

## International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2019-2020

### Global Order

#### RI-SP107 - Printemps - 6 ECTS

Wednesday 14h15 - 16h00

### Course Description

IR scholars routinely have debate the nature and longevity of the international system. Some have emphasized the role of power, while others give more credit to ideas or institutions. In this course, we will discuss different concepts of order. We will also turn to the current debate. The course will leave room for students to present their own research on the matter.

#### > PROFESSOR

[Stephanie Hofmann](#)

[Office hours](#)

Wednesday 4.30-6.30pm

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#### > ASSISTANT

Bart Sebastiaan Gabriel

[Office hours](#)

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## Syllabus

The end of the Cold War, 9/11, Trump's election to the US presidency, and the changing global power relations each are events and processes that have contributed to the debate over the nature and longevity of the global order "as we know/knew it." In trying to define and understand the constitution of the global order, some have emphasized the role of power, while others give more credit to ideas or institutions. The way we define the order influences whether and how this order can change. In this course, we will discuss different concepts of order as well as examine the current academic debate. We thereby will address questions such as what is order in the first place? What is disorder? What / who provides order? How and why do orders change? The course will also leave room for students to present their own research.

**Course requirements** consist of

- active *participation* in seminar discussions,
- one *short paper (max. 5 pages)*,

Please submit **the short paper two days after class of week 6** (Friday 4pm). The paper should compare and contrast two conceptions of order that we have discussed in class.

- and a ***research paper***

The format of the **paper is 25 pages** (excluding references), using both course materials and other sources. The paper will be evaluated based on (i) its clear statement of a research question and argument, (ii) the ability to use evidence, (iii) the presentation of counter-arguments, counterfactuals, etc. to support the main thesis. Evidence of **plagiarism** (including copying and pasting of text from the web) will result in a **failing** grade for the course. The paper is due on **June 6, 10pm CET**.

The final grade will be based on the following distribution: participation (20%), short paper (20%) and research paper (60%).

## **Week 1. Introduction**

No readings.

## **Week 2. Constituted by power: politico-military dimension**

Mead, Walter R. 2014. "The return of geopolitics." *Foreign Affairs*.

Hurrell, Andrew. 2006. "Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?" *International Affairs* 82, 1: 1-19.

Young, Alasdair R. 2010. "Perspectives on the Changing Global Distribution of Power: Concepts and Context." *Politics* 30, 1: 2-14.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1999. "Globalization and Governance." *Political Science and Politics* 32, 4: 693-700.

### Optional

Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall. 2005. "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, 1: 39-75.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "Why International Primacy Matters." *International Security* 17, 4: 68-83.

Smith, Martin A. 2012. *Power in the Changing Global Order: The US, Russia and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## **Week 3. Constituted by power: politico-economic dimension**

Norloff, Carla. 2018. "Hegemony and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook." *International Affairs* 94, 1: 63-88.

Norloff, Carla and William C. Wohlforth. 2019. "*Raison de l'hegemonie* (The Hegemon's Interest): Theory of the Costs and Benefits of Hegemony." *Security Studies* 28: 422-450.

Kahler, Miles. 2016. "The Global Economic Multilaterals: Will eighty years be enough?" *Global Governance* 22, 1: 1-9.

Hopewell, K. 2017. "The BRICS—merely a fable? Emerging power alliances in global trade governance." *International Affairs* 93, 6: 1377-1396.

### Optional

Ruggie, John G. 1982. "International regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order." *International Organization* 36, 2: 379-415.

Payne, Anthony. 2008. "The G8 in a changing global economic order." *International Affairs* 84, 3: 519-533.

Norrlof, Carla and William C. Wohlforth. 2019. "Is US grand strategy self-defeating? Deep engagement, military spending and sovereign debt." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 36, 3.

#### **Week 4. Constituted by law and institutions**

Michaels, Ralf. 2009. "Global Legal Pluralism." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5: 243-262.

Peters, Anne. 2009. "The merits of global constitutionalism." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 16, 2: 397-411.

Bull, Hedley. 1971. "Order vs. Justice in International Society." *Political Studies*

Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "Why the liberal world order will survive." *Ethics and International Affairs* 32, 1: 17-29.

#### Optional

Bull, Hedley. 1972. "International Law and International Order." *International Organization* 26, 3: 583-588.

Krahmann, Elke. 2005. "American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Vision of International Security." *International Studies Review* 7, 4: 531-545.

Held, David. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order. From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Berman, Paul Schiff. 2007. "Global legal pluralism." *Southern California Law Review* 80: 1155-1238.

Twining, William. 2010. "Normative and legal pluralism: a global perspective." *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law* 20: 473-517.

Law, David S. and Mila Versteeg. 2011. "The evolution and ideology of global constitutionalism." *California Law Review* 99: 1163-1258.

Schwöbel, Christine. 2010. "Situating the debate on global constitutionalism." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 8, 3: 611-635.

Ikenberry, G. John. 2011. "The future of the liberal order. Internationalism after America." *Foreign Affairs*.

#### **Week 5. Constituted by norms and culture**

Reus-Smit, Christian. 2017. "Cultural Diversity and International Order." *International Organization* 71, 4: 851-885.

Patrick, S. 2016. "World order: what exactly are the rules?" *The Washington Quarterly* 39, 1: 7-27.

Wiener, Antje. 2007. "Contested Meanings of Norms: A Research Framework." *Comparative European Politics* 5: 1-17.

Akira, Iriye. 1997. "Cultural internationalism and world order." *International Journal* 52, 4.

### Optional

Ronzoni, Miriam. 2009. "The Global Order: A Case of Background Injustice? The Practice-Dependent Account." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 37, 3: 229-256.

Wendt, Alex. 1999. "Three Cultures of Anarchy". In Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6, 246-312.

Perez, Oren. 2003. "Normative creativity and global legal pluralism: reflections on the democratic critique of transnational law." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 10, 2: 25-64.

Berman, Paul Schiff. 2018. "Global legal pluralism as a normative project." *UC Irvine Law Review* 8: 149-182.

### **Week 6. Constituted by ideas and ideology**

Edinger, Harald. 2018. "Bored enough yet? International order, ideology, and what it takes to get history started again." *International Affairs* 94, 1: 173-183.

Cox, Robert W. 1981. "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 10, 2: 126-155.

Acharya, Amitav. 2017. "After liberal hegemony: the advent of a multiplex world order." *Ethics and International Affairs*.

Hooghe, Liesbet, Tobias Lenz and Gary Marks. 2019. "Contested world order: the delegitimation of international governance." *Review of International Organizations* 14, 4: 731-743.

### Optional

Chomsky, Noam. 1999. *Profit for People. Neoliberalism and Global Order*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Nye, Joseph Jr. 2017. "Will the liberal order survive?" *Foreign Affairs*.

Conrad, Sebastian and Dominic Sachsenmaier. "Introduction: Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s." In: Conrad, Sebastian and Dominic Sachsenmaier, eds. *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. p.1-25.

Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "The end of liberal international order?" *International Affairs* 94, 1: 7-23.

➤ **Short paper due this Friday at 4pm**

## **Week 7. The global and the regional: Asia and the Post-Soviet Space**

Kaczmarek, M. 2017. "Non-western visions of regionalism: China's New Silk Road and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union." *International Affairs* 93, 6: 1357-1376.

Breslin, Shaun. 2016. "China's global goals and roles: changing the world from second place?" *Asian Affairs* 47, 1: 59-70.

Phillips, Andrew and Jack Sharman. 2015. "Explaining durable diversity in international systems: state, company and empire in the Indian Ocean." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, 3: 436-448.

Kurowska, Xymena. 2014. "Multipolarity as resistance to liberal norms: Russia's position on responsibility to protect." *Conflict, Security and Development* 14, 4: 489-508.

### Optional

Kirchner, Emil J. and Roberto Dominguez. 2011. "Regional organizations and security governance." As well as "The performance of regional organizations in security governance." Both in *The Security Governance of Regional Organizations*. London: Routledge.

Nel, Philip and Detlef Nolte. 2010. "Introduction: special section on regional powers in a changing global order." *Review of International Studies* 36: 877-879.

## **Week 8. The global and the regional: Africa and Latin America**

Lenz, Tobias. 2012. "Spurred emulation: the EU and regional integration in Mercosur and SADC." *West European Politics* 35, 1: 155-173.

Flemes, Daniel and Michael Radseck. 2010. "Creating Multilevel Security Governance in South America." *GIGA Working Paper No 117*.

Bagayoko, Niagale, Eboe Hutchful and Robin Luckham. 2016. "Hybrid security governance in Africa: rethinking the foundations of security, justice and legitimate public authority." *Conflict, Security and Development* 16, 1: 1-32.

Oelsner, Andrea. 2013. "The institutional identity of regional organizations, or Mercosur's identity crisis." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, 1: 115-127.

### Optional

Dembinski, Matthias and Dirk Peters. 2019. "Institutional justice as a condition for the regional acceptance of global order: the African Union and the Protection of Civilians." *Justice and Peace* 137-163.

Murithi, Tim. 2016. "The African Union as a Norm Entrepreneur: the limits of human protection and mass atrocities prevention." *Global Responsibility to Protect* 8, 2-3: 227-248.

Glas, Aarie. 2018. "African Union security culture in practice: African problems and African solutions." *International Affairs* 94, 5: 1121-1138.

### **Week 9. The global and the regional: the rest**

Smith, Michael E. 2011. "A liberal grand strategy in a realist world? Power, purpose and the EU's changing global role." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18, 1: 144-163.

Round, Peter, Bastian Giegerich and Christian Mölling. 2018. "European strategic autonomy and Brexit." *IISS and DGAP Report*

Önis, Ziya and Suhnaz Yilmaz. 2016. "Turkey and Russia in a shifting global order: cooperation, conflict and asymmetric interdependence in a turbulent region." *Third World Quarterly* 37, 1: 71-95.

Tardy, Thierry. 2018. "The European Union and UN peace operations: what global-regional peace and security partnership?" *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* 231-251.

#### Optional

Chen, Zhimin. 2016. "China, the European Union and the Fragile World Order." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, 4: 775-792.

### **Week 10. Changing orders**

Ikenberry, G. John and Daniel Nexon. 2019. "Hegemony Studies 3.0: the dynamics of hegemonic orders." *Security Studies* 28, 3: 395-421.

Phillips, Andrew. 2016. "The global transformation, multiple early modernities, and international systems change." *International Theory* 8, 3: 481-491.

Legro, Jeffrey W. 2005. *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Chapters 1-2 (pp1-48).

Falk, Richard. 2003. "Regionalism and World Order: The Changing Global Setting." In: Söderbaum F., Shaw T.M., eds. *Theories of New Regionalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

#### Optional

Lawson, George. 2012. "The eternal divide? History and International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 18, 2: 203-226.

Bull, Hedley and Adam Watson. 1984. *The Expansion of international society*.

Adler, Emanuel. 2019. *World Ordering. A Social Theory of Cognitive Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adler, Emanuel and Patricia Greve. 2009. "When security community meets balance of power: overlapping regional mechanisms of security governance." *Review of International Studies* 35, 1: 59-84.

Rajagopal, Balakrishnan. 2005. "The role of law in counter-hegemonic globalization and global legal pluralism: lessons from the Narmada Valley Struggle in India." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 18, 3: 345-387.

Berman, Paul Schiff. 2019. "Can global legal pluralism be both 'global' and 'pluralist'?" *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law* 29: 381-404.

### **Weeks 11-13**

- Office hour consultations + research time

### **Week 14**

Half-day-long conference-style meeting

- all papers are being discussed (with assigned discussants)
- paper to be send to class four days before class