Paper: Theories of International Relations and World History

Lesson : Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Lesson Developer: anuranjita Wadhwa

College/Department: Bharti College, University of Delhi
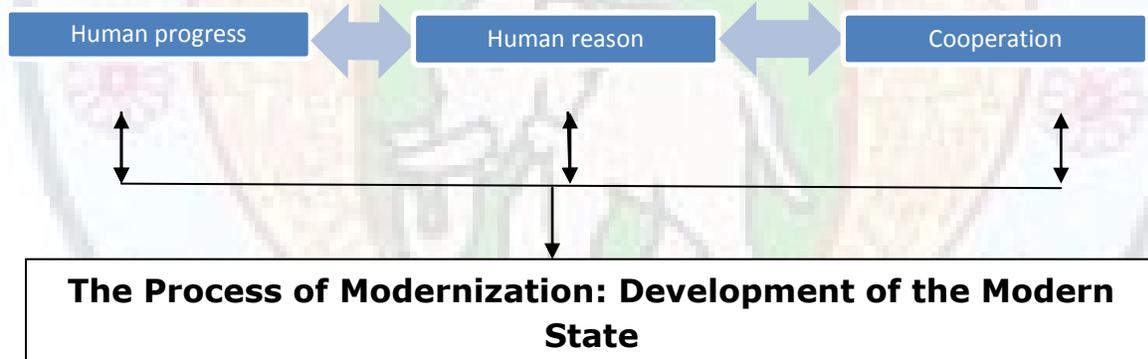
Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

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Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Introduction

Realism with its chief concern on power politics amongst the states defends dominance strategy to promote national interest. In contrast liberalism with its optimistic approach towards the solution of a problem through the collective efforts of the states believes in the attainment of perpetual peace amongst the states through cooperation.

1 **Core Ideas of Liberalism**

With modernization and the emergence of modern nation states in the seventeenth century, the buzzword has been progress in every sphere of human life. Modernization demands progress in every aspect of human life which in turn enhances the scope of cooperation domestically as well as internationally. Human being faculty of reasoning when applied to the international arena results in greater cooperation amongst the states. Liberalism has been closely associated with it since then.

| Human progress | ⟷ | Human reason | ⟷ | Cooperation |

The Process of Modernization: Development of the Modern State

Source :

Jackson &Sorensen,(eds)2014,Introduction to International Relations(5th edition),UK,Oxford University Press.(self created)

1.1 Classical Liberal Thinkers

The core concern of liberalism since John Locke has been in individual progress. Human beings are rational creatures possessing rights and State is a constitutional entity, formed to enforce and maintain the natural rights of its citizens. The domestic analogy was applied to the relations amongst the states internationally that the states would respect each

other's sovereignty. Jermey Bentham further extended the argument in the eighteenth century that it was in the interest of every state to adhere to 'international law' in their foreign policies. Immanuel Kant a German philosopher further held that constitutional states called 'republics' would ultimately lead to perpetual peace. Thus liberal ideas as held by the early liberal thinkers emphasizes on individual reasoning, constitutionalism,tolerance and freedom. It conveys the message of deliverance from the prevailing disorder in international relations to justice, freedom and peace.

John locke
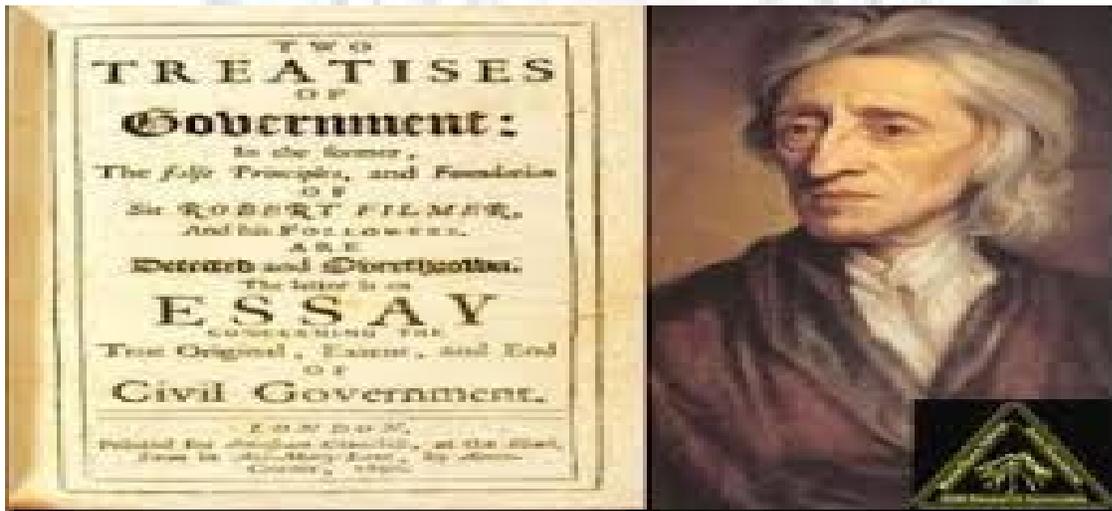
John Locke- 'State is a constitutional entity' establish peaceful relations amongst themselves

Source: https://encrypted-tbn2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcTDRS0-tqK9ZB5P9wWzuE_FMEFv7qAB7TLSeiTd4BWm96YQJNaOAB7TLSeiTd4BWm96YQJNaO

Accessed on March 17 2015

Classical liberals believed that a moral order could be achieved through the human faculty of reasoning and the creation of constitutional states. The core values of liberalism being liberty, justice, order and toleration, liberals unlike realism seeks to promote a theory of government within the states and good governance between states and peoples all over the world.

Jeremy Benthem
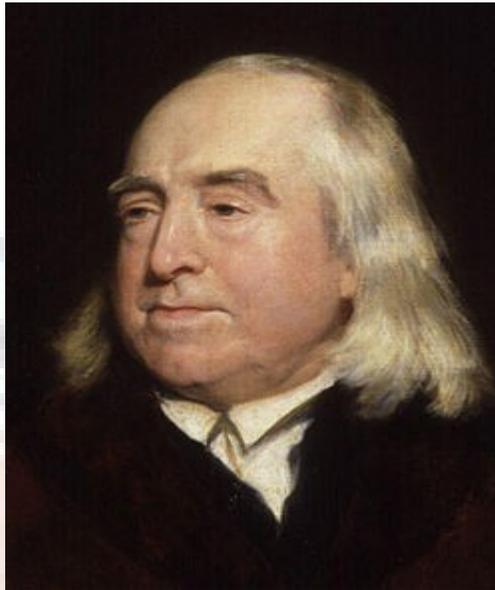
Jeremy Bentham - " Liberal states respect International law. "

Source-

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/c/c8/Jeremy_Bentham_by_Henry_

William_Pickersgill_detail.jpg/250px-

Jeremy_Bentham_by_Henry_William_Pickersgill_detail.jpg accessed on March 17 2015

Value addition-for better understanding	
Idealism	
ACTORS	NATURE OF ACTORS
Humans	All morally good
States and Societies	Good-if organized through pure communication
	Bad-if organized through impure communication

2 Early Liberal ideas in International Relations

Taking the clue from the domestic politics of the states, the social contract theory of Hobbes and Locke sought to bring order into an otherwise state of nature by the willing imposition of sovereign power from above. In a world dominated with the ambitious powers of the

state leading to chaos and anarchy, liberalism believes that the setting up of international organizations could resolve the prevailing disorder. On this basis order and peaceful relations can be fostered amongst the various states in the international relations by the imposition of the 'rule of law', and as Woodrow Wilson puts it to turn the 'jungle' of international politics into a 'zoo'. **Wilson's 'Fourteen points'** speech delivered to the Congress on January 1918 asserted that 'a general association of nations must be formed' to preserve the coming peace. The League of Nations was to be that general association. The formation of an international organization was to facilitate peaceful change,disarmament,arbitration and enforcement. For the League to be effective, it had to have the military power to deter aggression and, when necessary to use a preponderance of power to enforce its will. This was the idea behind the collective security system which was central to the League of Nations.

The devastating experience of the first world war(1914-1918) and the desire not to allow human suffering on such a high magnitude to be repeated again, led the victorious powers especially USA under its president Woodrow Wilson to emphasize the liberal ideas of tolerance and freedom of nations in the international sphere.

Wilson's Fourteen Points Programme in an address to the Congress in January 1918 formed the basis of Paris peace conference 1919 to end World War I and establish long lasting peace in the world. Wilson's emphasis was on the idea of the promotion of democracy and self determination amongst nations and setting up of an international organization that would regulate relations between states peacefully were a step towards a more peaceful world. Wilson's idealism was clearly putting into practice the thought of liberal thinker Immanuel Kant. Through an international organization, states would no longer behave as an ambitious power seekers but in cooperative spirit towards collective goods.(Jackson pp36-37) The first world war brought about a major change in the thinking that peace is not god given but has to be built upon. Peace could only be secured with the creation of an international organization to regulate relations amongst states.

Value addition
14 Points by Woodrow Wilson
President Woodrow Wilson delivered a speech to the Congress in 1918 whereby he outlined important points referred to as 'Fourteen Points' which stressed the urgency of establishing

peace. He underlined the importance of association amongst nations to maintain peace as the important idea of his speech. The League of Nations was the outcome of his efforts as an international institution to deter war between states. The League was armed with the collective security system to restrain aggression and to limit wars.

Source: Dunne,Tim,"Liberalism"(2005) in Baylis and Smith, Globalization of World Politics OUP, 191

A commemorative card depicting the President of the United States Woodrow Wilson and the "Origin of the League of Nations"
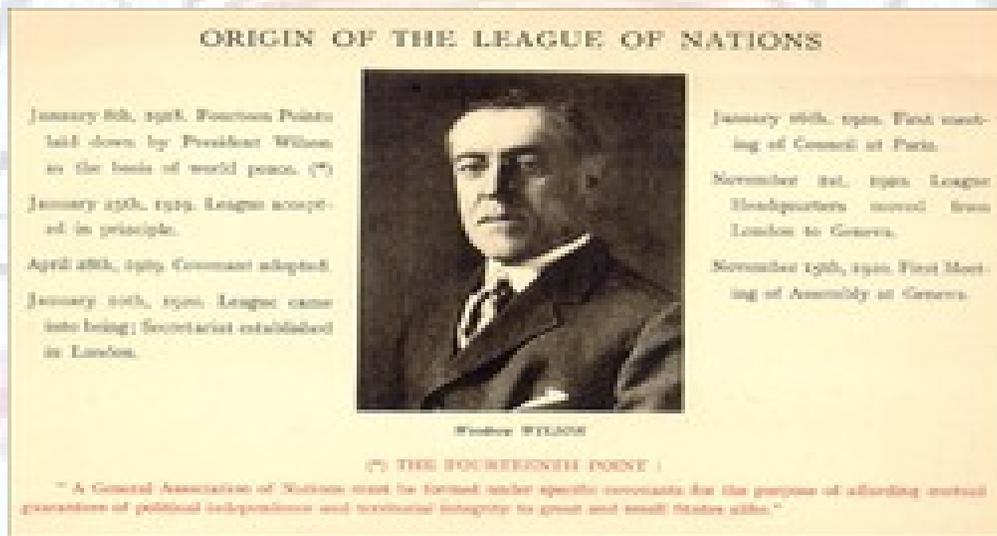
Source:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/League_of_Nations,accessed on 10.2.2015 at 8:30am

Norman Angell in 'The Great Illusion' (1909).. has also upheld the liberal thinking that with modernization and economic interdependence among the states mutual gain would replace relative or absolute gain amongst the states. Modernization and interdependence ushers in change and progress follows, making wars obsolete.

Value addition :check your knowledge

Match the following;

(a)   Absolute gain   (1) Benefits amongst states to be shared

(b)   Relative gain   (2) Policies of states accruing benefits to them

irrespective of its repercussion on other states.

(c   Mutual gain   (3)   State benefits more than its rival.
Position of

States in relation to one another in respect of

distribution of benefits and capabilities.

Answer Key: (a) &(2), (b)&(2),

Source:

Heywood,Andrew,(2011),Global Politics,Palgrave Macmillan,UK,pp60,67.

Early liberal thought on international relations echoes the liberal thought on human nature and society. Human beings are rational creatures possessing the power of reasoning which is applicable to the international arena as well. In this manner ideals of morality can be promoted through the setting up of international organizations beneficial to all. Public opinion is a constructive force; replacing secret diplomacy amongst states to openness and public review to make agreements more sensible.Kellogg-Braind pact 1928 to abolish war to which majority of the countries were signatories. The decade of 1920s was marked by the success of these liberal ideas.
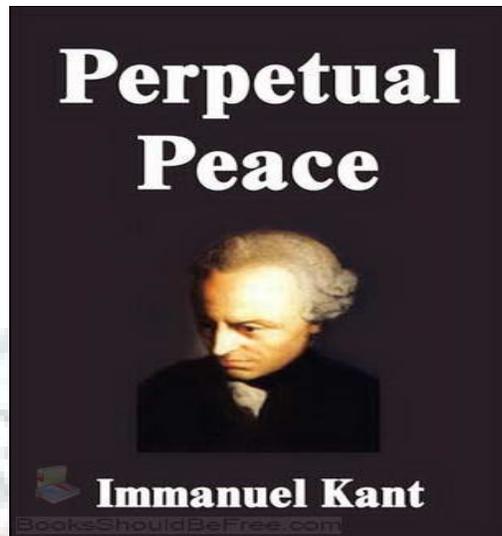
2.1 Utopian Liberalism

However democratic ideas and set up did not come about in the war torn Europe as envisioned by Wilson in his speech. The fascist and Nazist ideology and the authoritarianism in the central and eastern parts of Europe dealt a severe blow to the inter war liberal thinking in international relations. The liberal states themselves failed to be role models. Several of them had subjugated the rights of self determination of nations all over the world. A vast network of colonial empire was built upon by undermining the values of freedom and justice. The collective security system under the League of Nations designed to provide collective military aid to the aggressed states proved to be futile. The deterrent effect of the collective security system could not put a limit to the states desire of achieving absolute gain interest by instead of achieving mutual gains under the league of Nations, and the states were once again drawn into one of the biggest tragedy on the earth involving insurmountable loss of lives and property. The strained relations amongst the states during f World War I continued and the rivalry grew. World War II once again questioned the liberal ideology of peaceful cooperation amongst the states through the establishment of the international institution. The economic crisis of 1930 questioned the vision of interdependence as each country tried its best to look after its own interest. All these events following the 1920 decade till World War II question the liberal stand on spread of moral ideas and thereby transforming a 'jungle' to 'zoo'.

3. Dominant Strands of Liberal Thinking

The liberal theories believe in the promotion of the interest of the states through peaceful and cooperative means instead of relying on cruel method of war. This possibility was visioned by a Garman philosopher Immanuel Kant about two centuries ago in A manifesto entitled 'Perpetual Peace', remained the core liberal ideas of liberalism, the language of liberalism in the post second world war became more pragmatic.[9]The dominant themes of liberal thinking in international politics today is a manifestation of this idea of Kant which are discussed in the succeeding sections.

Immanuel Kant and his work

Source:https://7373-presscdn-0-43-pagely.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Perpetual-Peace-A-Philosophic.jpg

accessed on March 18,2015

Value addition-Did you know
Perpetual peace: Immanuel Kant
Perpetual Peace is a manifesto written by German philosopher Immanuel Kant two hundred years ago. It contains the three principles of establishing long lasting peace and cooperation in the sphere of international relations. The first principle is based on the reciprocity principle which highlights the importance of the states cooperating under an umbrella organization of international institutions. The second principle applies the domestic analogy regarding the character of the government. The republican character of the constitution keeps a check on the rulers and makes them accountable towards its citizens. The shared democratic moral values amongst the states foster the spirit of identity, restraining wars. The common identity will also help in increasing trade and commerce leading to the third principle identified as interdependence. The growing interdependence increases the wealth of every nation mutually. Source Pevehouse&Goldstein (ed),(2011),International Relations,Delhi,Pearson,PP84-85.

3.1 Liberal Institutions

League of Nations was to be a platform for the states to resolve their disputes amongst themselves peacefully and with its deterrent force of collective security to avoid a catastrophe like war. However League of Nations could not put a limit to states desire of advancing their self interest and its ideal of achieving peace remained idealistic as its propounder nation USA did not join the League. The league of nations was marked by crisis one after the other. E. H. Carr gave an account of the world events in the aftermath of the first world war entitled **Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939** in which he has attacked moral double standards of the League supporters. James L. Richard sums up the argument advanced by Carr against the liberal idealist: 'the defence of the status quo in the name of peace was not necessarily more legitimate than challenging it in the name of justice.'

The failure of the League proved realist thinking correct. However in the post World War II the liberal thinking became more practicable, as cooperation amongst states have to be fostered, international organization by themselves cannot lead to states resolving their disputes amicably. Such institutions seek to promote cooperation amongst states by propounding a set of rules which the states accept to follow, as mutual gain amongst states become acceptable rather than the short term absolute or relative gain the prime consideration. The underlying principle for cooperation is the reciprocity, because international institutions operate on the reciprocal contributions and concession amongst members, International institutions transforms rivalries into cooperative relations as the immediate state benefits gets replaced with collective long term mutual benefits amongst the states (Keohane1989a; Acharya and Johnston2007).European Union whereby countries operate on reciprocal relations is a good example of institutions promoting peacefully collective benefits amongst states.

Value addition-know it more
Institutional Liberalism: The role of Institutions
- Provides a flow of information and opportunities to negotiate.   - Enhance the ability of governments to monitor others' compliance and implement their own commitments- hence their ability to make credible commitments in the first place.   - Strengthen prevailing expectations about the solidity of international agreements.

Source

Jackson &Sorensen,(eds)2014,Introduction to International Relations(5th edition),UK,Oxford University Press,p113.

3.1.1 Institutions in a multipolar world

With the end of Cold War and the re-emergence of multipolarity the neo-realist have once again doubts on the credibility of these institutions to maintain peace and order in an anarchical structure of the international system. During the cold war peace was maintained due to the balance of power between the two super powers, due to large military powers and arsenal of nuclear weapons of the two groups. With the revival of multipolarity, however instability and insecurity is sharply increased. The deterrent effect of the two super powers has receded with the emergence of a multipolar world. At the root of all this is the anarchic structure of the international system. According to neorealist John Mearsheimer,' anarchy has two principal consequences. First there is little room for trust among states…Second, each state must guarantee its own survival since no other actor will provide its security'.(Mearsheimer 1993;148).

However Duncan Snidal argues that in a bipolar world the relative gains calculations upheld by realism works, "relative gains can save the realist argument only in the two actor world." But the realist argument cannot be defended in "international politics more generally." The argument made by institutional liberals (Keohane et al.1993) is that a high level of institutionalization significantly reduces the destabilizing effects of multipolar anarchy identified by Mearsheimer. Institutions make up for lack of trust between states. Institutions ranging from formal ones like United Nations, World Trade Organization to regional economic groupings like European Union, ASEAN promote stability in the world, states cooperate amongst themselves for mutual benefits through cooperative means. However in an increasingly globalized world these institutions are inept to deal with the magnitude of global problems and violate the principle of non intervention by interfering in the affairs of the states. Some of the institutions have undergone changes to tune themselves in the complex fast changing globalization of the world.

3.2 Interdependence Liberalism

Modernization and the highly industrialized nations since 1950 have been looking at trade amongst states as the most viable means to promote the prosperity of the nations rather than resorting to accumulation of arms thereby a drain on national exchequer to promote the power interest of the states. According to Rosecrance modernization has brought about the changing character and basis of economic production.The power and strength of a state is no longer dependent on the possession of territory and natural resources but a highly qualified labour, free flow of information and finance capital are the key to the development and welfare/success of the nation. The high division of labour in the international economy has increased the transnational relations between the countries thereby increasing their dependence on each other. Liberalism sees interdependence amongst states as increasing the prospects of peace.

3.2.1 Commercial Liberalism in the nineteenth century

Liberal thinking that trade increases the prospect of establishing peaceful relations between the states can be traced to the nineteenth century liberal idea of commercial liberalism. The roots of Commercial liberalism are based on the classical economics of David Ricardo (1770-1823) and the ideas of the so called 'Manchester liberals', Richard Cobden (1804-1865) and John Bright (1811-1889). States specialize in some goods and services which puts them in an advantageous position over other states. Free trade allows the countries to exchange goods and services amongst themselves thereby leading to a situation of interdependence which has an advantage of promoting cooperation between the states. Cobden and Bright argued that free trade would draw people of different races, creeds and languages together in what Cobden described as 'the bonds of eternal peace'. Aggression and expansionism are best deterred by the 'spirit of commerce'.

3.2.2 Interdependence to integration

Transnational ties amongst the states would lead to greater dependence of the states, whereby the states would establish peaceful relations. The spirit of cooperation led to the development of functionalist and neo-functionalist theory of integration. David Mitrany in his functional theory of integration held that cooperation between the states in various functional areas like transport, communication,finance brought about by technical experts instead of politicians would lead to welfare of the people and apprise them of the advantages of technical and economic joint efforts of the countries. Inspired by the increasing cooperation amongst the west European countries in the 1950s and 1960s, Ernst

Haas while building on Mitrany's theory, in his neo functional theory of integration does not accept that technical matters can be separated from the political ones. According to Haas integration is a process whereby 'political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties….towards a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre existing national states.'(Haas 1958:16)   The functional notion of cooperation depends on the 'spillover' when increased cooperation in one area leads to increased cooperation in other areas.

3.2.3 Complex Interdependence

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in Power and Interdependence (1977) have set forth that in the post war period the issues at concern involve a host of other transnational relations between the individuals and groups outside the states Complex interdependence has displaced the earlier simpler kind of interdependence. Complex interdependence reflects the extent to which people and governments in the modern world are affected by what happens elsewhere, and particularly by the actions of their counterparts in other countries.[17]The range of issues concerning not only the states but other actors have become so broad that concerns of 'high politics' have given way to 'low politics' concerns. The change in the focus from security and survival of the states to issues such as climate change, abuse of human rights,terrorism,drug trafficking and so on involving not only the state leaders but many different actors have led to complex interdependence.

Value addition :surf and know
Power and Interdependence revisited Robert 0. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr   http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706764

This change in the nature of the states have led to increased cooperation and integration as can be seen by the coming together of European countries to form European Union. With modernization, interdependence amongst the states have grown. The relevance of complex interdependence can be especially seen in the industrialized countries of the west.

3.2.4 Restraints on interdependence

 However increased cooperation amongst states can still be threatened with states high politics concerns as Keohane and Nye have observed that realism gaining a foothold cannot

be ruled out. Even among industrialized countries of the west an issue could still become 'a matter of life and death' (Keohane and Nye,Jr 1977:29). Even though interdependence liberals do not rule out the possibility of the primacy of security and national interest of the states unlike other liberals but they express faith in the changed scenario whereby major concerns of the states are with issues of low politics. However in adopting a middle of the road position there is disagreement amongst the interdependence liberals.Strong liberals hold that the international system has undergone tremendous changes thereby modifying previous concern of states like insecurity, balance of interest. However a group of interdependence liberals called as 'weak liberals' hold that an anarchic international system is the starting point of states foreign policy objectives.

3.3 Republican Liberalism

Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century expressed faith in the possibility of peace amongst republican states. Kant's vision in the possibility of perpetual peace through the transformation of states to republican constitution was revived much later by the US president Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points laid out in an address before the congress. Wilson's liberal ideas expressed faith a world dominated by democratic states would restrain wars. This has provided basis to many liberal scholars to build the 'democratic peace thesis' as the number of states adopting democracies have been rapidly increasing, the liberals hope to see a more cooperative and an integrative world.

This liberal perspective on international politics adopts an 'inside-out' approach to theorizing. International and global affairs assumptions have their roots in national affairs. The external behaviour of the states is influenced by its political and constitutional set up.

Value addition-Did you know
Approaches to the study of global politics
Global politics is explained by a variety of approaches which are either structuralist or agency. Structuralist approach adopt 'outside-in' approach or exogenous in which the behaviour of the states is explained in terms of the context or structure of global politics in which they are placed.Neorealism or structural realism explain the behaviour of the states in terms of the structure of the international system in which they are placed. Theories that are endogenous are 'inside-out, theories. These theories emphasize the behaviour of the states in terms of explanation of the international system. Classical realism and liberalism is

inclined towards this approach in the explanation of the international system.

Source ;Heywood, Andrew,(2011),Global Politics, Palgrave Macmillan,UK,pp59-60,72.

3.3.1 The foundation stone of peace

Kant's assertion that liberal states are at peace was put forward by Michael Doyle. Doyle in his much acclaimed article (1983,1986) argued that three conditions prevent the democratic states to wage war:

First there is a prevalence of a common political culture which believes in peacefully resolving the conflicts. Democracy tends to promote amicable relations amongst its people.

Second Democratic countries uphold common moral values like freedom of thought and expression whereby the rulers of the state are held accountable towards its people. The citizens of democratic states sharing liberal values do not want to resort to aggression. Thus the common moral foundation amongst the states leads to the formation of what Kant called 'pacific union'.

Third trade ties between democratic states further the prospects of peace. There is a growing interdependence amongst states to further economic interests, mutual and reciprocal gains The spirit of commerce is a deterrent to war than any other idea.

3.2 Establishment of 'Zones of Peace'

With the collapse of communism the democratic peace thesis was firmly established as a guarantee of peace. As can be seen in the writings of Francis Fukuyama. Fukuyama proclaimed the 'end of history' as the communist ideology challenge to liberalism and its structure has been at the lowest ebb with the disintegration of USSR. Liberal democratic principle has been strongly enforced since then. Liberals argue that 'zones of peace' have emerged among countries of Western Europe, North America and Japan, with consolidated liberal democratic order.

3.3.3 Inconsistencies in Republican liberalism

However peace has to be built upon and zones of peace has to be expanded to make it more inclusive. Democratic values have to be cultivated in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa which is a time taking process. There will be set back; some countries may revert
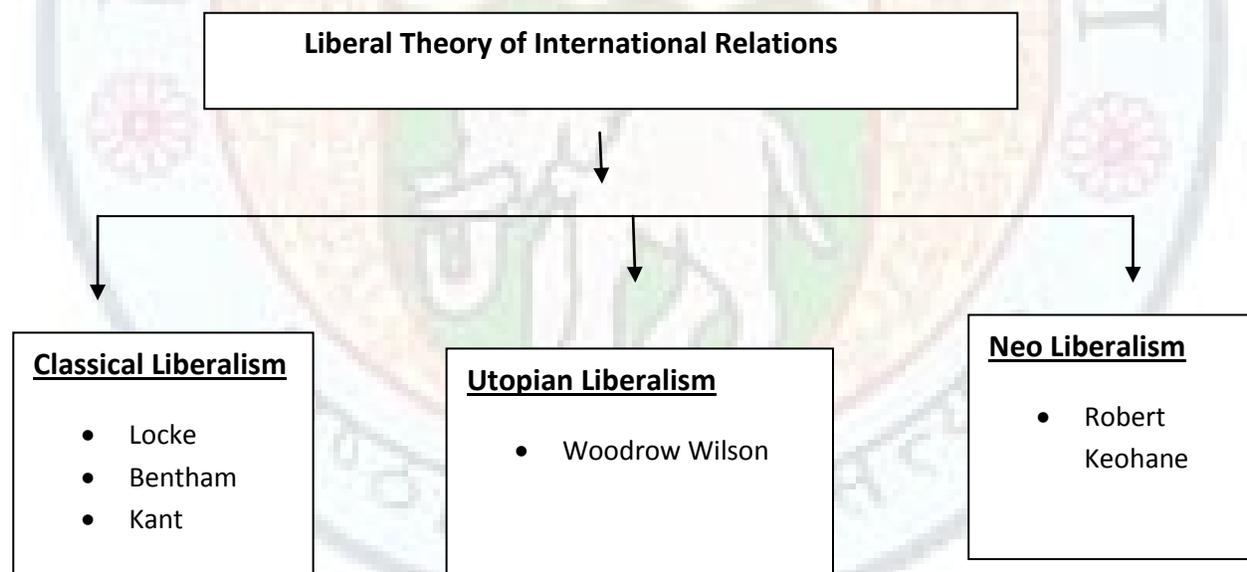
to non democratic form of government as in Russia in 2004 took a step backward and is now classified by Freedom House as a 'Not Free' country.

Value addition –Surf and know
To know more about the Freedom House and related dimensions ,you may read from: www.freedomhouse.org Accessed on 29.1.2015 at8:05 AM

The foreign policy goals of democratic countries has been to develop peaceful relations amongst themselves but not so between the countries of north and south. Moreover there is an atmosphere of mistrust amongst the democracies of south. The prevalent economic order has made the countries of south economically dependent on north. The discriminatory trade practices followed by the developed countries do not allow interdependence of the north and south nations.

Liberal Theory of International Relations

Classical Liberalism

- Locke
- Bentham
- Kant

Utopian Liberalism

- Woodrow Wilson

Neo Liberalism

- Robert Keohane

Source:Author

4. The continuing debate between realism and liberalism

Even though the starting point of the debate between realism and liberalism has been human nature, over the years there has been a shift in the stance of the two to the context

in which human beings are placed. It is held that human nature is formed by the complex socio political conditions in which human beings are placed. The prevailing environment makes the individual to behave in either good or bad manner. Neorealist take note of the persistence of anarchy in the international which makes the states insecure and consequently to promote their power interests as nobody will help them. Classical realist unlike liberalism did not believe in the progress of history and it still predominates the neorealist approach as the basic structure of the state system remains the same.(Jackson 118-119) History is 'the same damn things over and over again.'(Layne 1994:10).

The liberal optimism in the progress of the history is summarized in the major strands of liberalism above (institutional, interdependence and republican liberalism) has been contested by the realists. They note such liberal conditions have existed for a long time without being able to prevent violent conflicts. The liberal contention that increasing trade between states avoids conflict has been contested by the realist as there has been economic interdependence in the past but could do little to prevent wars. International institutions may bring the states together under one roof but cooperation only results if it promotes the self interest of the states. Democracy promotes moral values of non conflict but in an anarchical world order zones of peace may be disturbed. 'Lamentably, it is not possible for even liberal democracies to transcend anarchy.'(Mearsheimer 1993:123) Realist argue that it is harder to achieve and more difficult to maintain international cooperation. They have argued that anarchy impedes cooperation as the states are worried about other states benefitting more to their disadvantage through collaboration. Neoliberals argument that interdependence amongst states on issues of global politics helps them to work in cooperation on the basis of tit-for-tat strategies.

5   The neo versus neo debate

 In The years following the Second World War the focus was on interaction amongst transnational actors in which non – governmental actors play a significant role. The problems confronting humanity and the urgency to tackle them provided impetus to nongovernmental actors also to play a significant role in the world politics. Its implication is that world politics is changing from a state system to a transnational political system. The prevailing scenario gave fillip to liberal ideals of promoting peace through cooperation.

Insert Question No. 7

5.1   Liberalism moderated by neo realist assumptions

However during 1970s the political and economic distress in America (as America being the dominant power) sent shivers all around the world and shook the liberal stance of transnational relations instead of state centric. The demand of the situation warranted America to advance relative gains rather than promoting absolute gains. That once again put realism on the offensive as in an anarchical world order states will forgo cooperation to achieve their power interests. In a series of neo- liberal foundational texts, beginning with Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye's Power and Independence(1977) liberal scholars sought to challenge realist pessimism on its own terms by utilizing realist assumption. The persistence of anarchy made the liberals (Keohane proponent of complex interdependence) move closer to neo realist. According to Lipson, anarchy as a fundamental idea is 'the Rosetta Stone of international relations' (1984: 22). It is therefore unsurprising that both Neorealists as well as Neoliberal Institutionalists derive their conclusions from the structural conditions set by what they conceive as an anarchic international system.

Robert Keohane's, **After Hegemony(1984)** ,the author characterized his argument as a variant of realism.This characterization spurred considerable debate within the scholarly literature of the 1980s and early 1990s between Robert Keohane (as a neoliberal) and Joseph Grieco (as a neorealist) over whether realist assumption had been correctly adopted and applied.The so called neo-neo debate has been called by the label 'neo neo synthesis'.

Value addition-Surf and know
Grieco,(et al),(Sep1993), The Relative-Gains Problem for International Cooperation, The American Political Science Review, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Sep., 1993), pp. [727]-743, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2938747 .Accessed: 25/12/2014 22:19)

Insert Question No.8

5.2   Liberal ideals under globalization

The rapid growth of globalization once again upheld the liberal ideal of bringing peace in anarchical world through cooperation. Anarchy as a vacuum is gradually filled due to human

created processes and institutions.Sterling-Folker 2001).States are more interdependent then before, major economies are globalized, more and more states are democratic. Zones of peace have emerged amongst 'security communities' . The consolidated liberal democracies of western Europe, North America and Japan constitute a security community This group of liberals referred to as 'strong liberals 'include Rosenau,Slaughter,Ikenberry and Cerny.

These thinkers believe take the concept of interdependence as pacifying process in an anarchic situation. Clearly the vision of America and Britain in post second world war was to stabilize the world according to their respective preferences by developing institutions to serve as an umbrella for cooperative relations across many different issue area. The period led to the establishment of USA as a hegemon but it provided stability during the course of which a well entrenched international regime developed amongst the countries earmarked as security communities. Issues have played a predominant role in the developing institutions as European Union (EU) whereby multilateral negotiations obtained absolute gains.The success of EU signaled the importance of regionalization characterized by negotiations across common issue areas. Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry give the theory of 'structural liberalism' that characterizes the relations amongst developed countries or the western liberal order.

5.2.1   Stability due to hegemony

 Neo liberal writer Ikenberry uphold the hegemony of the western powers for providing stability in the post 1945 era. The establishment of hegemony of the western liberal democracies and particularly of the US , took upon itself the self imposed task of embedding the liberal values in the international regime.

The openness environment in the US appealed to the people of the illiberal world to adopt liberal ideals and practices. The hegemony of the US did not establish its dominance but fostered economic relations amongst the nations beneficial to all. The transparency in behaviour of the state under various international institution and alliances has put a limit to the power moves.

However stable relations as amongst the countries of the liberal world could not be established between the north and south. The hegemonic world order continues to be not concerned with the needs and aspirations of the majority who are poor in developing world.

According to the United Nations Development Programme, the resulting global inequality is 'grotesque'.

5.2.2   Imposition of the liberal order

The hegemonic stability provided by the liberal democracies has endowed the responsibility of extending zones of democratic peace. President Bush declared that the Us an UK 'seek the advance of freedom and peace that freedom brings.'
Extending the zones of peace has transformed US as a reluctant homogeon to an interventionist power presumably to defend liberal values and privileges. Charles Krauthammer has identified this as the motive behind the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.(Jackson128) The Forcible imposition in the name of freedom has come to be criticized as the liberal order fails to protect those values which it propagates.This kind of liberalization is characterized as 'radical liberalism'which places great emphasis on the civilizing capacity of the global society. The interaction amongst the democratic world promotes cooperation otherwise uncooperative behaviour leaves the states with the shadow of sanctions in the future. This outweighs the long term gains of the self centered states to extend their cooperative behaviour with the liberal world. The logic behind this can be traced to the prisoner's dilemma in which mutual cooperation is seen as an equilibrium with a strategy of punishing defectors if any.

Value addition-know it better
Liberalism and peace
Michael Doyle suggests the behaviour of liberal democracies towards undemocratic states could be based either on building of strong alliances with the liberal states to restrict the authoritarian states or it could be by a variety of diplomatic and economic assistance to the underdeveloped world . **Justification** Liberalism by itself will not bring about peace, it has to be built upon. To increase the prospect of a peaceful world the focus should be on developmental aid and restructuring of the institutions. Source Dunne,Tim,"Liberalism"(2005) in Baylis and Smith,Globalization of World Politics,OUP,p197

6   Change in the approach of bringing peace

In an era of globalization the global society should be democratized.Accoording to David Held the rapid democratization of the states is not accompanied by the democratization of the society of the states.

Democratic norms should be implemented at all the levels of governance. It is vital that the citizen's network are broadened and reach the grass root level to monitor the international institutions or what Richard Falk calls 'globalization from below.

Countries of South or late developers reject the neo-liberal approach to development with its emphasis on the 'night watchman' state as it does not reflects the practice in these countries of state centric system.. Latin American and Asian countries are resistant to the Washington Consensus which has been the dominant development model of the liberal world as the gains of development did not trickled down to these countries.   The Developing world sees state as an activist development agent and the economy serves its national political goals of internal consolidation and external autonomy through state led development and industrial policy.

Value addition- surf and know
To read more about Washington Consensus you may read from: **http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Washington_Consensus**

Conclusion

Liberalism with its emphasis on the core moral values of freedom, justice   has been pinning its faith in a peaceful world order by taming the states in an anarchical world. The spurt in the transrelations of the states fosters integration in the international community. The emergence of international institutions and the changing character of old ones is a significant pointer in the growing efficacy of the institutions. The embedding of democratic values within the states is leading illiberal state as to restrict authoritarian tendencies. However in building up of "security communities' requires inclusion of the deprived people and integrating into the international system. Bringing about peace is not just restraining war but to be responsive towards weaker people and states .Democratic values have to be made meaningful for poverty stricken people and states of the developing world.

Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Summary

- The emergence of the modern world and its progressive ideology of liberalism emphasize the prospect of receding the danger of war and attaining peace through cooperation amongst rationalist human beings.
- Liberals upheld the doctrine of 'rule of law' to restrain the ambitious of the egoistic states in an erstwhile chaotic world order.
- Liberal vision of an organized world echoed the ideas of German philosopher Immanuel Kant expressed in terms of three principles in a manifesto written two centuries ago.
- The twentieth century liberal thinking became more practical in terms of cooperation amongst states has to be built upon.
- International institutions fill up the gap of trust amongst states as it operates on reciprocal contributions and concession amongst its members.
- With the advent of modernization the character of economy and the issues confronting mankind has also undergone change making the states inter dependent on each other and leading to the integration of the world community.
- Liberal scholars express their faith in the widespread promotion of democratic values to an undemocratic illiberal world. States sharing common moral foundation would lead to the formation of 'pacific union.'
- A group of liberals accept the limitations of enhancing cooperation amongst states as fear of self help in an anarchic world hinders cooperation amongst them.
- Stability can be brought about by adopting a democratic approach towards underdeveloped parts of the world an d providing them an opportunity to be inclusive in today's world politics.

Glossary

Anarchy: State of lawlessness and disorder.

Free trade : Unrestricted trade.

Hegemon: a powerful state.

Collective security: an arrangement whereby states agree that the security of one state is the concern of other states as well.

International regime: set of rules and principles governing the behaviour of the actors concerning issues in the international arena.

Interdependence: dependent on each other ,in international relations it is taken to mean the policies or decisions of the state or states has an impact on the policies of other states.

Natural rights: rights accorded to human beings at the time of birth i.e right to life, liberty and property.

Multipolarity: existence of number of powers.

Rule of law : law is supreme and binding on all.

Long Questions

1.How do liberals envision that peace and cooperation can be promoted in international relations?

2. In a globalized world neo liberalism confronts the issue of unresponsive to the needs of the deprived. Discuss.

3. Liberals under the cover of embedding democratic values creates   an undemocratic world. Discuss the neo liberal approach in enhancing collaboration amongst the states.

Multiple choice questions

1. Dominant theme in liberal thinking in international relations rests on

(a)Politics among Nations

(b) Leviathan

(c)Perpetual Peace

Ans (c)

2., The core idea of liberalism is

(a) Egoistic individual

(b) Individual progress

(c) Anarchy

Ans (b)

3. President Wilson Fourteen Points speech led to the formation of

(a) League of Nations

(b)Concert of Europe

(c) United Nations

Ans (a)

4. Liberal ideas in the early nineteenth century are labeled utopian because

(a) Believed in building an ideal state.

(b)Focused on trade ties between states

(c)Failure of League of Nations

Ans. (c)

5. In a multipolar world stability is promoted by

(a) Relative gains

(b)Absolute gains

(c) International institutions

Ans (c)

6.In the post second world war states would be integrated

(a) Due to power interests

(b) Because of treaties

(c)Due to complex interdependence

Ans (c)

7. Democracy leads to amicable relations amongst states due to

(a) Treaties

(b) Prevalence of a common political culture

(c) Power interest of states

Ans. (b)

8. Neo liberal writers believe that in the post 1945 era stability in the world is due to

(a) Hegemony of western powers

(b)Agreements amongst states

(c) Balance of power

Ans. (a)

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