

**Rutgers University**

**Department of Political Science**

**01: 790: 369: 01**

**Global Order**

**Fall 2020**

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Time: M/Th 12.35-1.55  
Room: Remote/Webex  
Office Hours: M 2-3PM

**Course Description:**

This course considers alternative perspectives on the nature of global order since the end of the Cold War. The opening lecture part considers four key perspectives on the nature of global order since the end of the Cold War: a globalizing world order; a world of conflicting identities (cultural fragmentation), a liberal world order (cultural integration) and unipolarity. The course next examines international institutions as they have emerged to regulate global and regional security, and nuclear weapons proliferation. The third part of the course 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.

**Readings**

There are no textbooks for the class. All the readings are on Sakai.

**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 (both take home). **The date of the mid-term exam is set will be Monday 12<sup>th</sup> October and it will be due on Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> October (week 7).**

The final exam will be cumulative and integrative. The exams cover the lectures, class discussions, and reading assignments.

3. The completion of 6-8 page double spaced page research paper. *You must use the list in this syllabus below.* **The paper will be due on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> November (week 11).**

**Assessment:**

Class participation: 10%  
Research paper: 30%  
Mid-term exam: 20%  
Final exam: 40%

**List of class paper titles:**

Instructions:

- Please choose one title from the list below.
- Papers should be 6-8 double spaced pages in length including the bibliography.
- State the title clearly at the top of your paper.

1). What does coronavirus tell us about ongoing debates about the best way to conceptualize global politics since 1989?

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

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

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

5). Does Frances Fukuyama's "End of History" thesis remain a useful way of thinking about the global order today?

7). Has Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis been supported by Donald Trump's presidency and the global trend towards populism?

8). How is the resurgence of nationalism in world politics best accounted for?

9). "Globalization has collapsed and we are seeing the resurgence of the sovereign nation-state in contemporary world politics". Would you agree?

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?

14). Would you agree with Steven Pinker that objective data indicates that there have been major improvements in virtually every measurable indicator of human progress and that the world has never been better?

## **Readings:**

### **Week 1). Thursday 9/3 – Hello!**

### **Wee 2). TUESDAY 9/8 (Monday is Labor Day) and Thursday 9/10: 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)

### **Week 3).9/14 and 9/17: NATO and Trans-Atlantic Relations**

#### 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). and 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

### **Week 4). 9/21 and 9/24: 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

**Week 5). 9/28 and 10/1: 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)

**Week 6). 10/5 and 10/8: The 'End of History' and 'Clash of Civilizations' theses Part 1**

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). No reading

**Week 7). 10/12 and 10/15: The ‘End of History’ and ‘Clash of Civilizations’ theses Part 2 (Mid-Term Exam)**

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

**Week 8). 10/19 and 10/22: 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)

**Week 9). 10/26 and 10/29 Unipolarity, American Hegemony and the American “empire”**

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 *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (London: Penguin, 2004)

**Week 10). 11/2 and 11/5 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). and c). 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)

**Week 11). 11/9 and 11/12 Sovereignty, International Law and Human Rights (*class papers due*)**

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 Rienner, 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)

**Week 12). Monday 11/16 only: 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). and C). Terrorism and American Power

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

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

**Week 13). Thursday 11/19 and Monday 11/30: Towards A Post-American or Post Western World? [Monday 11/23 is spillover and spare capacity, Thanksgiving week]**

a). American Resurgence or Decline?

Kennedy, P. “The Eagle Has Landed”, *Financial Times*, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup>* (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 24<sup>th</sup> 2007.

Stephens, Philip “Anchor Aweigh”, Transcript of BBC Radio Four *Analysis* program 15<sup>th</sup> 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*, 29<sup>th</sup> May 2008

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

c). A Global Power Shift to the East?

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

**Week 14). Thursday 12/3 and Monday 12/7: 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). Whither the Liberal Global Order?

Pinker, Steven and Andrew Mack “Why the World Is Not Falling Apart”

[http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/foreigners/2014/12/the\\_world\\_is\\_not\\_falling\\_apart\\_the\\_trend\\_lines\\_reveal\\_an\\_increasingly\\_peaceful.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2014/12/the_world_is_not_falling_apart_the_trend_lines_reveal_an_increasingly_peaceful.html)

c). 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.

**Week 15). Thursday 12/10 Spillover and spare capacity**