

Revised 08-18-2019

Power and Politics in Today's World

Ian Shapiro

DeVane Lectures

Fall, 2019. Tuesdays & Thursdays 11:35 to 12:50.

PLSC 405; GLBL444/888; MGT 619; HIST 122; EP&E 329; LAW 20117

The collapse of Soviet communism ushered in an era of widespread confidence in capitalist prosperity and democracy. Francis Fukuyama's declaration, in 1992, that a benign end of history had finally arrived garnered widespread attention across much of the developed and developing world. Confidence in this new order endured through the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and even the financial crisis of 2008, but then it began to falter. Anemic economic recoveries in the West, revived authoritarianism in Russia and other new democracies, military stalemates in Afghanistan and Iraq, and stillborn Arab spring revolutions after 2012 took their toll. 2016 was a watershed, marked most dramatically by Britain's vote to leave the European Union and Donald Trump's populist stampede to the U.S. presidency, but also by the resurgence of extreme right-wing parties in many European countries the like of which had not been seen since the 1930s.

This course provides an examination of political dynamics and institutions over this tumultuous quarter century, and the implications of these changes for what comes next. Among the topics covered are the decline of trade unions and enlarged role of business as political forces, changing attitudes towards parties and other political institutions amidst the growth of inequality and middle-class insecurity, the emergence of new forms of authoritarianism, and the character and durability of the unipolar international order that replaced the Cold War.

Part I deals with the collapse of communism and its aftermath, both in former communist countries that adopted market-based economies and in the developed West where the absence of a competitor to capitalism recast relations among business, labor, and governments. Part II focuses on the early post-Cold War era, marked by the Washington Consensus on the benefits of free trade, privatization, and deregulation, and interventionist agendas to fight terrorism, prevent human rights abuses, and to spread democracy. In part III we turn to the backlash that set in after the financial crisis, as technocratic elites lost legitimacy, the global war on terror became mired in quagmires across the Middle East, and humanitarian intervention and democracy spreading agendas foundered. The new politics of insecurity is our subject in part IV, where we explore the sources of the populist explosions of 2016 and the politics to which they have given rise. This leads to a consideration of responses in part V, where we discuss the kinds of policies that are needed for a world in which congenial employment insecurity is going to be the norm, and the political reforms that would increase the chances of those policies being adopted.

Readings will be about 150 pages a week drawn primarily from books and articles by political scientists and historians. Starred (\*) readings will be available for purchase at the Yale Bookstore and on Reserve in the Yale Library. All other required readings will be available on Canvas.

Requirements: Two 8-10 page papers (due at 5:00 pm 10/21 and 12/6 respectively) and a final exam.

## COURSE SYLLABUS AND CLASS OUTLINE

### 1. August 29, Introduction and housekeeping

#### PART I. THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM AND ITS AFTERMATH

### 2. September 3, From Soviet Communism to Russian Gangster Capitalism

Required:

Karen Dawisha, *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* (Simon & Schuster, 2014). Chapter 1.

Thane Gustafson, *Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia* (Belknap Press, 2012), Chapter 6.

Suggested:

Chris Miller, *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018), chapters 1-3.

Bill Browder, *Red Notice: A True Story of High Finance, Murder, and One Man's Fight for Justice* (Simon & Schuster, 2015), Chapters 1-9, 21-24

### 3. September 5, A Unipolar World? NATO, the EU, & the Washington Consensus

Required:

Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (Penguin, 2006), chapters 20-23

Mary Sarotte, "The contest over NATO's future: The U.S., France and the concept of pan-Europeanism after the Fall of the Berlin Wall, 1989-90," in Ian Shapiro and Adam Tooze, eds., *Charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, (Yale University Press, 2018) chapter 3.

John Williamson, "A short history of the Washington consensus," in Narcis Serra and Joseph Stiglitz, eds., *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Toward a New Global Governance* (Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 2.

Suggested:

Judt, *Postwar*, chapters 18-20, 24.

Odd Arne Westad, epilogue, "The world the Cold War made," *The Cold War: A World History*, (Basic Books, 2017), pp. 617-29.

### 4. September 10, Fusing Capitalist Economics with Communist Politics: China and Vietnam

Required:

Edward Steinfeld, *Playing our Game: Why China's Rise Doesn't Threaten the West* (Oxford University Press, 2010), chapters 1 & 4.

John Kane, "Hobbes in China: The Political Logic of Xi Jinping," mimeo.

Edmund Malesky and Jonathan London, "The Political Economy of Development in China and Vietnam," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2014. Vol 17, Pg. 395-419

Excerpt from PricewaterhouseCoopers, "Doing Business in Vietnam 2015", 4th Edition July 2015.

Quan Hoang Vuong, "Vietnam's Political Economy in Transition: 1986-2016," *Stratfor*, May 27, 2014. <https://www.stratfor.com/the-hub/vietnams-political-economy-transition-1986-2016>

Suggested:

Yuhua Wang, *Tying the Autocrat's Hands: The Rise of the Rule of Law in China*, (Cambridge University Press, 2015) chapter 4.

Ministry of Planning and Investment of Vietnam, "Vietnam 2035: Toward Prosperity, Creativity, Equity, and Democracy," World Bank Group, 2016.

Wang, *Tying the Autocrat's Hands*, the rest.

## **5. September 12, The Resurgent Right in the West**

Required:

James Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore* (Oxford University Press, 2005), chs. 4-5.

Vernon Bogdanor YouTube Lecture, "Britain in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Thatcherism, 1979-90". <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOiJnNN8bmc>

Suggested:

Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), chapters 1-3, 6.

Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (Arlington House, 1969).

## **6. September 17, Reorienting the Left: New Democrats, New Labour, and Europe's Social Democrats**

Required:

Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (Penguin, 2005) chapter 12.

Lucio Baccaro and Chris Howell, *Trajectories of Neoliberal Transformation: European Industrial Relations since the 1970s* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), chapter 6.

Christian Salas, Frances Rosenbluth and Shapiro, "Political parties and public policy" mimeo.

Suggested:

Vernon Bogdanor YouTube Lecture, "The Labour Party."

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-OnEYdQrZfQ&t=40s>

## **7. September 19, Shifting Goalposts: The Anti-Tax Movement**

Required:

Thomas Edsall and Mary Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics*, (Norton, 1991), chapters, 6-7.

Michael Graetz and Ian Shapiro, *Death be a Thousand Cuts: The Fight over Taxing Inherited Wealth* (Princeton University Press, 2005), chapters 1-3, 9, 12, 22.\*

Suggested:

Edsall and Edsall *Chain Reaction*, the rest

Graetz and Ian Shapiro, *Death be a Thousand Cuts*, the rest.

## **8. September 24, Privatizing Government I: Utilities, Eminent Domain, and Local Government**

Required:

Evan McKenzie, *Beyond Privatopia: Rethinking Residential Private Government* (Urban Institute Press, 2011), chapters. 1, 4.

*Kelo v. City of New London*, 545 U.S. 469 (2005)

Suggested:

James Meek, *Private Island: Why Britain now Belongs to Someone Else* (Verso, 2011).

## **9. September 26, Privatizing Government II: Prisons and the Military**

Required:

Michelle Fox, “Cramer: A Fantastic Business to be in,” CNBC, September 26, 2011.

<http://www.cnbc.com/id/44677873> Be sure to watch the embedded video before class.

Adrian Moore, “Private Prisons: Quality Corrections at Lower Cost,” Reason Foundation, Policy Study no. 240, 2001.

Mike Elk and Bob Sloan, “The Hidden History of ALEC and Prison Labor,” *The Nation*, August 1, 2011.

Jean Rosenthal, Zacharay Schlesinger & Ian Shapiro, “Private military contracting.” Yale SOM case

<http://vol11.cases.som.yale.edu/military-contracting>

Suggested:

P.W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Cornell Press, 2007).

## **10. October 1, Money in Politics**

Required:

Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (Random House, 2016), chapters 1, 7 & 11.

Suggested:

Jane Mayer, *Dark Money*, the rest.

Ian Shapiro, *Politics Against Domination* (Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 93-99.

Rick Pildes, “Romanticizing democracy, political fragmentation and the decline of American government,” *Yale Law Journal*, 28 (2014).

Linda Greenhouse and Michael Graetz, *The Burger Court and the Rise of the Judicial Right* (Simon and Schuster, 2016), chapter 10.

## **PART II. A NEW GLOBAL ORDER?**

### **11. October 3, Democracy’s Fourth Wave? South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East**

Required:

James Read and Ian Shapiro, “Transforming Power Relationships: Leadership, Risk, and Hope,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 108, No. 1 (February 2014), pp. 40-53.

Suggested:

Sarah Chayes, *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security* (Norton, 2015), chapters. 6-8.

### **12. October 8, Business and Democratic Reform: A Case study of South Africa**

Required:

Ian Shapiro, Itumeleng Makgetla, Jean Rosenthal & Greg Macdonald, Business and the South African Transition, Yale SOM case <http://vol10.cases.som.yale.edu/south-africa-reforms>

Suggested:

Itumeleng Makgetla and Ian Shapiro, "Business and the South African Transition," working paper. <https://shapiro.macmillan.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/BSAT%2002-20-2016.pdf>

**13. October 10, The International Criminal Court and the Responsibility to Protect**

Required:

Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present*, (Penguin, 2013), chapter 13.

Michael Doyle, *The Question of Intervention: John Stuart Mill and the Responsibility to Protect* (Yale University Press, 2015), chapter 4.

Suggested:

Mazower, *Governing the World*, chapters 12 and 14.

**14. October 15, 9/11 and the Global War on Terror**

Required:

Ian Shapiro, *Containment: Rethinking the Global War on Terror* (Princeton UP, 2007), chapters 1-3

Suggested:

Shapiro, *Containment*, the rest.

**PART III. THE END OF THE END OF HISTORY**

**No class on October 17, October Recess**

**15. October 22, Denouement of Humanitarian Intervention**

Required:

Robert Pape, "When duty calls: A pragmatic standard for humanitarian intervention," *International Security*, 37:1 (2012).

Alan Kuperman, "A model of humanitarian intervention: Reassessing NATO's Libya campaign," *International Security* 38:1 (2013).

**16. October 24, Demise of the Neoconservative Dream: From Afghanistan to Iraq**

Required:

Ian Shapiro, *Politics Against Domination* (Harvard University Press, 2016), chapter 6.

Suggested:

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory* (Princeton University Press, 2003), chapter 4.

**17. October 29, Filling the void: Russia in the Middle East; China in Africa**

Required:

Adam Tooze and Ian Shapiro, “Another Cold War? NATO and the New Russia,” in Ian Shapiro and Adam Tooze, eds., *Charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (Yale University Press, 2018), chapter 9.

Deborah Brautigam, *The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2010), Prologue, chs. 1-5, 11.

Irene Sun, *The Next factory of the World: How Chinese Investment is Reshaping Africa*, Intro, chs 1-2

Emily Feng and David Pilling, “The other side of Chinese investment in Africa,” *Financial Times* (March 27, 2019). <https://www.ft.com/content/9f5736d8-14e1-11e9-a581-4ff78404524e>

Folashade Soule, “How African governments should negotiate better infrastructure deals with China,” *Quartz Africa* (January 4, 2019).

<https://qz.com/africa/1515229/african-governments-should-do-better-china-infrastructure-deals/>

Andrew Caruso, Danielle Nesmith, Teresa Peterburs and Egle Vilkelyte, “In The Zone: An Insiders' View of Sino-African Investment in Special Economic Zones”. *China In Africa* (February 23 2016)

<http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/2016/02/guest-post-in-zone-insiders-view-of.html>

Suggested:

*Dance of the Lions and Dragons*, McKinsey Report on China in Africa, 2017.

Howard French, *China’s Second Continent: How a Million Migrants are Building a New Empire in Africa* (Vintage, 2015).

David Pilling, “Chinese Investment in Africa: Beijing's Testing Ground.” *Financial Times*, June 13, 2017.

**18. October 31, Political Limits of Business: The Israel-Palestine Case**

Required:

Ian Shapiro, Jean Rosenthal, Nicholas Strong, Greg MacDonald and Jaan Elias

Israel/Palestine, Yale SOM Case <http://vol12.cases.som.yale.edu/israel-palestine>

Suggested:

Ian Shapiro and Nicholas Strong, “Beyond the Two State Solution, *Project Syndicate*, March 3, 2016. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/beyond-the-two-state-solution-by-ian-shapiro-and-nicholas-strong-2016-03?barrier=accesspaylog>

**19. November 5, Crisis, Crash, and Response**

Required:

Adam Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World* (Viking, 2018), chapters 6-7, 12.

Suggested:

Tooze, *Crashed*, chapters 8-10, 13.

Ron Suskind, *Confidence Men: Wall Street, Washington and the Education of a President* (Harper 2012).

## **20. November 7, Fallout: The Housing Crisis and its Aftermath**

### Required:

Joshua Rosner, “Housing in the new millennium: A home without equity is just a rental with debt.”

Grechen Morgenson and Joshua Rosner, *Reckless Endangerment: How Outsized Ambition, Greed, and Corruption led to Economic Armageddon* (Times Books , 2011), excerpts.

Game theorist Thomas Schelling provides us with an ingenious simulation of market-driven self-segregation. You’ll find a good version of it at: <http://ncase.me/polygons/> Please spend ten minutes with it to understand the dynamics behind the racial segregation tipping game.

### Suggested:

Kriston Capps, “Mapping the spread of housing inequality over the great recession,” CITYLAB from The Atlantic. (Note the interactive map at

<http://datatools.urban.org/Features/mortgages-by-race/#5/38.000/-96.500>

John Geanakoplos, “Solving the present crisis and managing the leverage cycle,” *Federal Reserve Bank of New York Economic Policy Review* (August 2010), pp. 101-131.

John Geanakoplos & Susan Koniak, “Matters of Principal,” *New York Times* (March 4, 2009).

## **PART IV. THE POLITICS OF INSECURITY**

## **21. November 12, Backlash: 2016 and Beyond**

### Required:

Tooze *Crashed*, chapter 24.

Arlie Hochschild, “No country for white men,” *Mother Jones* September/October 2016.

<https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/08/trump-white-blue-collar-supporters/>

### Suggested:

Arlie Hochschild, *Strangers in their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New Press, 2016).

Katherine Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker* (University of Chicago Press, 2016).

## **22. November 14, Political sources of Populism: Misdiagnosing Democracy’s Ills**

### Required:

Frances Rosenbluth and Ian Shapiro, *Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself* (Yale University Press, 2018), chapters 1-8\*

## **PART V. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?**

## **23. November 19, Building blocks of distributive politics**

### Required:

Michael Graetz and Ian Shapiro, *The Wolf at the Door: Fighting Economic Insecurity* (Harvard University Press, 2020), Introduction and chapters 1-2.

**24. November 21, Unemployment, Reemployment, and Income Security**

Required:

Graetz and Shapiro, *Wolf at the Door*, chapters 5-6.

Suggested:

Graetz and Shapiro, *Wolf at the Door*, chapter 9.

**25. December 3, Tough Nuts: Education and Health Insurance**

Required:

Dale Russakoff, *The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools?* (Mariner, 2016), chapters 1-2, 9\*

Suggested:

Dale Russakoff, *The Prize*, the rest.

Graetz and Shapiro, *Wolf at the Door*, chapter 8.

**26. December 5, Agendas for Democratic Reform**

Required:

Rosenbluth and Shapiro, *Responsible Parties*, chapter 12.

Suggested:

Mariana Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs. Private Sector Myths* (Public Affairs, 2015).