**Rutgers University**

**Department of Political Science**

**01: 790: 369: 01**

**Topics in Politics: The Global Order**

**Fall 2015**

Professor Ewan Harrison Time: 12.35-3.35 Tues

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**Course Description:**

This course considers alternative perspectives on the nature of order in post-Cold War world politics and examines the major developments in international relations since 1989. The first part analyses the problem of achieving order in an international system that lacks a central organizing authority. It uses this theoretical framework to assess debates about the most appropriate characterization of the post-Cold War order. The second part examines international institutions as they have emerged to regulate global and regional security, and nuclear weapons proliferation. The third part considers ethnic and cultural sources of co-operation and conflict in world politics, including the ‘end of history’ and ‘clash of civilizations’ theses. The final part of the course examines challenges to the system of states posed by American hegemony, trends towards globalization, the international spread of human rights, and global terrorism. The course concludes by reflecting on recent debates about whether we are entering a “post-American” or “post-Western” era in world politics. The course is designed to strike a balance between empirical and historical knowledge on the one hand and theoretical understanding on the other. Empirically it covers the most important developments and issues in international relations in the period after the end of the Cold War. Theoretically it introduces students to the central analytical concepts and theoretical approaches that are required to make sense of the questions that structure International Relations as an academic field of inquiry.

**Course Objectives:**

* To examine the problem of achieving order in the system of states and its relevance to understanding contemporary international relations.
* To develop an understanding of the key institutions and issues in world politics in the post-Cold War period.
* To analyze a diverse range of competing theoretical perspectives on the fundamental dynamics of the post-Cold war order.

**Course Requirements and Deadlines:**

1. Class participation and study of all required books and electronic reserve readings. **Please print all readings and bring them to class**.
2. A mid-term and final exam. **The date of the mid-term exam is Tuesday** **23rd October (week 8)**. It will be a closed book exam of medium length answers in the last 50 minutes of class. **The time and date of the final exam is TBC.** It will be cumulative and integrative and will consist of a two hour in class closed book exam. The exams cover the lectures, class discussions, and reading assignments.
3. The completion of an 8-10 page research paper on some aspect of international relations

in the post-Cold War era. **If you would like to generate your own title you need to submit me a proposal in class by Tuesday 9th October.** Otherwise you must use the list on titles on pages 3-4 of this syllabus. **The paper will be due on Tuesday 13th November (week 11) in class. Under no circumstances do I accept email submissions of papers.**

**Assessment:**

**(\*\*\**In individual cases,* *I reserve the right to change any/all of these %ages at my discretion to suit circumstances*\*\*\*)**

 Class participation: 10%

 Research paper: 30%

 Mid-term exam: 20%

 Final exam: 40%

**Core Text:**

\*Bull, H. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) [3rd edition]

**Supplementary Texts**:

At your discretion, the following interesting books will also be useful and of general interest for background reading. They are not, however, required textbooks for you to purchase.

Clark, I. *The Post Cold War Order: The Spoils of Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Ikenberry, G. John *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Building of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001)

Booth, K., Cox, M. and T. Dunne (Eds) *The Interregnum: Controversies in International Relations 1989-1999* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Hurrell, A. *On Global**Order****:*** *Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2007

**List of class paper titles:**

Instructions:

* Please choose one title from the list below.
* Papers should be 8-10 pages in length including the bibliography.
* State the title clearly at the top of your paper.
* Submission must be in class – *under no circumstances* do I accept email submissions.

1). Why has there been so much disagreement about the best way to conceptualize global politics since 1989?

2). Would you agree with Thomas Friedman that 11/9 (the fall of the Berlin Wall) was ultimately a more important development in world politics than 9/11?

3). Why was the UN able to act against Libya in 2011 but not against Iraq in 2003?

4). To what extent has NATO survived the crisis in trans-Atlantic relations that developed over the 2003 Iraq War?

5). How effective is deterrence as a means of dealing with the threats posed by WMD proliferation in the post-Cold War world?

6). Has the global wave of democratization that was associated with the end of the Cold War made world politics more peaceful?

7). Which is more persuasive to you and why – Francis Fukuyama's End of History thesis or Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis?

8). Why have ethnic and nationalist conflicts become such an important feature of the post-Cold War world? Discuss in relation to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

9). “There are good objective reasons to believe that we are living through a major period of historical transition. Moreover, the changes affecting us aren’t confined to one part of the world, but stretch almost everywhere” (Anthony Giddens). How fundamental are the changes being brought to world politics by ‘globalization’?

10). To what extent have states and other actors ‘bandwagoned’ towards rather than ‘balanced’ against the United States in the post-Cold War period? What does this pattern tell us about the stability of a unipolar world?

11). To what extent is there a global consensus on the theory and practice of human rights in post-Cold War international society?

12). How is the rise of suicide terrorism in contemporary world politics best accounted for?

13). Are we entering a ‘post Western’ world, and if so what will the consequences be for global politics?

**Readings:**

**September 3rd (week 1): Perspectives on Global Order**

Booth, K., Cox, M. and T. Dunne “Introduction” in Cox, Booth and Dunne (Eds) *The Interregnum: Controversies in International Relations 1989-1999* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999

**September 7th & 10th (week 2): The United Nations and Collective Security**

a). The United Nations System

Taylor, P. and D. Curtis “The United Nations” in J. Baylis and S. Smith *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

b). UN Peacekeeping after the Cold War

Roberts, A. “The Crisis in UN Peacekeeping”, *Survival*, 1994, Vol 36, No. 3, pp.93-120

c). Collective Security: The 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War

Ziring, L. R.E. Riggs and J.C. Plano“Security Through Collective Action” in L. Ziring. R.E. Riggs and J.C. Plano *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics* [fourth edition] (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2005) pp.167-213

**September 14th & 17th (week 3): NATO’s Transformation**

a). NATO During and After the Cold War

Yost, D. “NATO During the Cold War and its Aftermath” in D. Yost *NATO Transformed: The Alliance’s New Roles in International Security* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute For Peace, 1998)

b). NATO’s Intervention in Kosovo

Roberts, A. “NATO’s Humanitarian War Over Kosovo”, *Survival*, 1999, Vol. 41, No. 3, pp.102-123

Keohane, R. “Political Authority After Intervention: Gradations of Sovereignty” in J.L. Holzgrefe and R.O. Keohane (Eds.) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.275-298.

c). 9/11, The Iraq War and The Crisis in Trans-Atlantic Relations

Kagan, R. “The Power Divide”, *Prospect Magazine*, August 2002, pp.20-27

**September 21st and 24th (week 4): Deterrence, Nuclear Proliferation and Pre-emption**

a). Deterrence and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

Waltz, K.N. “More May Be Better” in S.D. Sagan and K.N. Waltz *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* New York: W. W. Norton, 1995: 3-45.

b). The Non-Proliferation Regime

Howlett, D. “Nuclear Proliferation” in J. Baylis and S. Smith *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

c). Pre-emptive Intervention and Missile Defense

Gaddis. J.L. “Grand Strategy in the Second Term”, *Foreign Affairs,* January/February 2005, Vol. 84 No. 1 pp.2-15

Mearsheimer, J.J. and S.Walt “An Unnecessary War”, *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2003, pp.50-59

**September 28th and October 1st (week 5): Democracy and Democratization in World Politics**

a). A Zone of ‘Democratic Peace’?

Doyle, M.W. “Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs” in M.E. Brown *et al* (Eds.) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995)

b). Democratization and Conflict

Mansfield, E.D. and J. Snyder “Democratization and the Danger of War” in M.E. Brown *et al* (Eds.) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995)

Zakaria, F. “Chapter 3: Illiberal Democracy” and “Afterward” in *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* (New York: W.W. Norton 2004) [post-Iraq war edition]

c). The Spread of the Democratic Peace?

Rawls, J. “The Law of Peoples” [Introduction and Part 2] (Cambridge, M.A. Harvard University Press, 1999)

**October 5th and 8th (week 6): The ‘End of History’ and ‘Clash of Civilizations’ theses (Mid-term exam, October 8th)**

a). The ‘End of History’ Thesis

Fukuyama, F., “The End of History”, *The National Interest*, Vol. 16, Summer 1989, pp. 1-18**.**

b). The ‘Clash of Civilizations’ Thesis

Huntington, S. “The Clash of Civilizations?”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer 1993 pp.22-49

c). Mid Term Exam

**October 12th and 15th (week 7): Nationalism, Self-Determination and Ethnic Conflict**

a). Sources of Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Hutchinson, J. “How Modern is the Nation? Fact of History or Modern Myth?”. In J. Hutchinson *Modern Nationalism* (London: Fontana, 1994)

b). National Self-Determination and International Order

Mayall, J. “Nationalism and the International Order” in James Mayall *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

c). Explaining Nationalist Conflict in the former Yugoslavia

Silber, L. and A. Little “’Nobody Shall Dare Beat You: The Rise of Slobodan Milosevic April 1987-December 1987” in L. Silber and A. Little “The Death of Yugoslavia” (London; Penguin, 1995)

**October 19th and 22nd (week 8): Unipolarity and American Hegemony**

a). Balancing versus Bandwagoning?

Mastanduno, M. “Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and U.S. Grand Strategy After the Cold War”, *International Security*, 1997, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp.138-181

b). 9/11 and ‘Blowback’

Johnson, C. “Blowback” in C. Johnson *Blowback: Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 2000)

c). The Iraq War and ‘The American Empire’

Ferguson, N. “Introduction” in N. Ferguson *Collossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (London: Penguin, 2004)

**October 26th and 29th (week 9): Globalization and Interdependence**

a). The Retreat of the State?

Rosenau, J. “Studying Structures: The Two ‘Worlds’ of World Politics” in J. Rosenau *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

b). The Globalization Debate

Bull, H. “The State’s Positive Role in World Affairs” in K. Alderson and A. Hurrell (Eds.) *Hedley Bull on International Society* (London: Macmillan, 2000)

Hirst, P. and G. Thompson “Globalization: A Necessary Myth?” in D. Held and A. McGrew (Eds.) *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000)

c). Globalization and Transformations in World Politics

Giddens, A. “Globalization” in A. Giddens *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999)

**November 2nd and November 5th (week 10): Sovereignty, International Law and Human Rights (*class papers due in class – no email submissions will be accepted*)**

a). International Law and State Sovereignty

Forsythe, D.P. “International Criminal Courts” in D.P. Forsythe *Human Rights in International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

b). The Global Human Rights Regime

Scott, S.V. “International Human Rights Law” in S.V. Scott *International Law in World Politics: An Introduction* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2004)

Little, R. “International Regimes” in J. Baylis and S. Smith *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

c). The ‘Spiral Model’

Risse, T. and Ropp, S.C. “International Human Rights Norms and Domestic Change”. In T. Risse, S.C. Ropp and K. Sikkink (Eds.) *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

**November 9th and November 12th (week 11): 9/11 & Global Terrorism in the Twenty First Century**

a). Terrorism, Globalization and Religious Fundamentalism

Friedman, T. “Conclusions: 11/9 versus 9/11” in *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty First Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).

b). Terrorism and American Power

Pape, R. “Blowing up an Assumption”, *New York Times*, May 18th 2005.

Pape, R. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism”, *American Political Science Review*, August 2003, Vol. 97, No. 3 pp.343-361.

c). Global Terrorism and the Society of States

Jackson, R. “Sovereignty and Its Presuppositions: Before 9/11 and After”, *Political Studies*, Vol. 55, pp.297-317.

**November 16th and 19th (week 12): Towards A Post-American World?**

a). American Resurgence or Decline?

Kennedy, P. “The Eagle Has Landed”, *Financial Times*, 2nd/3rd February 2002

Kennedy, P. “Maintaining American Power: From Injury to Recovery” in S. Talbott and N. Chanda (Eds.) *The Age of Terror: America and the World After September 11th* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

b).The BRICs and the “Rise of the Rest”

Stephens, Philip “Desperate Need for a New World Order: The Shape and Dynamics of a New Multipolar System”, *Financial Times*, January 24th 2007.

Stephens, Philip “Anchor Aweigh”, Transcript of BBC Radio Four *Analysis* program 15th March 2007 [when reading the transcript please note that Stephens is the narrator and his speech is inter-dispersed with a series of interviews with other commentators such as Paul Kennedy and Joseph Nye whose names and biographies are listed at the start of the article]

Stephens, Philip “Truths for a New World of Us and Them”, *Financial Times*, 29th May 2008

Zakaria, Fareed “The Rise of the Rest”, *Newsweek*, 7th May 2008 [discretionary reading]

c). A Global Power Shift to the East?

Mahbubani, K. “Introduction” in K. Muhbubani *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irreversible Shift of Global Power to the East* (New York: Perseus books, 2008)

**November 23rd (week 13):** Catch up & spare capacity (thanksgiving week).

**November 30th and December 3rd (week 14) The Future of the Global Order**

a). “No-One’s World”, The Return of History and The Revenge of Geopolitics?

Kupchan, Charles, “Introduction: The Turn” in Charles Kupchan *No-One’s World: The West, The Rising Rest and the Coming Global Turn*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

b). A Global Convergence of Civilizations?

Mahbubani, Kishore “A New Global Civilization”. In Kishore Mahbubani *The Great Convergence: Asia, The West and the Logic of One World*. New York: Public Affairs, 2013.

c). Whither the Liberal Global Order?

Deudney, Daniel and John Ikenberry, “Democratic Internationalism: An American Grand Strategy for a Post-Exceptional Era”. Council of Foreign Relations Report, Council of Foreign Relations, 2012.

**December 7th and 10th (week 15): Review**