

INTR 5070:
Who Rules the World?
International Order(s) in Theory and Practice

Time: Wednesdays 1720h-1900h & Thursdays, 1100h-1240h

Place: TBD

Instructor:

Christopher David LaRoche

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Office Hours: Thursdays after class

Populist movements, rising states, and revisionist leaders have increasingly challenged the legitimacy of the existing world order and Western powers' position at the top of it. These challenges raise questions not only about the viability and desirability of the current world order, but about order as such: what is international order? How do international orders function? And if we now live in a "liberal world order," what are the fundamental alternatives?

This course will raise these questions by critically examining historical international orders and the expanding body of theory scholars use to understand them. After discussing and debating key visions of order—including those forwarded by three classics of international relations scholarship—we will embark on a "grand tour" of mechanisms of order: anarchy and the balance of power, hierarchy and hegemonic stability, empire and imperialism. In the second half of the course we will examine concrete world orders: Medieval Christendom and Islam, the 19th Century concert system, and the Sinocentric East Asia 'tribute' system. We conclude by returning to the contemporary postwar order and its future. Throughout, we will ask questions centred on the core themes of order, legitimacy, and power: how does a given order structure power relations? Who, if anyone, rules it? How are international orders established, and why do they decline? Who benefits from a given order, and who doesn't?

Aims

This course's main aim is to provide students with understandings of:

- Theories of international order as they have been approached in mainstream international relations paradigms (i.e. English School and Realism) and new interventions in order research;
- The traditional "mechanisms" of international order, including the balance of power, hegemonic stability, and imperialism;
- How historical international orders are understood and debated, with special focus on Medieval Christendom, the Concert of Europe, and East Asia tribute system;
- Current debates about the decline (or perseverance) of the postwar order and its alternatives.

Special note: this year I am pleased to advertise a sequel course that examines 20th Century liberal world ordering ("Ordering the World").

Assessment	Class participation:	10%
	Written assignment 1:	30%
	Written assignment 2*:	60%

Class participation: Participation will be graded by attendance and quality of participation. Students should bring their reading responses into conversation on the relevant weeks.

Written assignments: The first written assignment is a short reading response (~5 pages, or approximately 1,300 words) that addresses the readings in a single session of the first half of the class, due week 7.

*For the second written assignment, choose either:

- 1) A medium-length research paper (~3,000 words) on a topic of your choosing. **This option is recommended for students for want to integrate this assignment or the course materials into their thesis.** The paper can combine theory and empirical analysis, or be a theoretical treatment akin to a literature review. It must advance a clear argument.
- 2) Two short papers (~1,500 words each) analyzing a theory or mechanism discussed in the course from the perspective of our empirical cases. **This option is designed for students who want to practice writing shorter assignments, or who are writing theses on topics other than what is covered in class.**

Assignments should demonstrate an understanding both of the arguments we cover and how these arguments make sense of the postwar order (be this critically or not). I will circulate prompts for both the assignments with more detail during the term. I recommend you consult me about paper ideas ahead of time.

Conduct

According to Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury, justice lies in the keeping of covenants and those who make covenants promise to obey them.* This syllabus is a covenant made between the instructor (me) and the students (you) in the spirit of learning. This class will discuss a number of topics that may be contentious or controversial. You are welcome to criticize each other's (and my) ideas, but not each other's characters. Personal attacks will not be tolerated. If you would like to record the class, please ask me. I reserve the right to change readings during the course.

Contact: larohec@ceu.edu + office hours (TBD).

As a general rule, expect a 48-hour window for replies to emails during the week. If I don't respond within that window, please send the email again.

Absences, plagiarism, student needs, and other matters:

CEU maintains a robust set of policies governing student conduct and expectations (<https://www.ceu.edu/studentlife/onlineorientation/student-policies>) as does our department (<https://ir.ceu.edu/policies>). These include policies on absences, plagiarism, and grading. Please review them! You can also contact me or visit my office hours for further clarification.

* *Leviathan* Book I, Chapters XIV & XV.

COURSE SCHEDULE[†]

Part 1: Thinking about International Order

Weeks 1 & 2: System, Society, Difference

September 18 & 19

- *Genesis*, trans. Robert Alter (W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), Chapter 11.
- Xenophon, *The Education of Cyrus*, trans. Wayne Ambler (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2001), Book 1 Chapter 1.
- Zhao Tingyang, “A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-under-Heaven (Tian-Xia),” *Diogenes* 56, no. 1 (February 1, 2009): 5–18.
- Shiping Tang, “Order: A Conceptual Analysis,” *Chinese Political Science Review* 1, no. 1 (March 1, 2016): 30–46.

September 25 & 26

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 4th ed. (1977; repr., Macmillan, 2012), part 1.
- Martha Finnemore, “Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn’t All It’s Cracked Up to Be,” *World Politics* 61, no. 1 (January 2009): 58–85.
- Andrew Phillips, *War, Religion and Empire: The Transformation of International Orders* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), Part 1.
- Christian Reus-Smit, *On Cultural Diversity: International Theory in a World of Difference* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), Chapter 6.

Week 3: Anarchy and the Balance of Power

October 2 & 3

- Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, *Leviathan*, Chapter XIII (“Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning their Felicity and Misery”).
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), chapter 5 (selections).
- Helen Milner, “The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique,” *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 01 (January 1991): 67–85.
- David Hume, “On the Balance of Power.”
- Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, Chapter 5.
- Victoria Tin-bor Hui, “Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe,” *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (February 2004): 175–205.

[†] Readings are subject to change. Email me if you read ahead more than a week.

Week 4: Hierarchy and Hegemony

October 9 & 10

- Ayşe Zarakol, ed., *Hierarchies in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), chapter 1.
- David A. Lake, “Hierarchy and International Relations: Theory and Evidence,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, September 26, 2017.
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), Chapter 1.
- G. John Ikenberry and Daniel H. Nexon, “Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders,” *Security Studies* 28, no. 3 (May 27, 2019): 395–421.

Week 5: The Role of Great Powers

October 16 & 17

- Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Chapter 9 (selections).
- Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, Chapter 9 (selections).
- Shunji Cui and Barry Buzan, “Great Power Management in International Society,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, no. 2 (June 1, 2016): 181–210.

Week 6: Empires, Ancient and Modern

October 23 & 24

- Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), introduction.
- Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2010), introduction.
- Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, “Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations,” *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 31, no. 1 (2002): 109–127.

Part 2: Empirical International Order(s)

Week 7: Medieval Christendom and Islam

October 30 & 31

- Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, trans. Prue Shaw (1318; repr., Cambridge University Press, 1995), selections.
- Phillips, *War, Religion and Empire*, chapter 3.
- Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History*, Chapter 3.
- Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), Chapter 1.

Week 8: Hierarchy in East Asia

November 6 & 7

- Andrew Phillips, *War, Empire, and Religion*, Chapter 5.
- Erik Ringmar, "Performing International Systems: Two East-Asian Alternatives to the Westphalian Order," *International Organization* 66, no. 1 (January 2012): 1–25.
- Ji-Young Lee, "Hegemonic Authority and Domestic Legitimation: Japan and Korea under Chinese Hegemonic Order in Early Modern East Asia," *Security Studies* 25, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 320–52.
- Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu, "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline," *International Security* 36, no. 1 (July 1, 2011): 41–72.

Week 9: Mixed orders & the rise of sovereign states

November 13 & 14

- Andrew Phillips and J. C. Sharman, "Explaining Durable Diversity in International Systems: State, Company, and Empire in the Indian Ocean," *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 436–48.
- Neta C. Crawford, "A Security Regime among Democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois Nations," *International Organization* 48, no. 3 (1994): 345–85.
- Jordan Branch, "'Colonial Reflection' and Territoriality: The Peripheral Origins of Sovereign Statehood," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 277–97.
- Barry Buzan and George Lawson, "The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 1, 2013): 620–34.

Week 10: the Concert of Europe

November 21 & 22

- Jennifer Mitzen, *Power in Concert: The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Global Governance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), chapters 4-6.

Week 11: the twentieth century

November 27 & 28

- Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), chapter 1.
- Kori N. Schake, *Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), introduction.
- G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton University Press, 2011), chapter 5.

Week 12: the future

December 4 & 5

TBD, but probably something along the lines of....

- Alexander Wendt, “Why a World State Is Inevitable,” *European Journal of International Relations* 9, no. 4 (December 1, 2003): 491–542 (see also <https://u.osu.edu/wendt/world-state/>).
- Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?,” *The National Interest*, 1989, <http://www.sendspace.com/file/awm4xu>.
- Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche, “Why Is There No Reactionary International Theory?,” *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (June 1, 2018): 234–44.