GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Director of undergraduate studies: Sigríður Benediktsdóttir, (sigríður.benediktsdóttir@yale.edu) 202 Horchow Hall, 432-3418; jackson.yale.edu/academics/the-global-affairs-major/

The Global Affairs major prepares Yale students for global citizenship and service by enhancing their understanding of the world around them. Students in this interdisciplinary major develop expertise in contemporary global affairs that is strongly grounded in the social sciences.

Students in the Global Affairs major have the flexibility to shape their own curriculums according to their interests and ambitions. In the past, students have concentrated their coursework on economic development and poverty, global health, global climate policy, international relations, and foreign policy and diplomacy, with topics relevant to national and human security.

COURSES FOR NONMAJORS
Most Global Affairs courses are open to both majors and nonmajors. If a Global Affairs course requires an application, the application will be posted on the Jackson School of Global Affairs website.

PREREQUISITES
There are no prerequisites for the Global Affairs major. However, students interested in applying to the major are strongly encouraged to complete the following required introductory economics sequence (ECON 108, 110, or 115; and ECON 111 or 116) and work toward the language requirement early in their course planning. An introductory analysis course such as GLBL 121 is also suggested. These courses are all required for the major and progress towards completing them, at the time of application, will be considered.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE MAJOR
Thirteen term courses are required for the major in addition to a language requirement. Introductory courses in microeconomics (ECON 108, 110, or 115) and macroeconomics (ECON 111 or 116) are required, as is one intermediate course in either microeconomics or macroeconomics (ECON 121, 122, 125 or 126). All majors must take the core courses GLBL 225 and 275, and two courses in quantitative analysis, GLBL 121 and 122. GLBL 121 is recommended but can be replaced by other analysis courses including ECON 117 and S&DS 100–106, with approval of the director of undergraduate studies (DUS). All majors must take GLBL 122. Majors also take four electives and one methods course chosen from an approved group of courses in the departments of Global Affairs, History, Political Science, Economics, and other social science departments; and GLBL 499, Senior Capstone Project. For information about which courses qualify as electives (GLBL 121, 122, 225, and 275 may not count as electives.), see the course matrix on the Jackson School of Global Affairs website and the course listings in Yale Course Search.
Language requirement Global Affairs majors are required to take a course designated L5 in a modern language other than English. In exceptional cases, a demonstration of proficiency can fulfill this requirement.

Credit/D/Fail Courses taken Credit/D/Fail may not be applied to the requirements of the major, with the exception that a grade of Credit in an L5 language course may be used to demonstrate proficiency in a foreign language.

SENIOR REQUIREMENT
In the fall term of the senior year, majors must complete a capstone project in GLBL 499. Small groups of students are each assigned to a policy task force in which they apply their academic training in the social sciences to a specific problem relevant to global affairs. Each task force presents its findings and recommendations to a real-world client such as a government agency, a nongovernmental organization or nonprofit group, or a private-sector organization in the United States or abroad.

ADVISING AND APPLICATION TO THE MAJOR
Students apply to the Global Affairs major in the fall of the sophomore year. The number of students accepted into the major is limited, and selection is competitive. The call for applications is posted each year on the Jackson School of Global Affairs website, circulated through the residential college deans’ offices, and noted on the Advising Resources website. For application information, visit the Jackson School of Global Affairs website.

Internships Students in the major are encouraged to take a summer internship in the field of global affairs after their junior year. The Jackson School Career Resources Office can help students find appropriate internships.

STUDY ABROAD
Global Affairs majors who plan to study abroad should consult the director of undergraduate studies (DUS) to devise a course of study prior to the term abroad.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR REQUIREMENTS
Prerequisites None

Number of courses 13 (incl senior req; excluding lang req)

Specific courses required ECON 108, 110, or 115; ECON 111 or 116; ECON 121, 122, 125, or 126; GLBL 225; GLBL 275; GLBL 121; GLBL 122

Distribution of courses 4 approved electives and 1 methods course

Language requirement Advanced ability (L5) in 1 modern lang other than English

Substitution permitted With DUS approval, GLBL 121 may be replaced by other analysis courses including ECON 117 and S&DS 100–106

Senior requirement Senior capstone project in GLBL 499

The Global Affairs major prepares Yale students for global leadership and service by enhancing their understanding of the world around them. Students in this interdisciplinary major develop expertise in contemporary global affairs that is informed by the social sciences.
Students in the Global Affairs major have the flexibility to shape their own curriculums according to their interests and ambitions. In the past, students have concentrated their coursework on economic development; poverty; global health; global climate policy; international relations; and foreign policy and diplomacy, with topics relevant to national and human security. All majors are required to take foundation courses, global affairs core courses, quantitative analysis and other methods courses, and to take at least four additional approved electives. During the senior year, each major completes a capstone course in which a group of eight to ten students addresses a specific policy issue and presents its findings and recommendations to a real-world organization.

Students apply to the Global Affairs major during the fall term of the sophomore year. The number of students accepted into the major is limited, and selection is competitive. Interested students are encouraged to consider the introductory economics and foreign language requirements in their course planning for the first and sophomore years. Each year the call for applications is posted on the Jackson School of Global Affairs website, is circulated through the residential college deans’ offices, and is noted on the Advising Resources website.

Most Global Affairs courses are open to nonmajors, including GLBL 101. For more information about courses and the major in Global Affairs visit the School of Global Affairs website.

FACULTY ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROGRAM OF GLOBAL AFFAIRS


**Associate Professors** Alexandre Debs (*Political Science*), Kaveh Khoshnood (*School of Public Health*), Jason Lyall (*Political Science*), Nuno Monteiro (*Political Science*), Marci Shore (*History*), Jonathan Wyrtzen (*Sociology, International Affairs*)

**Assistant Professors** Lorenzo Caliendo (*Economics, School of Management*), Zack Cooper (*School of Public Health*), Gregg Gonsalves (*School of Public Health*), Lloyd Grieger (*Sociology*), Alice Miller (*School of Public Health, Law*), Thania Sanchez (*Political Science*), Kristina Talbert-Slagle (*School of Medicine, Global Health*)

**Senior Lecturers** Marnix Amand, Sigríður Benediktssdottir, Charles Hill (*International Security Studies*), Asha Rangappa, Justin Thomas

**Lecturers** Michael Brenes, Christopher Fussell, William Casey King, Nicholas Lotito (*Political Science*), Alice Miller (*Public Health, Law*), Jaimie Morse, Nathaniel Raymond, Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, Edward Wittenstein

**Senior Fellows** Eric Braverman, David Brooks, Howard Dean, Janine di Giovanni, Robert Ford, Clare Lockhart, Stanley McChrystal, Rakesh Mohan, David Rank, Stephen Roach, Emma Sky
See visual roadmap of the requirements.

View Courses

Courses

**GLBL 121a, Applied Quantitative Analysis**  Staff  
This course is an introduction to statistics and their application in public policy and global affairs research. Throughout the term we cover issues related to data collection (including surveys, sampling, and weighted data), data description (graphical and numerical techniques for summarizing data), probability and probability distributions, confidence intervals, hypothesis testing, measures of association, and regression analysis.  QR 0 Course cr

**GLBL 122b, Applied Quantitative Analysis II**  Staff  
This course introduces students to multiple regression analysis and other tools of causal inference and program evaluation. The course focuses on applying these tools to real data on various topics in global affairs and public policy. Applications are drawn from a wide range of areas including education, social welfare, unemployment, security, health, immigration, the environment, and economic development. We develop the core analytical tools of single and multi-variable regression and discuss fixed effects, difference-in-difference, natural experiment, instrumental variables, regression discontinuity, event study, and matching approaches. Students are trained to thoughtfully produce their own empirical research and to critically consume empirical research done by others. Prerequisite: GLBL 121 or equivalent.  QR 0 Course cr

**GLBL 159a / ECON 159a, Game Theory**  Benjamin Polak  
An introduction to game theory and strategic thinking. Ideas such as dominance, backward induction, Nash equilibrium, evolutionary stability, commitment, credibility, asymmetric information, adverse selection, and signaling are applied to games played in class and to examples drawn from economics, politics, the movies, and elsewhere. After introductory microeconomics. No prior knowledge of game theory assumed.  QR, SO 0 Course cr

**GLBL 201a / AMST 228a / HIST 128a, Origins of U.S. Global Power**  Staff  
This course examines the causes and the consequences of American global power in the “long 20th century,” peeking back briefly into the 19th century as well as forward into the present one. The focus is on foreign relations, which includes but is not limited to foreign policy; indeed, America’s global role was rooted as much in its economic and cultural power as it was in diplomacy and military strength. We study events like wars, crises, treaties, and summits – but also trade shows and movie openings. Our principal subjects include plenty of State Department officials, but also missionaries, business people, and journalists. We pay close attention also to conceptions of American power; how did observers in and beyond the United States understand the nature, origins, and operations of American power?  HU 0 Course cr

**GLBL 203a / PLSC 186a, Globalization and Domestic Politics**  Didac Queralt  
Examination of the political and institutional conditions that explain why some politicians and interest groups (e.g. lobbies, unions, voters, NGOs) prevail over others in crafting foreign policy. Consideration of traditional global economic exchange (trade, monetary policy and finance) as well as new topics in the international political economy (IPE), such as migration and environmental policy.  0 Course cr
GLBL 204b / CLCV 200b / HIST 204b, Global Leadership, 600 BCE–600 CE  Staff
This course provides students with an accessible and engaging introduction to both the classical world and the problems of political organization and leadership through time and across societies. Students learn to think comparatively between individuals, societies, and systems and to analyze different ideals of leadership. This means considering not only traditional masculine and military conceptions of rule but also the leadership roles and styles of women, slaves, and rebels. We hope to bring into view, in other words, the intersectional challenges to power faced by non-traditional leaders in a world dominated by gender, class, and cultural prejudices, and to show how non-traditional leaders confronted and overcame these. Students draw upon this experience to access the premodern world as an alternative but related historical reality which can productively inform their engagement with the present. HU

GLBL 207a / HIST 104a, The World Circa 2000  Daniel Magaziner and Samuel Moyn
The World Circa 2000 is a global history of the present since ~ 1960. The course moves thematically to consider topics including, decolonization and nation building in the global south, crises of nationalism and recurrent authoritarianism, the politics of aid, humanitarianism and neo-liberalism, technophilia, environmentalism and networked societies, climate change and ‘free trade,’ new religious fundamentalisms and imagined solidarities, celebrity, individuality, and consumerism in China, the United States, and beyond. HU  o  Course cr

* GLBL 215a / LAST 386a / MGRK 237a / PLSC 375a / SOCY 389a, Populism  Paris Aslanidis
Investigation of the populist phenomenon in party systems and the social movement arena. Conceptual, historical, and methodological analyses are supported by comparative assessments of various empirical instances in the US and around the world, from populist politicians such as Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, to populist social movements such as the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street. WR, SO

* GLBL 216a / PLSC 173a, Democracy Promotion and Its Critics  Sarah Bush
A seminar on the history, justifications, and various forms of democracy promotion — and their controversies. Topics include foreign aid, election observers, gender, international organizations, post-conflict development, revolutions, and authoritarian backlash.

GLBL 219b / ECON 375b, Monetary Policy  William English
Introduction to modern macroeconomic models and how to use the models to examine some of the key issues that have faced monetary policymakers during and after the global financial crisis of 2008–2009. Prerequisites: Intermediate level macroeconomics (ECON 122 or 126) and introductory econometrics. WR, SO  o  Course cr

GLBL 223b / HLTH 230b, Global Health: Challenges and Responses  Staff
Overview of the determinants of health and how health status is measured, with emphasis on low- and middle-income countries. The burden of disease, including who is most affected by different diseases and risk factors; cost-effective measures for addressing the problem. The health of the poor, equity and inequality, and the relationship between health and development. SO  o  Course cr

* GLBL 224a / HIST 224Ja, Empires and Imperialism Since 1840  Arne Westad
Empire has been a main form of state structure throughout much of human history. Many of the key challenges the world faces today have their origins in imperial
structures and policies, from wars and terror to racism and environmental destruction. This seminar looks at the transformation empires and imperialisms went through from the middle part of the nineteenth century and up to today. Our discussions center on how and why imperialisms moved from strategies of territorial occupation and raw exploitation, the “smash and grab” version of empire, and on to policies of racial hierarchies, social control and reform, and colonial concepts of civilizational progress, many of which are still with us today. The seminar also covers anti-colonial resistance, revolutionary organizations and ideas, and processes of decolonization.

* **GLBL 225b, Approaches to International Development**  Staff
  This course focuses on understanding poverty and economic development. The emphasis is on applying the tools of economics and empirical analysis for thinking critically about the nature, causes and potential policy solutions to poverty. Topics include the measurement of poverty; economic growth; institutions and colonialism; social capital; inequality; migration and forced displacement; rural finance and labor markets; and gender. Enrollment limited to sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Prerequisite: GLBL 121.

* **GLBL 230b, Managing the Clean Energy Transition: Contemporary Energy and Climate Change Policy Making**  Paul Simons
  This seminar will explore the principal challenges facing both advanced and developing economies in managing their respective transitions to a clean energy future and the goals of the Paris climate change agreement, while simultaneously meeting energy security needs and keeping economies competitive. By the end of the course, students should be fully conversant with key features of the global energy and climate change architecture; principal challenges facing policymakers in meeting climate change goals; and opportunities and hurdles for the deployment of key clean energy technologies in coming decades.

* **GLBL 234b / ECON 184b, International Economics**  Samuel Kortum
  Introduction to conceptual tools useful for understanding the strategic choices made by countries, firms, and unions in a globalized world. After two terms of introductory economics.

* **GLBL 237a / ECON 185a, Global Economy**  Sigridur Benediktsdottir and Aleh Tsyvinski
  A global view of the world economy and the salient issues in the short and the long run. Economics of crises, fiscal policy, debt, inequality, global imbalances, climate change. The course is based on reading, debating, and applying cutting edge macroeconomic research.

* **GLBL 244a / PLSC 445a, The Politics of Fascism**  Lauren Young
  The subject of this course is fascism: its rise in Europe in the 1930s and deployment during the Second World War as a road map to understanding the resurgence of nationalism and populism in today’s political landscape, both in Europe and the United States. The course begins with an examination of the historic debates around fascism, nationalism, populism, and democracy. It then moves geographically through the 1930s and 1940s in Europe, looking specifically at Weimar Germany, Vichy France, the rise of fascism in England in the 1930s, and how fascist ideology was reflected in Italy’s colonial ambitions during the Abyssinian War. The course examines fascism and the implementation of racial theory and the example of anti-Semitism as an ideological and
political tool. It also looks at the emergence of fascism in visual culture. The second part of the seminar turns to fascist ideology and the realities of today's political world. We examine the political considerations of building a democratic state, question the compromise between security and the preservation of civil liberties and look at the resurgence of populism and nationalism in Europe and the US. The course concludes by examining the role of globalization in contemporary political discourse.

* GLBL 253b / ARCH 341b / LAST 318b / URBN 341b, Globalization Space  
Staff

Infrastructure space as a primary medium of change in global polity. Networks of trade, energy, communication, transportation, spatial products, finance, management, and labor, as well as new strains of political opportunity that reside within their spatial disposition. Case studies include free zones and automated ports around the world, satellite urbanism in South Asia, high-speed rail in Japan and the Middle East, agrioles in southern Spain, fiber optic submarine cable in East Africa, spatial products of tourism in North Korea, and management platforms of the International Organization for Standardization.  

HU 0 Course cr

GLBL 275a, Approaches to International Security  
Staff

Introduction to major approaches and central topics in the field of international security, with primary focus on the principal man-made threats to human security: the use of violence among and within states, both by state and non-state actors. Priority to Global Affairs majors. Non-majors require permission of the instructor.  

0 Course cr

GLBL 281a / HIST 221a, Military History of the West since 1500  
Staff

A study of the military history of the West since 1500, with emphasis on the relationship between armies and navies on the one hand, and technology, economics, geography, and the rise of the modern nation-state on the other. The coming of airpower in its varied manifestations. Also meets requirements for the Air Force and Naval ROTC programs.  

HU 0 Course cr

* GLBL 282b / EVST 255b / F&ES 255b / PLSC 215b, Environmental Law and Politics  
John Wargo

We explore relations among environmental quality, health, and law. We consider global-scale avoidable challenges such as: environmentally related human illness, climate instability, water depletion and contamination, food and agriculture, air pollution, energy, packaging, culinary globalization, and biodiversity loss. We evaluate the effectiveness of laws and regulations intended to reduce or prevent environmental and health damages. Additional laws considered include rights of secrecy, property, speech, worker protection, and freedom from discrimination. Comparisons among the US and EU legal standards and precautionary policies will also be examined. Ethical concerns of justice, equity, and transparency are prominent themes.  

SO

GLBL 287a / PLSC 387a / SOCY 230a, Capitalism and Crisis  
Isabela Mares

This course provides an introduction to the study of comparative capitalism. We examine how institutions organizing labor markets, finance and the welfare state differ systematically across advanced industrialized countries and the consequence of these differences for a variety of economic and policy outcomes. These include economic growth, unemployment, levels of inequality and so on. Can we meaningfully talk about a German or Swedish model and if so, what are the main institutional arrangements that differ across these economies? How do institutions in these countries differ from
more liberal capitalist economies, such as the United States? In the second part of the course, we examine the responses of different countries to a variety of economic shocks. These include the stagflation crisis of the 1970’s, the slowdown in economic growth, deindustrialization, the rise in unemployment and inequality and the migration crisis. We examine how existing political and economic institutions have shaped the policy trade-offs encountered by different countries and we explain the different political responses taken in response to these crises. During the period between November 14 and November 24, enrollment will be limited to majors. After November 24, registration will be opened to all Yale College students. Please register your interest via the Yale Course Search website.

* GLBL 289a / HIST 245Ja / PLSC 431a, War and Peace in Northern Ireland  Bonnie Weir
Examination of theoretical and empirical literature in response to questions about the insurgency and uneasy peace in Northern Ireland following the peace agreement of 1998 which formally ended the three-decade long civil conflict known widely as The Troubles and was often lauded as the most successful of its kind in modern history. Consideration of how both the conflict and the peace have been messier and arguably more divisive than most outside observers realize.  

* GLBL 307a / ECON 467a, Economic Evolution of the Latin American and Caribbean Countries  Ernesto Zedillo
Economic evolution and prospects of the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries. Topics include the period from independence to the 1930s; import substitution and industrialization to the early 1980s; the debt crisis and the "lost decade"; reform and disappointment in the late 1980s and the 1990s; exploration of selected episodes in particular countries; and speculations about the future. Prerequisites: intermediate microeconomics and macroeconomics.

* GLBL 308a / ECON 424a, Central Banking  William English
Introduction to the different roles and responsibilities of modern central banks, including the operation of payments systems, monetary policy, supervision and regulation, and financial stability. Discussion of different ways to structure central banks to best manage their responsibilities. Prerequisites: Intermediate Microeconomics, Intermediate Macroeconomics, and Introductory Econometrics.

* GLBL 310a / ECON 407a, International Finance  Ana Fieler
A study of how consumers and firms are affected by the globalization of the world economy. Topics include trade costs, the current account, exchange rate pass-through, international macroeconomic co-movement, multinational production, and gains from globalization. Prerequisite: intermediate macroeconomics or equivalent.

* GLBL 311b / ECON 480b, Banking Crises and Financial Stability  Sigridur Benediktsdottir
Focus on systemic risk, banking crises, financial stability and macroprudential policies. Additional emphasis on systemic risk and prudential policies in peripheral European economies and emerging economies. Prerequisites: ECON 115 and 116, or equivalent.
* GLBL 313a, The United Nations on the Ground  Jessica Faieta
This course explores the role and functioning of the United Nations at the country level from the perspective of the three mandates or pillars of the UN Charter. 1) Peace and Security, and in particular the Peace-keeping operations: how do they work? Who decides to send a UN mission to a country? what do they do in each country? 2) Development: How does the UN helps countries achieve the Sustainable Development Goals? Which are the different UN agencies, funds, and programs and how do they work in reducing poverty, advancing gender equality, preventing violence, fighting climate change and protecting the environment or ensuring food security? and 3) Human rights: How does the UN respond to humanitarian crises, such as natural disasters or refugee crisis? What is its role in protecting vulnerable populations such as children, ethnic minorities or indigenous peoples? How does the Organization monitor human rights compliance or helps avoid human rights violations?  

* GLBL 317b / PLSC 365b, China’s Sovereign Lending  James Sundquist
This is a course about when governments borrow from foreign lenders and the political causes and consequences of the decision to borrow. To enable us to focus on politics, some training in economics is required. We begin by reviewing the internal determinants of China’s external lending behavior. Next, we study how international finance collides with domestic politics creating both opportunities and challenges for borrowers. The second half of the course surveys topics of contemporary importance: how effective is Chinese economic statecraft? Can China expect to be repaid in full? Will the renminbi become a global reserve currency? Prerequisite: Three Economics courses, including either ECON 122 or ECON 122.  

* GLBL 330b / ECON 465b / EP&E 224b, Debating Globalization  Ernesto Zedillo
Facets of contemporary economic globalization, including trade, investment, and migration. Challenges and threats of globalization: inclusion and inequality, emerging global players, global governance, climate change, and nuclear weapons proliferation. Prerequisite: background in international economics and data analysis. Preference to seniors majoring in Economics or EP&E.  

* GLBL 342b / HIST 482Jb / PLSC 321b, Studies in Grand Strategy I  Arne Westad and Michael Brenes
The study of grand strategy, of how individuals and groups can accomplish large ends with limited means. The spring term focuses on key moments in history that illustrate strategic thinking in action. During the summer, students undertake research projects or internships analyzing strategic problems or aspects of strategy. The following fall, students put their ideas into action by applying concepts of grand strategy to present day issues. Admission is by application only; the cycle for the current year is closed. This course does not fulfill the history seminar requirement, but may count toward geographical distributional credit within the History major for any region studied, upon application to the director of undergraduate studies. Previous study courses in political science, history, global affairs, or subjects with broad interdisciplinary relevance encouraged.  

* GLBL 344a / HIST 483Ja / PLSC 161a, Studies in Grand Strategy II  Arne Westad and Michael Brenes
The study of grand strategy, of how individuals and groups can accomplish large ends with limited means. During the fall term, students put into action the ideas studied in the spring term by applying concepts of grand strategy to present day issues.
Admission is by application only; the cycle for the current year is closed. This course does not fulfill the history seminar requirement, but may count toward geographical distributional credit within the History major for any region studied, upon application to the director of undergraduate studies. Prerequisite: PLSC 321. Previous study courses in political science, history, global affairs, or subjects with broad interdisciplinary relevance encouraged.

* GLBL 388a, The Politics of American Foreign Policy  Sigridur Benediktsdottir and Howard Dean
This seminar addresses the domestic political considerations that have affected American foreign policy in the post-World War II world. The goals of the course are to (1) give historical context to the formation of major existing global governance structures, (2) give students an opportunity to research how major foreign policy decisions in the past were influenced by contemporary political pressure, and (3) assess what effect those pressures have had on today’s global issues. Case studies include, but are not limited to: Truman and the Marshall Plan; Johnson and the Vietnam War; Nixon and the opening of China; Reagan and the collapse of the Soviet Union, George HW Bush and Iraq, Clinton and the Balkans, and Obama and the development of a multipolar foreign policy for a multipolar world.

* GLBL 394a / ANTH 409a / ER&M 394a / EVST 422a / F&ES 422a, Climate and Society: Perspectives from the Social Sciences and Humanities  Michael Dove
Discussion of the major currents of thought regarding climate and climate change; focusing on equity, collapse, folk knowledge, historic and contemporary visions, western and non-western perspectives, drawing on the social sciences and humanities.

* GLBL 398b / HIST 426Jb, Yale and the World: Global Power, Local History  David Engerman
This course uses moments in the history of Yale University to shed light on the forms, functions, and trajectory of U.S. global power from the late 19th century through the early 21st century. Key episodes include missionary work in East Asia, scientific expeditions in South America, mobilization for war and Cold War, and the internationalization of the student body. Students investigate these episodes by reading scholarly work as well as archival sources, and through discussions with Yale faculty and staff.

* GLBL 450a or b, Directed Research  Sigridur Benediktsdottir
Independent research under the direction of a faculty member on a special topic in global affairs not covered in other courses. Permission of the director of undergraduate studies and of the instructor directing the research is required.

* GLBL 452a / HIST 149a / HUMS 416a, The Crisis of Liberalism  Staff
Is there a “crisis of liberalism” occurring in the United States and around the world? What is liberalism? If it is in crisis, what are the features of the disorder and what are possible responses? Is it possible to believe in the further progress of liberal societies, or have they fallen into a decadent condition?