Power and Politics in Today’s World
Ian Shapiro
DeVane Lectures
Fall, 2019. Tuesdays & Thursdays 11:35 to 12:50, SSS 114.

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 congenital 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 (each worth 30 percent of the grade), due at 5:00 pm on 10/21 and 12/6 respectively, and a final exam (40 percent of the grade).
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:
   Suggested:

3. September 5, A Unipolar World? NATO, the EU, & the Washington Consensus
   Required:
   Suggested:

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

6. September 17, Reorienting the Left: New Democrats, New Labour, and Europe’s Social Democrats
Required:
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:
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*  
   **Suggested:**  

9. **September 26, Privatizing Government II: Prisons and the Military**  
   **Required:**  
   [http://www.cnbc.com/id/44677873](http://www.cnbc.com/id/44677873) Be sure to watch the embedded video before class.  
   **Suggested:**  

10. **October 1, Money in Politics**  
    **Required:**  
    **Suggested:**  
    Jane Mayer, *Dark Money*, the rest.  

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

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

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

   **Suggested:**  

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

   **Suggested:**  

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, Denoument of Humanitarian Intervention**  
   **Required:**  

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

   **Suggested:**

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

**Required:**

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

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](http://vol12.cases.som.yale.edu/israel-palestine)

**Suggested:**

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.

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.”
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/](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](http://datatools.urban.org/Features/mortgages-by-race/#5/38.000/-96.500)

PART IV. THE POLITICS OF INSECURITY

21. November 12, Backlash: 2016 and Beyond
Required:
Tooze *Crashed*, chapter 24.

Suggested:

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:

24. November 21, Unemployment, Reemployment, and Income Security
   Required:
   Graetz and Shapiro, *Wolf at the Door*, chapters 5-6.
   Suggested:

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: