1960s Britain and France lost most of their colonies
- 7. Decolonization was very extended
- 8. Decolonization began after the french revolution in actuality
  - a. This happened in south america
  - b. When america declared independence they liked to think of themselves as anti-colonial, but they started to build their own colonies
- 9. IMF and UN and world bank ideas were centered around idea of the nation state
  - a. Have to be a nation-state to join
- 10. According to international law all states are equal
- 11. In practice hierarchy still exists

#### Cold War

- 1. Cold war divided the war into two block
- 2. Blocks had multiple states within them, some were colonies, and some were influenced through mechanisms of power
  - a. Reward compliance
  - b. Punish non-compliance
- 3. To have these mechanisms you have to have resources that others need
- 4. Formally states can say no, but in practice there is hierarchy as some state have more resources
- 5. Main public goods - arms control, environmental agreements, economic development
- 6. US and Soviet Union could pressure their satellites to agree to something
- 7. Idea that it was easier to sign agreements as people were nearly forced to agree

### Global Governance in the Cold war

1. Agreements were signed in the context of the cold war
2. End of the cold war was transformational as the western world's main rival collapsed
3. Global governance institutions spread after the fall of the USSR as ones in the eastern camp saw this as their chance to have independence
4. China joined these organizations as the cold war ended, which helped china to grow
5. These were accommodation institutions as they all have autonomy domestically, they are only limited in their foreign affairs autonomy

### Virtues and Vices of Empire

1. EU is organized around the idea that the nation-state is not the best way to organize
2. The nation-state may not be permanent, and it may not be the best method
3. Nation-states may also demonstrate oppression
4. Empires can be good as...
  - a. Fewer members that have to agree
  - b. Easier to negotiate
  - c. Easier to enforce
5. Empires can be bad as...
  - a. Can be oppressive
  - b. Can be hierarchical
  - c. Can be non-inclusive - some empires can be inclusive, like the austro hungarian empire, but then people started to define themselves by blood, empires cannot do this, most empires define themselves by principles

### Virtues and Vices of Nation-states

1. More accommodation, more autonomy, costs are shared
2. Difficult to negotiate, difficult to agree on terms, difficult to enforce agreements
3. Different nations have different priorities and different needs
4. Countries have different hierarchies and priorities
5. Problems often transcend national boundaries so agreement between nation-states is needed
6. There are no longer formal empires, but some states are like empires in some ways

### Chapter 3

1. WW1 began in europe but expanded to be a global war
2. It was the first modern industrialized total war
3. WW2 was more total
4. After WW2 the USSR and US emerged as global superpowers
5. Created the legacy of the nuclear war

### **Modern Total War**

1. There were various elements that were catalysts to WW1
2. Countries and individuals fought in WW1 for nationalistic beliefs and patriotic values, believing that the war would be short, victorious and glorious
3. War was total in that whole societies and economies were mobilized
4. Treaty of versailles promised a new international order and european security, but this was not achieved

5. The great depression weakened liberal democracy in germany and led to increased appeal of the nazi party
6. After early german victories at the start of WW2 there was a stalemate

#### The rise and fall of japan

1. After 1919 there were attempts to provide collective security through the league of nations
2. However aggressiveness was met with ineffective responses
3. Japan emerged in 1868 from isolationism to industrial and military modernization and imperial expansion
4. They launched a surprise attack on pearl harbour
5. Defeat of germany came before the atomic bomb was ready, and so it was dropped on japan instead
6. Questions as to what the motivation of dropping it was

#### **End of Empire**

1. It lead to the decrease of the importance of europe
2. The rise in the belief in national self determination

#### Britain

1. Between 1947-1980 49 territories were granted independence
2. British withdrawal from the empire was mainly peaceful
3. In south africa even after britian withdrew apartheid maintained colonialism

#### France

1. France wanted to preserve prestige by maintaining imperial status
2. In french africa france withdrew, but tried to maintain its influence
3. They did not easily withdraw from algeria, with some regarding it as a part of france itself

#### Legacies and consequences - nationalism or communism

1. There was and issue of having adequate political leadership to tackle the complicated problems
2. In asia the relationship between nationalism and marxism was a potent force
3. American leaders embraced a domino theory, if one state fell then others would follow
4. Other forms of hegemony took shape

#### **Cold War**

1. With the end of the cold war the motivations of states other than the US has emerged

#### 1945-1953

1. Onset relefled the failure of the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam
2. Reconciling national self determination with security became a formidable task
3. In eastern europe marxist-lenisit regimes were installed
4. The first major confrontation occurred in berlin in 1948 when the soviets shut off all road and rail access to the west of the city
5. This was resolved in mya 1949
6. NATO was created with the principle of collective self defence
7. While the conflict originated in europe conflicts in asia and elsewhere were also crucial
8. The founding of isreal refected the legacy of the nazi genocide
9. Israel was created by the british and the french, but allied with the US in order to maintain its security



#### 1953-1969

1. Consequence of the Korean War was the buildup of US forces in Western Europe
2. Idea that Communism was a monolithic political entity controlled from Moscow became an American fixation
3. There was a buildup of nuclear forces
4. NATO strategy depended on the US to fight, and to initiate aggression on Europe's behalf
5. Stalin died in 1953
6. Nikita Khrushchev strove to modernize Soviet society and released revolutionist forces in Eastern Europe
7. Khrushchev's policy towards the East combined the search for political coexistence with continued ideological confrontation
8. Crisis over Berlin (1961) and Cuba (1962) marked the closest to direct military confrontation
9. Nuclear dimension of world politics increased with the emergence of other nuclear weapons states
10. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) had states without nuclear commit to not developing them, and the states with nuclear to halt the race

#### 1969-1979

1. Soviet-China relations were deteriorating
2. Detente - between Washington and Moscow
3. Rapprochement - between Beijing and Moscow
4. Detente was associated with Nixon and Kissinger
5. Supported allies, and subverted adversaries
6. Soviet revolutionary movements in the Third World reflected Moscow's confidence in being a superpower and its analysis in that they were turning to Communism
7. The US withdrew from the SALT II treaty, and called for an international boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics

#### 1979-1986

1. The Soviets are acquiring nuclear superiority
2. Reagan's election was a watershed moment, as it reinforced perceptions that he was ill informed and dangerous in nuclear matters
3. Engaged in a "Star Wars" program where they explored the feasibility of space-based defences
4. This period was heightened superpower confrontation, and has been called the second cold war
5. The International Court found the US guilty of violating international law for the CIA's attacks on a Nicaraguan harbour
6. Through the 1980s the Soviets were handicapped by a succession of aging political leaders
7. This changed after Mikhail Gorbachev became premier in 1985
8. He implemented a policy of glasnost and perestroika
9. This released nationalist forces that brought out the collapse of the USSR

10. Created the Sinatra Doctrine - this allowed eastern european countries to govern their own way
11. He pursued nuclear arms control, rather than nuclear disarmament treaties

### Zoom Session

1. Empires all have a core and a periphery
2. The core is able to control/influence the periphery
3. Generally nation states allow more autonomy, but they can also be very oppressive
4. Costs are shared in a nation state
  - a. When a nation-state signs an agreement they usually agree to incur some of the costs of the agreement
  - b. They buy into it - this gives a greater sense of commitment to solving the problem
  - c. In an empire the core decides the cost, so there is no buying in
5. IMF has become more accomodationist rather than assimilationist after the 90s
  - a. Either due to the failure of neoliberalism, or because they dont want countries to go into china's orbit

Which of the three possibilities would be possible to address climate change

1. 1 empire
2. 2 empires
3. 3 or more

## Module 3 - Realism and Liberalism

### Lecture - Realism and Liberalism

#### Character of Morality

1. For realists morality is not universal
2. Powerful groups are able to impose their power on other groups
3. Capitalism exists because powerful capitalists are able to impose it on others
4. There will be political diversity as different groups will have different systems of morality
5. Political systems can be seen as systems of morality as well
6. We have to deal with the world as it is, not as we want it to be
7. They are pessimism
8. There is no overriding power so therefor ewar is always in the background
9. Inequality of power distribution leads to fear
10. Realists think we need to prepare for war
11. They are also pessimistic about human nature

#### Major Thinkers

1. Thucydides
  - a. writing during peloponnesian war
  - b. Between sparta and athens
  - c. Athens became too strong for sparta which led to tension and war
2. Hobbes
  - a. Writing in context of protestan-catholic wars and english civil war
  - b. How does order emerged in context of fighting between groups

- c. Order does not come from god, order comes from a social contract
  - d. Citizens who live in anarchy - poor solitary nasty brutish and short
  - e. To overcome this they need a leviathan, the state
  - f. State resolves anarchy, based on a social contract between subjects and the sovereign
  - g. Sovereign can instil fear so that they are less willing to engage in violence against each other
  - h. This does not exist internationally international sphere exists in anarchy
3. Machiavelli
- a. Early renaissance Italy
  - b. Italy was not unified at the time
  - c. Trying to create a manual to help the prince govern
  - d. Better for the leader to be feared than to be loved
    - i. Base on love, other has freedom to disobey when they no longer love the sovereign
    - ii. Fear is better at ensuring stability
  - e. To generate fear the sovereign must sometimes be cruel
  - f. Survival of the state was the most important objective of the prince
4. Carr
- a. Writing in 20th century
  - b. British scholar
  - c. Utopia reality is his book
  - d. Emphasises that morality is the product of power
  - e. Power is violence
  - f. Violence is not intrinsically bad
  - g. Violence ensures a system of morality stays in place
  - h. Power from below or power from the state isn't bad
  - i. Law threatens us with penalties if we do not obey - this is a form of violence
  - j. Internal logic of realism is moral relativism
  - k. We think of our ancestors as backwards and barbaric
    - i. Our system of morality is not universal, it is the result of systems of power
5. Morgenthau
- a. Writing in the 20th century
  - b. He provides a guide for policy makers on how to implement realist ideas
  - c. Should all follow prudence
  - d. Prudence - being sensitive to costs of a particular policy, avoid grand schemes, focus improving problems at home rather than solving problems overseas, be gradual and modest in the international system
  - e. Avoid ideological crusades - clear realist idea
  - f. Morality is not universal, so cannot impose morality on others
  - g. Groups seek power, write policies in the language of virtue, but they still seek power
6. Waltz
- a. All of these things can occur even if humans are angels

- b. Others assume that power seeking, mistrust, fear is because of human nature
- c. Waltz says that the system itself is on the genderates all of these issues
- d. This is a structural problem, it pressures states to act in certain ways
- e. States have to either adapt to the system or die

#### Implications for Key Concepts

- 1. Orders is morality
- 2. Order flows from power
- 3. We cannot have a universal empire so there is always anarchy
- 4. The ideal is a bi-polar era
- 5. Is we have a system where power is dispersed than public goods and collective action is extremely hard
- 6. One power is not idea as this might generate resistance, suspicious of this system
- 7. Would try to maximise accommodation to avoid moral crusades

#### **Liberalism**

- 1. Believe in universal morality
- 2. Believe in individualism
- 3. Think their ideas are superior to other ideas
- 4. These are modern ideas
- 5. Believe in free trade, human rights, equality and free markets
- 6. Sceptical of groups and collective rights
- 7. These ideas would be enshrined in law in a liberal democratic state
- 8. Scholars have attempted to apply these ideas to an international system
- 9. WW1 was caused by a failure in the balance of power
- 10. Needed new ideas of how to organize international life
- 11. Idea was global governance
  - a. Attempt to overcome anarchy in the international system
- 12. Liberals don't deny existence of anarchy in the international system
- 13. Liberals say that we can overcome this through global governance
- 14. Global governance has to be sponsored by powerful states
- 15. They are in favour of US dominates the US supports these liberal international institutions
- 16. These institutions are based on the idea of sovereign equality

#### Implications for key concepts

- 1. Liberals are more optimistic about about obtaining public goods
- 2. Order is meaningful and good provided it is a liberal order
- 3. Worth spreading liberal ideas as they are universal ideas
- 4. Many liberals are in favour of overthrowing non-liberal governments - also neoconservative view system
- 5. They are strongly assimilationist - promote the ideals of liberalism through global governance or through powerful states
  - a. This will allow us to solve collective action problems
- 6. Utopia is every county is a liberal democracy
- 7. More optimistic about solving things

## **Climate Change**

### Realism

1. Realists begin with observation that states pursue their own interests and power
2. Put in provisions to prevent defection and cheating
3. Reward people for compliance
4. States have hierarchies of priorities
5. The states most important objective is survival
6. Bipolar systems are the most conducive to international agreements
7. Distributional consequences - concerned about relative gains and losses
  - a. Should be equitably distributed

### Liberalism

1. Have faith in global governance institutions as they help to overcome anarchy
2. These help states to overcome egoism and narrow self interest
3. Rather than promising and a reward and threatening punishment they can do this in a way that is softer and more legitimate
4. Liberals are more sensitive to justice
5. Liberals focus of distribution
6. More sensitive to the needs of weaker states
7. Agreements are win-win, not so much about wins and losses
  - a. This comes from how they conceptualize capitalism
  - b. Transactions are mutually beneficial
8. Believe that reason can trump self-interest and that agreements can be made that overcome anarchy
9. If we put in place elements of order we can overcome self interest and arrive a a solution that is collectively and mutually beneficial

## **Module 4 - Social Constructivism**

### Lecture

1. A theory of politics and human behavior - we are talking about constructivism between states
2. Some implications for non-state actors

### Power

1. Realism - power has an objective fixed existence, relatively unchanged through time
  - a. Power in the past is the same as now
  - b. Powerful states have advanced economies, and more weapons
2. Constructivist - power is not objective, it is determined by culture, identity and these determine relationships
  - a. Hobseann, lockean and kantian relationships

### Interests

1. Realists - States priority is security
  - a. This has always been the case
  - b. Security is survival of the state
  - c. Power determines morality
    - i. System of rules
2. Constructivists - interests can change

- a. Humans are distinct because they have culture, language and symbols
- b. These things determine reality
- c. Ideas and morality can change over time

#### Materialism

- 1. Liberalism - economic interests determine behavior
  - a. Anarchy can be overcome through liberal ideas and reforms

#### Interests

- 1. Liberals - idealists in a limited sense
  - a. Interests are the accumulation of wealth, or autonomy
- 2. Constructivists - total idealists - ideas determine everything
  - a. Identities will determine different interests
  - b. Interests are not accumulation of wealth or autonomy
  - c. Interests are determined by culture

#### Human Nature

- 1. Liberal - more limited view
  - a. All want to trade, all want liberty
  - b. If history takes its course then it will move towards a liberal society
- 2. Constructivist - flexible

#### Morality

- 1. Liberal morality
  - a. Based on idea that certain political forms are morally superior in the objective sense
  - b. Liberal societies are more advanced, others are behind
  - c. Morality is not reducible to social constructive
  - d. This morality is objective

#### Key Variables

- 1. Focus on identities - these can be any type, none are more important than others
- 2. These ideologies constitute the interests and political behaviors of the state
- 3. Empirics - how do we identify the ideologies
  - a. Collect evidence from discourses and texts
- 4. Identity transcends political party affiliation
- 5. Ideology can also matter for determining actions
- 6. Example of democratization
  - a. Most liberal states promote democratization
  - b. Realist - look at interests of powerful states, democratization maximises security
  - c. Liberal - it is universally good for all people, they are behind if they have not democratized
  - d. Constructivist - democracy reflects the culture of certain states, it is not objectively superior
    - i. Ask why are they pressured to democratize
    - ii. States want legitimacy, and the idea of being a democracy brings this
- 7. Example of the Cold War
  - a. Realists - eternal struggle for power between groups

- b. Liberal - liberalism is superior, so the US is superior, the US winning was almost pre-determined, many countries became liberal after the USSR collapsed so this further proves the theory
- c. Constructivist - look at how the ideas constituted the ideas of the leaders, the war was only violent because of the hostile identities, possible for ideas to not be hostile even though they have different content
  - i. Gorbachav reduce hostility

#### Social theory and Substantive Theory

- 1. Constructivism - morally agnostic
- 2. Clash of civilizations - clash between the west, islamic world, and China
  - a. Core of civilization is religion
  - b. China - confucianism
  - c. Islamic - islam
  - d. Clashes will be based on civilizational interests
- 3. Realism does not make claims about progression, have little say about what system is superior
- 4. Liberals are not morally agnostic - some ideas are superior to others
  - a. Provides a framework for action that is moral in character

#### Assimilation and Accommodation

- 1. Constructivism - assimilation and accommodation preference depends on context
- 2. Epistemic communities are not state actors and thus they are substrate actors

#### Constraints

- 1. Powerful states have different preferences
- 2. There can be technological gaps that prevent problems being solved
- 3. Material costs and benefits - take into account how people's lives will be affected
- 4. Amount of certainty in the solution - if the solution is actually going to work, how bad is the problem
- 5. Domestic constraints - leaders cannot ignore the public too much
- 6. Distributional consequences - some places will feel the effects more
- 7. Hierarchy of priorities - not everyone's greatest priority is the same
- 8. Historical legacies - might impinge on a state's ability to address the problem

#### Comparing Major theories on Climate change

- 1. Constructivism
  - a. Changing identities and epistemic communities have a large role in transmitting information about the problem, and its solutions across borders
  - b. They can socialize other groups
  - c. Invite experts into universities so they can learn techniques
    - i. Return to their country disseminate information
- 2. Realism
  - a. Bipolar or imperial order is better
  - b. Power and hierarchy matters here
  - c. Find an agreement among big powers and pressure other states to comply
  - d. States are offered compliance rewards, and punished for cheating

## **Module 5 - Critical Theory**

### **Lecture**

#### **Marxism**

1. Witness the external reality
2. Bases between bases and superstructure
3. External reality is what you see
4. Fundamental or causal reality if capitalism and the division of classes by production
5. Working class vs bourgeoisie
6. For liberals these relationships are harmonious and both gain something
7. For marxists there interests are in conflict and zero-sum and this is maintained through power inequalities
8. Ideas and morality are influenced by economic inequalities
9. Marxism emerged to explain things domestically, but they apply internationally as well
10. Value is something that exists in an economy
11. Workers are being exploited and coerced because they cannot walk away or they will starve

Collective inter-state action - what is it and when is it needed

1. Any problems that transcends international borders
2. Cannot be solved by a single state because of spill-over effects
3. Always involves distribution of costs and benefits of actions and inaction
4. Always involves practical and moral considerations

Marxism and IR

1. Lenin - imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism
2. Marx wrote mainly about domestic things
3. Wallerstein - divided countries into three broad groups
  - a. Core - most developed in terms of capitalism, requires advanced production mechanism, has stronger states and can use to coerce weaker states
  - b. Semi-periphery - mix of both
  - c. Periphery = underdeveloped in terms of capitalism, produces primary goods
  - d. Power inequality creates many problems
4. Cox and neoliberal order
  - a. International capitalism is held in place by coercion and consent
  - b. Different parts of civil society legitimise capitalism
5. Economic inequality is the most important cause of problems in the world
6. As long as capitalism remains in place capitalists will seek profits in the expense of solving issues
7. Practical constraints to solving issues
8. Countries will not sacrifice their development for other global issues
9. Wait for crisis to transform the system

#### **Feminism**

1. Comes in constructivist, liberal and marxist
2. Liberalism is the most popular in the international order

Feminism Applied to IR

1. Liberal feminism is most influential



2. Does not challenge the basis of the international order - capitalism, democracy ext
3. This form of social organization provides opportunities to solve collective action problems
4. Think that the system can currently be reformed
5. Gender equality can help to fix collective action problems
6. Different issues disproportionately affect girls
7. Endorse rules and quotas for gender representation
8. Might say that women have specific skills that men don't have
9. Enhancing representation of women will produce better outcomes

#### Similarities and Differences

1. Realists - inequality can generate problems in particular contexts
  - a. Bipolar or unipolar system is most ideal, even though there is inequality there
2. Marxism - inequality is based on capitalism and until capitalism is removed equality will never be found
3. Similar in that they all have a normative slant - they talk about what the world should be
  - a. They all have value judgments and ideas of what utopia will be
4. Practical and moral consideration for all approaches
  - a. Marxism - capitalism generates problems, but it is impossible to overthrow global capitalism, some countries have adopted some aspects of capitalism because they think it will help them develop, moral consideration is that people cannot tell other countries what to do
  - b. Realism - how possible is it to re-create a bi-polar system, how moral is it for two countries to tell everyone what to do

### **Module 7 - Global Order: The Cold War**

#### Lecture

#### **Background Conditions**

1. Important for next assignment
2. Cold war is important
3. Primary organizing principle for international relations for almost half a century
4. Bipolar order that was mostly peaceful in terms of great power war
5. This was because of mutually assured destruction
6. Planetary in scope - encompassed every country, countries were divided
7. People's political consciousness was organized along this existential struggle
8. Started and ended in Europe

#### WW2

1. Cold war started in WW2
2. USSR and the US were allies against the Nazis
3. Conflict between Russia and Germany was more consequential
4. Russia by itself could not defeat the Nazis
5. Hitler wanted to defeat the Russian state
6. Defeated the Nazis, were helped by the British and US
  - a. This alliance was created due to an external enemy
7. Belief that a cooperative global order could be built after WW2 due to the solidarity seen in the fight against the Nazis
  - a. This didn't happen, they became rivals

## 8. Divisions of beliefs of who is at fault for the cold war

### Eastern Europe

1. Main difference between USSR and US
2. For Russia that part of the world counts to be autonomy as they needed a security corridor
3. Have a sense of insecurity as they are surrounded by enemies and have been repeatedly invaded
4. Stalin wanted to ensure that Eastern Europe couldn't be used as transit routes to invade Russia
5. Russians liberated Eastern European countries from German domination
6. The winner usually determines the outcome of these countries - so they had possession of these lands

### Yalta Conference

1. Occurred as the war was coming to an end
2. FDR, Churchill and Stalin met to discuss the contours of the new world order
3. Carved sphere of influence among themselves
4. At Yalta Poland was promised autonomy
5. Britain represented Poland's interests at the conference
6. Stalin agreed that Poland would be allowed to have free elections
7. Stalin realized that an independent Poland would be hostile to Russian interests
  - a. So the Russians broke their promise
8. Russians installed communist governments in Poland
  - a. They did this in various countries to varying degrees of success
9. Yugoslavia liberated itself, so it was an independent state, but it was still communist

### Greece

1. Divided between communists and royalists
2. Stalin agreed that Greece would remain in British sphere of influence
3. Britain was the anti-communist actor in Greece
  - a. Problem is it was bankrupted in WW2 so could not finance anti-communist activities around the world
4. The US then stepped in
  - a. Truman decided the US would have an active role in anti-communism
5. In Greece the communists were mostly locally driven, did not have Russian support
6. Could have defeated the royalists and taken power
7. For the US this was unacceptable as they feared it was a domino issue
8. Truman convinced Congress to finance anti-communist activities in Greece and Iran, and this became the model for the whole world

### Marshall Plan

1. Western Europe was devastated by WW2
2. There were strong communist parties in Western countries
3. Americans believed that communist parties were popular due to how impoverished they were
  - a. This delegitimized the authorities
4. Promoted economic development in Western Europe to blunt popularity of communist parties

5. After it was implemented growth took off and remained high for 30 years
6. Countries got a lot of money - but had to buy american goods, and had to allow americans to inspect their public finances
7. Americans invited all countries to join, communist ones didn't join as they saw it as a way to consolidate power in communism
8. Yugoslavia did take money from the marshall plan

#### Overall

1. Ideapad finance countries around the world started in europe and then spread
2. Finance country to consolidate americans dominance
3. These policies were under the idea of containment
4. This was america's foreign doctrine during the cold war
5. Fighting communism by strengthening non-communists, even if they were violent murderous parties
6. This could have been prevented if they could have given the soviets a buffer
7. The US wanted security through international institutions that were liberal
8. Americans were unwilling to accept the corridor, and if they had they could have negotiated within it

#### German Question

1. Germany was why the cold war emerged in the first place
2. Germany was deemed to be a threat
3. Victors occupied germany, and colonized it
4. France, britain and the US got the west, russia got the east
5. German officials had domain over local matters, but did not have domain over important matters or foreign policy
6. This was the fault line of the cold war in europe
7. Question of reparations - germans were held responsible for the damage that they caused
8. Russia wanted reparations
9. Russia demanded the industrial equipment that they had
10. They had been destroyed by the war and were being fed by the americans
11. Reparations would have meant that the US would have been funding these reparations
12. Found a compromise when the americans allowed certain amounts of industrial equipment to go east
13. 2 important institutions emerged to deal with the german question
  - a. European security system (now NATO)
    - i. Ensured that germany could not have a military
    - ii. Joined NATO so an american commander could determine security policy
    - iii. Committed countries to collective defence
    - iv. External justification was the russian threat
    - v. Attack on one is an attack on all
    - vi. Warsaw pact came after this as a response to it
  - b. Coal and steel community (now EU)
    - i. They removed the power from germany, gave it to france and britain
    - ii. This was later expanded to the entire continent

iii. Emerged due to a fear of germany

14. These organizations were met with counter alliances which heigned hostility

### **Was the cold war inevitable?**

Lipmann and the realist tradition

1. Believed that the truman doctrine was a mistake
2. Believed that the thought that communism everywhere was a threat
3. Every case should be determined case by case
4. Once something is framed as a global ideological struggle negotiations become difficult
5. Believed that the truman doctrine was one of the causes of the cold war
6. If they didn't see them as an evil they could have bargained

Churchill and the Finnish Model

1. Agreed with tuman that communism was evil and needed to be challenged
2. Sensitive to the realities of power and interest
3. Understood that the russians had been frequently invaded and had interests
4. The americans refused to implement the finnish model
5. This model might have satiated the russians somewhat

Wallace and the populust position

1. He was a populist
2. He didn't believe in forign interventionism
3. Did Not believe that it was justified to spend resources to turn other countries into democracies
4. US needed to take care of its problems at home
5. Similar themes were discussed by trump
6. Non-interventionist populist mindset
7. Lost against truman in the election

Dulles and the Jewish position

1. Position that truman adopted

End of the cold war

1. Occured in europe
2. Poland was one of the reasons the cold war ended
3. Polish intellectuals had a role in subversive activity
4. John paul the polish pope encouraged catholicism in poland, where communism was an atheist ideology
  - a. Encouraged a catholic revival in poland
  - b. When he visited his country the grounds were enormous
  - c. Had more sway than the communist authorities
  - d. Encouraged bravery against authorities
  - e. Highlighted that the edifice of the soviets was weak
5. When gorbachev came to power the weakness of communism came to light
6. They overstretched themselves and bankrupt themselves
7. Arms race - soviet union could not keep up
8. Gorbachav tried to negotiate arms reductions because they couldn't keep up with the us
9. Glasnost - policy of openness
10. Perestroika - more local autonomy

11. Had these policies to get widespread participation, but this released powers they could not control
12. When it opened up countries voted for independence
13. The betrayal
  - a. Soviets state was bankrupt but could still intervene in neighboring countries if they wanted to
  - b. He didn't interfere as he was promised that nato would not spread its borders to russia
    - i. Countries bordering russia would not be invited to join NATO
    - ii. They broke their promise

### **Module 8 - Paper Workshop**

#### **Lecture**

1. Vietnam war had hugely important consequences
2. Paper asks you to answer theoretical questions about mcnamara and the cold war

#### Reasons for the exercise

1. Humans don't neatly fit theories
2. Theories are simplifications, and are tools that allow us to place order on reality
3. Theories say that a small part of the reality causes the events to occur as they did
4. Theory is not truth, it is a tool
5. The state is not always a unitary actor
6. Deep state - an underlining bureaucracy that underlines real power
  - a. Suggests that the surface level that we see is not the real source of power
  - b. This may or may not be true
7. Helps us to see how international politics often occurs in the heat of the moment under crazy levels of complexity
  - a. Post analysis of decisions does not necessarily reflect what we would have done at the time
8. Theory often assumes that leaders act in predictable ways but often there's a certain randomness due to decisions being made in the heat of the moment
9. Stated motivations and actual action - some have sincere motivations, but their actions are not always viewed that way
  - a. Mcnamara seems like a normal guy with good intentions, but he was the head a of a very brutal and deadly vietnam war
10. Liberals and constructivists are more likely to look at motivations, whereas realists do not address individual motivations, and instead think everyone is driven by anarchy of the international order
11. Thinking theoretically - looking for patterns and excluding what it not relevant

#### Ambiguous lessons

1. Ex. lesson 7 - belief and seeing are often wrong - marxists but other theorists will address this
2. Theories want us to identify mechanisms
3. Ex. Lesson 6 - get the data - many theories address this

#### Less ambiguous lessons

1. Lesson 2 - rationality will not save us - criticism of realism as they believe that humans are rational
2. Lesson 5 - proportionality should be a guideline of war - this is an ethical viewpoint, so it challenges realism, this theory is more in line with marxism and liberalism
3. Lesson 9 - doing evil - idea that comes from machiavelli
4. Lesson 11 - human nature - wars have occurred for thousands of years

#### Important considerations

1. There is no right answer, rather need to develop a convincing answer
2. Need to research the cold war and the vietnam war and McNamara
  - a. Look at how realists, liberals, constructivists interpret the war
  - b. Are his lessons or framework consistent with these theories
  - c. Not every single lesson is going to fit into one framework, decide what he fits in overall to the theories
3. Learn to distinguish between classical, and neo versions of theories
4. Consider what policy lessons flow from your theoretical analysis
  - a. Connect theory with polutct
  - b. How do different theorists understand the war
  - c. Hard to argue that winning in vietnam maximised the security of the US, therefore it wasn't rational from a realist persepective
5. Compare and contrast theories without mixing them up

### **Module 9 - Cold War in Asia**

#### Lecture

1. Vietnam war precedes and continues after mcnamara
2. He was not the only actor, and not necessarily the most important cator
3. Cold war dynamics in asia were different than elsewhere
4. Ww2 was a fight against facism
  - a. In europe this was italy and Germany
  - b. In asai this was against Japan
5. Countries that japan colonized, including vietnam looked for external support to defeat japanese colonialism

#### China

1. Japanese colonialism was extremely bloody
2. Japan was more technologically advanced, china was poor
3. Left enduring scars on the national consciousness
4. China was divided between nationalists and communists
  - a. Communist - chairman mao
5. Nationalists wanted to bring china into the western camp against communism
6. Communists and nationalists put aside their differences to get rid of japanese colonialism and they were supported by Russia and the us
7. Once japanese facism was defeated they then had to try to work out their differences
8. This is where cold war divisions came to a head, lead to a civil war
  - a. Couldn't work out their differences because they dont recognize eachother legitimacy

9. America wanted them to have a unified government that could resist power from moscow
  - a. Americans supported the nationalists
10. In the civil war the communists prevailed
11. Mao had a huge role in this victory
12. Nationalists fled to taiwan and called themselves china
13. Mao unified the mainland - this was the beginning of modern china
14. For the west this was traumatic, as they tried to orchestrate the nationalist victory
  - a. Believed there was a global struggle between capitalism and communism
  - b. Recognised that china was going to be a major power
  - c. They had a misunderstanding about the nature of communism
15. The US did not recognize china initially, whereas other european countries recognized reality and recognized china and the mainland
16. Dispute between nationalists and communists this dispute has never ended
17. The US is committed to the defense of taiwan at least in theory
18. This occurred right after ww2

#### Korea

1. It was also a victim of japanese colonialism
2. Their resistance was supported by externalities
3. Yalta conference
  - a. Decided that korea would be an independent state
  - b. To ensure this transition they needed external actors
  - c. Russia went to the north, US went to the south
4. Tried to organize elections, proposal made by the UN
  - a. The north and the south were divided between those that were pro-western, and those that were pro-communist
5. Leader of the south was Syngman Rhee - wanted to westernize south korea
6. Kim Sung - communist
7. These two leaders agreed to have communists, but they didn't recognize the legitimacy of the other
  - a. Both wanted unification under one regime, their regime
  - b. Appealed to external actors for their agenda
8. The korean civil war began
  - a. America lead a coalition against north korea
  - b. North koreans supported by soviet union, and later by china
  - c. At one point they conquered the north, but then the chinese entered, and even occupied parts of the south
9. War ended where it began, at the 38th parallel
  - a. Division has been there ever since
  - b. America committed to the defence of south korea and to ensure that the armistice was continued
10. America became more committed to defence
  - a. Committed to defence of new zealand, australia and the philippines
  - b. Rhetoric about protecting liberty

- c. Idea of spreading liberty was something that pursued by presidents until the nixon administration
  - d. Ways to support were through subversions, and military assistance
11. Korea involved a full military commitment

#### Vietnam

1. Also subject to japanese colonialism, but before it was subject to french colonialism
2. The french colonies vietnam in the 19th century as they produced a lot of rubber
3. French created a class of locals that were francophone, that were loyal to paris
4. Many people opposed french colonization in vietnam
5. Ho Chi Minh - he wanted vietnamese independence
  - a. At the paris peace conference he tried to convince leaders to give vietnam independence
  - b. He was multilingual and was very knowledgeable
  - c. He made a strong case against french colonialism, but it failed
  - d. Britain and france were fearful that it would set a precedent
  - e. Americas promotion of self determination after ww1 was for countries in europe, not countries like vietnam
  - f. His attempt failed
6. WW2 was another opportunity for this fight as french were defeated by japanese, occupied by britain, british gave it back to the french
7. Monolithic communism - idea that all communist movements around the world were being operated by moscow
8. Domino theory - if you let one country fall, its neighbours will then fall and eventually everyone will fall and it will create a global communist empire
9. Hysteria that was projected outwards onto vietnam
10. When the french could no longer sustain the fight against communism americans had to do something
11. Initially they opposed colonialism of vietnam as they thought of themselves as being an anti colonial power
12. Eventually this gave way to the communist hysteria
13. Believed that if they allowed vietnam to fall then it would lead to more dominos falling
14. Inverted initially with just money and advisors
15. Those that use guerrilla tactics can win against a stronger opponent through engaging in raids
  - a. They draw people into an attack where they will kill civilians and lose popularity
16. America could not prevail in vietnam
17. Country was divided between the north and south, north was communist, south was lead by a pro-western and american regime
18. America wanted to support its allies in the south but the southern regime was not powerful outside of the cities
19. Kennedy escalated because he was motivated by the idea of fighting for liberty around the world
20. Under kennedy america's support increased massively



21. Ho chi min knew that he would prevail eventually as they were willing to bear very high costs, and they were able to take place in guerilla warfare
  - a. Americans didn't have the training to fight in this kind of war for a very long time
22. Kennedy was assassinated and he was replaced by lyndon johnson
  - a. He had a very expensive internal policy - policy to have racial and economic equality in america
  - b. Wanted to focus his resources on domestic problems - soviets were criticism theme americans for their extreme poverty
  - c. His domestic program was tied to his international, but it was extremely expensive
  - d. He did not want to be entangled in vietnam, but inherited it
23. Johnson wanted an honourable withdrawal, leave the south behind independent
  - a. North were unwilling to negotiate this as they knew that time was on their side
  - b. He tried to impose worse conditions in the north believing that this would change their mind
  - c. Bombed the north, as well as cambodia and laos as they were being used as transit routes
  - d. He thought this bombing would force them to the negotiating table
24. In the end the americans still did not win
25. Tet offensive
  - a. Occurred in 1968
  - b. North vietnamese attacked the south
  - c. Attacked in a typical military fashion
  - d. They were repulsed by the americans
  - e. Americans were able to repulse and end the attack, and kill tens of thousands of vietnamese, while they only lost 2 thousand
  - f. This changed the debate in the US
  - g. More people recognized that vietnam was a lost cause and the effort was not worth it
  - h. Protests occurred against the war
26. Nixon
  - a. He had a difficult time as there was a lot of opposition to the war
  - b. Clear that the war was based on lies
  - c. Gulf of tonkin incident - scholars now say that this was a lie
    - i. North vietnam did not attack them
    - ii. Johnson used this as a motivation to escalate the war
  - d. War became de-legitimized
  - e. More people opposed it and questioned the ideas that are generated communist hysteria
  - f. Rather than it being an example of moscow orchestrating revolution it was a local independence movement
  - g. Nixon inherited this mess - unwinnable war, domestic policy demanding a withdrawal, but also needing to find a good solution
  - h. Rapid withdrawal would mean a communist win which would be humiliating

- i. The north at a certain point made an offer that was acceptable
  - i. Involved preserving the south's independence
  - ii. Required an american presence to enforce
  - iii. Because of domestic opposition nixon did not have the legitimacy to give enough resources to preserve legitimacy of the south
  - iv. South vietnam was left on its own and the communists invaded and conquered it and created an independent state
  - v. This occurred in 1975
- 27. The loss of vietnam lead to the vietnam syndrome - didnt want to intervene as they didn't want to lose
- 28. ???? when this was filmed, they withdrew and it was humiliating ???

Some theoretical comments

- 1. Realists are skeptical of moral crusades
  - a. Sensitive to costs and benefits of particutal action
  - b. They are amoral - don't believe that one system is better than the other
  - c. Focused on security, want to enhance the security and the survival of the state
  - d. Ask question if the costs are worth it
  - e. If costs are high, then it may not be worth it to pursue that objective
- 2. Vietnam was part of this moral crusade
  - a. Realists would have been susceptible of this policy
  - b. Might have been more amenable to the idea that if they are in a large conflict with a major power, then maybe small wars would have weakened the power
  - c. Argue that when vietnam was unified the US's security remained the same
  - d. The communists in this were independent from the soviet union - they were not sent from moscow
- 3. Liberalism and moral crusades
  - a. More interested in these sorts of conflicts if it is deemed plausible that in so doing you will spread liberalism - capitalism and democracy
  - b. Evidence that some leaders wanted to spread liberalism
  - c. For liberalism this promotion is a legitimate policy
- 4. Constructivism
  - a. Look at how actors socially construct reality
  - b. Look at symbols, speeches, text
  - c. Look at how these social constructions motivate political action
  - d. Had the belief been more accurate - if the belief that vietnam was a local conflict they may have not intervene
  - e. How is reality constructed and why people believe them
  - f. Americans saw what happened in europe - stalin did occupy eastern europe
    - i. Occupied many countries and violated promises made at yalta conference
    - ii. Believed that this is their approach to around the world
- 5. Marxism and the expanse of industry
  - a. What industries benefited from these industries, did these industries promote the war

- b. They look at the profit motive to war
  - c. Look at how the goal was to spread capitalism to make larger markets for your goods
- 6. Feminism and hegemonic masculinity
  - a. How hegemonic masculinity may of prevented a more accurate appraisal of what was going on
  - b. If there was a group of men each wanting to prevail and not look at the costs of their actions
  - c. Feminists look at the damage caused by their actions
  - d. Men had difficulty compromising as they believed in masculinity in international relations
  - e. If more women were present the interpretation would have been different and the outcome would have been different

### **Module 10 - Cold War in Latin America**

#### **Lecture**

#### History of American Relations with Latin America

1. Continuities with before cold war, and the cold war
2. Question of if the ideological struggle was the main determinant
3. Monroe doctrine
  - a. Idea that the americas was an american protectorate
    - i. Washington would depend these parts of the world from european encroachments
    - ii. After the defeat of napoleon europe returned to monarchy, and a new political structure called the holy alliance emerald
      1. Austria, france, UK, Russia and Prussia
      2. These countries had colonies, or wanted to colonize more
      3. After the defeat of napoleon many countries that were colonies of spain declared independence and became republics similar to america
      4. Re-establishment of monarchies in europe was viewed to pose a threat to south america
  - b. Monroe announced that europe's powers cannot intervene in the americas to overturn the new republics
  - c. Initially declared through idealism
  - d. Idealistic noble policies become corrupted by power - used as an instrument to enforce americas rule in the areas - it was a form of neocolonialism
  - e. 19th century was an era of american expansionism
4. War with Mexico
  - a. Territories of mexico included several states, these were sparsely populated
  - b. Mexican authorities wanted to cultivate the land, and invited americans to settle there
  - c. This settlement wanted more independence
  - d. This was a pretext for war
  - e. Mexico lost the war as they were militarily inferior

- f. The US gained these territories
- 5. America became a formal colonial power when it gained Spain's colonies
- 6. War with Spain
  - a. Spain had been defeated by the French, and then it slowly declined
  - b. As other countries were industrializing, Spain remained mostly agrarian
  - c. When Spain colonized Cuba it assimilated it, and made it a province not a colony
  - d. The Philippines, Guam were colonial possessions
  - e. American and Spain went to war over the bombing of the ship Maine in the Havana harbour - this is the official line, but it is widely disputed
  - f. The ship did explode and this was used as a pretext for war
  - g. The Spanish were quickly defeated and America obtained Spanish territories, including Cuba
- 7. This was the beginning of the struggle between Cuba and Washington
  - a. US did not colonize Cuba, but made sure the people in power were friendly to the US
  - b. Many locals in Cuba who wanted independence from Spain appealed to Washington for their purposes
  - c. This is a recurring pattern - like the Cold War became tangled within local conflicts

## Cold War

- 1. Guatemala
  - a. Was a poor country and declared independence from Spain, American interest invested and were protected by the US
    - i. This generated a huge amount of inequality
  - b. Elections - one candidate wanted to reduce inequality through nationalizing a fruit company owned by American investors
    - i. Owners said no
    - ii. R Benz offered compensation, but they refused
    - iii. Owners appealed to Washington
  - c. CIA intervened through training and supporting R Benz's opponents
  - d. R Benz was replaced with a right wing dictator who ruled with an iron fist
  - e. There was civil conflict in the country
  - f. This occurred during Eisenhower
- 2. Brazil
  - a. Washington intervened through a kind of Marshall Plan - injection of economic stimulus
  - b. When Kennedy was president this aid was motivated by progressive goals
    - i. On condition of elections, to reduce poverty
  - c. Provided 20 billion dollars
  - d. This created a dependency relationship
  - e. Brazilian firms were encouraged to have interactions with American firms
- 3. Cuba
  - a. Washington engaged in a form of neocolonialism here
  - b. US occupied Guantanamo Bay, but not the whole country
  - c. Mechanism of power was economic penetration

- d. Helped to ensure that friendly governments were in place
  - e. Created deprivation and inequality
  - f. This fueled the rise of Fidel Castro
    - i. He helped to motivate the Cuban people for a revolution
  - g. He overthrew the Washington supported regime
  - h. Wasn't immediately clear that he was going to be a communist, he originally spoke the language of patriotism and self-determination
  - i. After he took power he wanted to distribute resources to the poor, this meant nationalizing major industries
    - i. Problem is many Americans were involved in these industries
    - ii. They refused, so they were expropriated
  - j. This began the period of hostility, and this has never been fully resolved
4. Missile Crisis
- a. Washington had strategic missile superiority as it had missiles in Italy and Turkey that could launch missiles
  - b. Khrushchev wanted strategic parity - and used Cuba
  - c. Cuba went into the Soviet Union's camp as they needed aid that the Soviets would provide
  - d. They started installing nuclear missiles on Cuban soil
  - e. When Kennedy discovered this it was deemed to be unacceptable, and he created a blockade on the ships transporting these missiles
    - i. This was an act of war, as Khrushchev's actions were within the scope of international law
  - f. Moscow would have been within its rights to open fire
  - g. Kennedy went further, if the missiles are not dismantled, Americans would invade Cuba, he mobilized soldiers to do this
    - i. This could have launched a nuclear war
    - ii. This was a game of chicken
  - h. Kennedy gave a dramatic speech where he prepared the country for war
  - i. Khrushchev agreed to remove weapons if
    - i. Promise not to invade Cuba
    - ii. Remove weapons from Turkish soil
  - j. Kennedy conceded to these demands
  - k. While these negotiations were happening Castro thought invasion was imminent, and he demanded that the Soviets launch a preemptive strike
    - i. Raises questions about how rational people are
    - ii. He was not showing rationality as he was willing to risk the extinction of the human race
  - l. They diffused the conflict in the end - stakes were extremely high
5. Collapse of the USSR and Neoliberalism
- a. When the USSR collapsed, many countries lost their sponsor
  - b. This caused a major shortage of goods and food
  - c. Forced countries to open up their economies a bit

- d. Because of the collapse countries sought help from neoliberal organizations like the IMR and world bank
  - i. Gave loans, but had neoliberal conditions
  - ii. This worsened the situation in many countries

#### Differences and Similarities with Europe and Asia

1. In latin america most cold war policy was
  - a. Washington would support locals that were supporting of its agenda through sending CIA agents to train collaborators
  - b. Major economic investment - tool of influence
  - c. Aid from the state
2. Didn't have to invade to overthrow a government, just use policies of subversion
3. This occurred to some extent in europe and asia as well
  - a. America financially supported anti-communist groups
4. Local groups could exploit the US - just had to play the role of anti-communist
5. In this process america would support many anti-communist dictatorships
  - a. Even as it proclaimed to support liberty and self-determination
  - b. Some leaders believed their own rhetoric - case that kennedy was sincere
  - c. Other leaders were blatantly dishonest
6. Intervening in other countries often creates more problems than it solves
  - a. Constructivists - identities and ideas, distance are often divorced from concrete reality
  - b. Realists - attempt to maximise power, each case should be examined based on its merits, opposed to moral crusades, look at costs and benefits, look to maximise your security at an acceptable cost