

PSCI 398: THE NEW WORLD ORDER AND ITS CRITICS

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Since the end of the Cold War, the phrase “new world order” has become ubiquitous. For some, this phrase points to the United States’ dominant role as the most powerful state in the international arena, with a special opportunity and obligation to establish a new *pax Americana*. For others, the driving force is more spontaneous, linked to the much broader process of globalization, featuring transnational flows of capital, corporations, information, people, and lifestyles in an increasingly “borderless” world. For still others, it is the emergence of meaningful forms of governance beyond the nation-state, as evident in the expanding role of international organizations and in the diffusion of liberally conceived universal standards of democracy and human rights. On the other hand, some scholars and actors see very little that is actually new, treating the post-Cold War order as simply the most recent iteration of traditional *realpolitik*, or merely the latest attempt of the West to impose its values, economic interests, and political systems upon others without consideration of the diversity of cultures worldwide or the economic vulnerability of poorer regions. This seminar aims to understand the theoretical assumptions and historical interpretations that inform these different understandings of the post-Cold War world. It also seeks to uncover the quite varied range of alternative ideological and theoretical constructs motivating those who challenge particular attempts to build a unified international order, whether through scholarly criticism, mass protest, or direct political-military action. This requires consideration of how recent debates compare with past efforts to conceptualize and build some sort of a multi-national, multi-ethnic political “order” across nations, cultures, and socioeconomic strata -- as, for example, immediately following the Hundred Years’ War or World Wars I and II. The ultimate goal is to develop a nuanced and thoughtful perspective on whether the sources of order, change, peace and conflict in the post-Cold war world are genuinely new, with an eye to the implications for the future role of nation-states, the possibilities for democracy, the character and impact of economic globalization, new efforts to engineer global governance, and the spread of movements and ideologies that reject notions of world order developed in the world’s more wealthy and powerful societies.

READINGS

Readings are a crucial part of a college seminar, and this seminar depends heavily on students coming to class prepared to engage the arguments offered in the assigned material. On average, students will read about 125-150 pages *per session*, often from six or seven different sources. Ideally, you should highlight or note down key points so that you can refer back to these easily during discussion. Some materials will be from well-known books that have been the subject of public debate, others will be more abstract and aimed at an informed academic audience, and still others will be short editorial pieces. In all cases, you should do your best to get a sense of the piece even if the level of detail varies significantly, and you should feel free to seek clarifications in the course of discussion. Except in a few cases noted below where pieces will need to be accessed online, readings will be from the following:

Coursepack – will be prepared at Campus Copy Center (Walnut, at 39th St.) and delivered to you.

Three books --

Mark Kesselman, ed. *The Politics of Globalization* (New York: Longman Pearson, 2007).

Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000)

Samuel Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996)

REQUIREMENTS:

- ❑ Regular participation, including pre-assigned presentations on readings (20% of the grade). These presentations will be scheduled in advance and will involve a 10-12 minute oral discussion that summarizes, critiques, and derives questions from a chosen reading.
- ❑ One take-home midterm paper (30%). The question will be handed out in class February 22, and will be due in class February 29.
- ❑ One take-home final exam (50% of the grade) . This exam will be handed out at the final session, Friday, April 18, and will be due electronically by 5 pm, Friday, April 25.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS/READINGS

[read in order assigned PRIOR to each session]

- denotes selection from one of the three assigned books
- denotes selection from course bulkpack (or hand-out)

PART ONE: OVERVIEW AND GENERAL THEMES

JAN 18

Introduction: Thinking About World Order in the Wake of 9/11 & Iraq

JAN 25

Contemporary Theoretical Perspectives on “World Order”: An Introduction

- Friedman, pp. xi-xxii, 3-16, 29-43 [preface, chs. 1 & 3]
- Huntington, pp. 19-55 [chs. 1-2; note – 30 pgs text & 6 pgs of maps]
- John Mearsheimer, “Anarchy and the Struggle for Power,” in Robert Art and Robert Jervis eds. *International Politics*, 8th ed. (New York: Longman Pearson, 2007), pp. 50-60
- Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” in Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics*, 9th ed. (New York: Longman Pearson, 2007), pp. 83-91
- Immanuel Wallerstein, “Marxism After the Collapse of Communism,” from *After Liberalism* (New York: New Press, 1995), pp. 219-231

PART TWO: “WORLD ORDER” IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

FEB 1

The Emergence of an International Order? Westphalian Sovereignty & Colonial Empires

- Charles Kegley and Gregory Raymond, *Exorcising the Ghost of Westphalia: Building World Order in the New Millennium* (Prentice-Hall, 2002), 101-148
- Tadashi Anno, *The Liberal World Order And Its Challengers* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 40-80 [note: double-spaced typescript]
- Tony Smith, “Making the World Safe for Democracy in the American Century,” in M. Hogan, ed. *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the ‘American Century’* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 30-45.
- Robert O’Brien and Marc Williams, “The Industrial Revolution, Pax Britannica and Imperialism,” in O’Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 76-103
- Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon, 1964), 119-141.
- Kesselman, chs. 2.1, 2.2: Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, “Communist Manifesto”; and Karl Polanyi, “The Great Transformation” (pp. 16-28)

FEB 8

Challenging the Order: Fascism, Communism, and the Revolt Against the West

- Benito Mussolini, “The Doctrine of Fascism” in Carl Cohen, ed. *Communism, Fascism and Democracy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 328-339
- A. James Gregor, *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship* (Princeton University Press, 127-152
- Joseph Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism* (excerpts) from Carl Cohen, ed. *Communism, Fascism and Democracy* (New York: Random House, 1972), 154-164
- Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 34-49
- Hasan al-Banna, “Renaissance in the Islamic World,” in K. H. Karpat, ed. *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (New York: Praeger, 1982), 95-103
- Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (excerpt) from M. Cohen and N. Fermon, eds. *Princeton Readings in Political Thought*, (Princeton University Press, 1996), 615-622
- Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 7-21

FEB 15

Sources of World Order, 1945-1990: US Power, Bipolarity, Liberalism & Modernity

- Robert O’Brien and Marc Williams, “The Twentieth Century: World Wars and the Post-1945 Order,” in O’Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 104-132
- Henry Luce, “The American Century” (excerpt) in M. Hogan, ed. *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the ‘American Century’* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 21-29
- John L. Gaddis, “The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System” in S. M. Lynn-Jones and S. E. Miller, eds. *The Cold War and After* (M.I.T Press, 1994), pp. 1-44.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Cold War and the Third World: The Good Old Days?” in Wallerstein, *After Liberalism* (New York: New Press, 1995), pp. 10-24
- Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), pp. 136-154
- Huntington, pp. 56-78 [ch. 3]

FEB 22

Critics of the Post-1945 Order: The East, the South, and Critics *within* the West

- Huntington, pp. 81-121 [chs. 4-5]
- The 1961 Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (excerpt), from R. V. Daniels, *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), pp. 265-273.
- Carl Cohen, ed. *Communism, Fascism and Democracy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 170-180 [excerpts Nikita Khrushchev; Mao Tse-Tung & Kwame Nkrumah]
- Stephen Krasner, *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 59-69, 81-94

- Ali Mazrui, “The Imperial Culture of North-South Relations: The Case of Islam and the West,” in K. Dawisha and B. Parrott, eds. *The End of Empire?* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 218-237
- Freedom Club, *Industrial Society and Its Future* [a.k.a. ‘Unabomber Manifesto’] (Berkeley: Jolly Rogers Press, 1995 – no copyright), pp. 12-25, 48-50
- Noam Chomsky, on U.S. intervention, in *The Chomsky Reader*, ed. James Peck (New York: Panteon, 1987), pp. 315-338

**** MIDTERM: Topic handed out FEB 22, due back FEB 29**

PART THREE: THE (UN)MAKING OF A “NEW WORLD ORDER”

FEB 29

After the Cold War: Globalization, Unipolarity, or New Forms of Conflict?

- Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest* (1989), accessible online at <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm> (may skip section II unless interested in philosophy).
- Friedman, pp. 101-111, 248-275 [chs. 6 & 12]
- Huntington, pp. 125-154, 207-245 [chs. 6, 9]
- Kesselman, chs 6.1, 6.2 (*defending the reality of globalization*): Susan Strange, “Retreat of the State”; and Martin van Creveld, “The Fate of the State.”
- Kesselman, chs. 2.4, 2.5 (*questioning the reality of globalization*): Robert Wade, “Globalization and Its Limits”; and Niall Ferguson, “Sinking Globalization.”

MAR 7

The New Global Economic Order & Its Critics

- Friedman, pp. 112-166 [chs. 7-8]; and pp. 327-64 [chs. 15-16 to engage Ramonet]
- Kesselman, chs. 3.3, 4.1, 4.3, 4.4 (*defending global capitalism*): Martin Wolf, “Why Globalization Works” (pp. 74-85, 148-156); David Dollar and Aart Kraay, “Spreading the Wealth” (pp. 124-133); Jagdish Bhagwati, “In Defense of Globalization,” (pp. 157-164).
- Kesselman, chs. 3.4, 3.6, 4.2, 9.2 (*criticizing global capitalism*): Joseph Stiglitz, “Globalization and Its Discontents,” (pp. 261-268); Robert Wade, “The Disturbing Rise of Poverty and Inequality,” (pp. 138-147); Vandana Shiva, “Stolen Harvest: The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply,” (pp. 112-121).
- Kesselman, chs. 5.2, 5.3, 9.2 (*the sweatshop debate*): Bernard D’Mello, “Reebok and the Global Footwear Sweatshop,” (pp. 187-198); Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, “Two Cheers for Sweatshops,” (pp. 198-202); Naomi Klein, “No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies,” (pp. 379-390).

(MAR 14 – PENN Spring Break, No Class)

MAR 21

The Globalization of Democracy & Civil Society?

- Friedman, chs. 4-5
- Huntington: pp. 192-198 [on human rights & democracy]
- Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (November 1997), accessible online at: <<http://www.fareedzakaria.com/ARTICLES/other/democracy.html>>
- G. John Ikenberry, "Why Export Democracy? The 'Hidden Grand Strategy of American Foreign Policy,'" *The Wilson Quarterly* 23, 2 (Spring 1999), 7 pgs text.
- Thomas Franck, "Are Human Rights Universal?" *Foreign Affairs* 80, 1 (Jan/Feb 2001): 191-204
- Kesselman, ch. 9.1: Margaret Keck & Kathryn Sikkink, "Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics," pp. 368-378

MAR 28:

Guest Lecture (TBA)

APR 4:

The United States in the Post-Cold War World On the Eve of 9/11

- Friedman, 367-405 [chs. 17-18; note: may skim ch. 18]
- New American Century (group of neoconservative foreign policy advocates): "Statement of Principles" (critique of Clinton foreign policy, 1997) and "Letter to President George W. Bush" (September 20, 2001) [4 pgs text, from www.newamericancentury.org]
- Susan Matarese, *American Foreign Policy and the Utopian Imagination* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), pp. 61-62, 74-101.
- Joseph Nye, *The Paradox of American Power* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. ix-xvi, 1-40.
- Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Holt, 2000), pp. 3-33
- Noam Chomsky, "The Passion for Free Markets: Exporting American Values Through the New World Trade Organization," *Z Magazine* (1997) [www.zmag.org/chomsky/index.cfm]

APR 11

Post-9/11 American Foreign Policy and Its Critics: Al-Qaeda, Iraq, and Beyond

- Charles Krauthammer, "Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World," 2004 Irving Kristol Lecture at the American Enterprise Institute; access online at: <http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.19912,filter.all/pub_detail.asp>
- Ken Jowitt, "Rage, Hubris, and Regime Change," *Policy Review* 118 (April-May 2003): 33-43
- Roger Burbach and Jim Tarbell, *Imperial Overstretch: George W. Bush and the Hubris of Empire* (New York: Zed Books, 2004), pp. 9-26, 193-218
- Carl Conetta: "Pyrrhus on the Potomac: How America's Post-9/11 Wars Have Undermined US National Security," Project on Defense Alternatives, Briefing Report #18 (Sept 5, 2006)
- Carl Conetta, "Losing Hearts and Minds: World Public Opinion and post-9/11 US Security Policy," Project on Defense Alternatives, Briefing Memo #37 (Sept 14, 2006)

- Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 1-40
- Kesselman, ch. 8.7 and 9.5: Richard Betts, “The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror,” and Mark Juergensmeyer, “The Global Dimensions of Religious Terrorism,” pp. 354-364, 407-419
- Peter J. Katzenstein, Peter J. and Robert O. Keohane, “Anti-Americanisms,” *Policy Review*, Sep/Oct2006 Issue 139, p25-37

APR 18

The Future of World Order I: Empire-Building or Enduring Conflict?

- Huntington, pp. 301-321 [ch. 12]
- Kesselman, ch. 8.1, 8.3 (“*empire*” *debate*): G. John Ikenberry, “Liberal Hegemony or American Empire? American Power in the Age of Unipolarity” (299-311); Chalmers Johnson, “The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End” (330-334)
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), pp. 360-402 [includes notes].
- Coalition for a Realistic Foreign Policy, “The Perils of Empire: A Statement of Principles,” access [online](#).
- Friedman, pp. 434-475 [chs. 20]
- Kesselman, ch. 11.3, 11.6 (“*global governance*” *debate*): Joseph Stiglitz, “Globalization and Its Discontents” (486-493; Jagdish Bhagwati, “In Defense of Globalization” (508-514).

****** FINAL EXAM HANDED OUT AT END OF CLASS, DUE IN ELECTRONIC FORM BY APRIL 25.**