

## **Concepts of World Order**

PD Dr. Ulrich Franke

Monday 16-18, online via WebEx (<https://uni-erfurt.webex.com/meet/ulrich.franke>)

B InB 2014 SVIntB#01+#04 (3/6 LP); B Sta 2012 SVIntB#01+#04 (3/6 LP)

Those who talk about politics beyond the nation state cannot remain silent about concepts of world order. Accordingly, it is not surprising that scholars of global politics recently discuss world order lively and will continue doing so for a while. Consequently, we will look for similarities and differences among various world order concepts. We will not only examine concepts that are quite prominent today but also older concepts, from the 19th and 20th centuries at least. In doing so, we will limit ourselves to socio-scientific concepts of world order; ideas from political practice only play a marginal role in this seminar. Central questions could be as follows. How is world order conceived? What brings it about, what does it achieve? Who contributes to world order, and how does this take place? It remains to be seen whether we will be able to bring order into the wealth of concepts in this way. A systematic overview, however, is what we are striving for.

### **Course aims**

Participants will acquire the competence...

- to distinguish basic assumptions, key concepts, and the cognitive interest of different approaches to world order;
- to recognize similarities and differences between approaches to world order;
- to meaningfully discuss strengths and weaknesses of concepts of world order;
- to critically reflect the concepts' normative underpinnings and implications;
- to work independently with approaches to world order from International Relations (IR);
- to look for, read, excerpt, and produce a coherent essay out of academic sources;
- to take and defend a position;
- to fairly criticize the positions held by others;
- to study and perform self-motivatedly.

### **Contact**

*Office hours:* Thursday, 10:15-11:45 (please register via <<https://terminplaner4.dfn.de/8jO22BbcEyBZelaV>>)

*Location:* LG1 0036 → via telephone or WebEx

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### **Assignment**

Qualifizierter Teilnahmechein (3 credits or 'Leistungspunkte'):

- preparation of sessions;
- active participation;
- 1 essay (in English) of 6 pages (text only) dealing with (at least) 5 academic sources (including 3 of the basic readings – see below); at the very latest, the essay is to be submitted via email one minute before that session will start in which we will discuss the third of the 3 included basic readings;
- participants are strongly encouraged to write an essay together; for two authors, the requirements are: 10 pages (text only); 9 academic sources (including 5 of the basic readings – see below); at the very latest, the essay is to be submitted via email one minute before that session will start in which we will discuss the fifth of the 5 included basic readings.

Modulprüfung (6 credits or 'Leistungspunkte'):

- preparation of sessions;
- active participation;
- 2 essays (in English) of 6 pages each (text only) dealing with (at least) 5 academic sources (including 3 of the basic readings – see below); at the very latest, each essay is to be submitted via email one minute before that session will start in which we will discuss the third of the 3 included basic readings;
- participants are strongly encouraged to write their essays together; for two authors, the requirements are: 10 pages (text only); 9 academic sources (incl. 5 of the basic readings – see below); at the very latest, each essay is to be submitted via email one minute before that session will start in which we will discuss the fifth of the 5 included basic readings.

## **Readings**

Like this syllabus, the readings are available on the University's e-learning platform *moodle*.

## **Overview**

### **Part I: Introduction**

#01 (4 May), Introduction, general overview, and assignments: how we will proceed

### **Part II: Realist, Liberal, and Post-Structuralist Accounts of World Order**

#02 (11 May), A realist account of world order

#03 (18 May), A liberal account of world order

#04 (25 May), Post-structuralist accounts of world order

#05 (1 June), *no session* taking place (*holiday*: Pentecost)

#06 (8 June), A multiplex world order?

### **Part III: The role of China and Europe**

#07 (15 June), Rising powers: the role of China

#08 (22 June), A post-western Europe?

### **Part IV: The role of economic forces**

#09 (29 June), Globalisation and fragmentation as new anarchy?

#10 (6 July), Neoliberal hegemony in a post-aid world?

### **Part V: Conclusion**

#11 (13 July), Summary and outlook

## **Detailed Reading List**

### **Part I: Introduction**

#01, Introduction, general overview, and assignments: how we will proceed

### **Part II: Realist, Liberal, and Post-Structuralist Accounts of World Order**

#02, A realist account of world order

Kissinger, Henry 2014: *World Order*. New York: Penguin Books, 1-10 + 361-374.

#03, A liberal account of world order

Ikenberry, G. John 2018: Why the Liberal World Order Will Survive, *Ethics & International Affairs* 32: 1, 17-29.

#04, Post-structuralist accounts of world order

Renner, Judith/Spencer, Alexander 2018: Trump, Brexit & "Post-Truth": How Post-Structuralist IR Theories can help

us understand World Order in the 21st century, *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 28: 3, 31-43.

#05, no session taking place (*holiday*: Pentecost)

#06, A multiplex world order?

Acharya, Amitav 2017: After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order, *Ethics & International Affairs* 31: 3, 271-285.

### **Part III: The role of China and Europe**

#07, Rising powers: the role of China

Tang, Shiping 2018: China and the Future International Order(s), *Ethics & International Affairs* 32: 1, 31-43.

#08, A post-western Europe?

Wæver, Ole 2018: A Post-Western Europe: Strange Identities in a Less Liberal World Order, *Ethics & International Affairs* 32: 1, 75-88.

### **Part IV: The role of economic forces**

#09, Globalisation and fragmentation as new anarchy?

Cerny, Philip G./Prichard, Alex 2017: The new anarchy: Globalisation and fragmentation in world politics, *Journal of International Political Theory* 13: 3, 378-394.

#10, Neoliberal hegemony in a post-aid world?

Morvaridi, Behrooz/Hughes, Caroline 2018: South-South Cooperation and Neoliberal Hegemony in a Post-aid World, *Development and Change* 49: 3, 867-892.

### **Part V: Conclusion**

#11, Summary and outlook

### **Further Readings:**

#### **Overview**

Albrow, Martin 2012: World Order, Visions of, in: *Encyclopedia of Global Studies*, edited by Mark Juergensmeyer and Helmut K. Anheier. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1813-1818.

Cox, Robert W./Sinclair, Timothy J. 1996: *Approaches to World Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gollwitzer, Heinz 1972: *Geschichte des weltpolitischen Denkens*. Bd. I: Vom Zeitalter der Entdeckungen bis zum Beginn des Imperialismus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 11-43 (Einleitung: Weltpolitik und Weltpolitisches Denken).

Krell, Gert 2010: Weltordnungskonzepte, in: *Handbuch der internationalen Politik*, edited by Carlo Masala, Frank Sauer and Andreas Wilhelm. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 27-40.

Osterhammel, Jürgen 2012: Weltordnungskonzepte, in: *Dimensionen internationaler Geschichte*, edited by Jost Dülffer and Wilfried Loth. München: Oldenbourg, 409-428.

#### **Realism**

Menzel, Ulrich 2015: *Die Ordnung der Welt: Imperium oder Hegemonie in der Hierarchie der Staatenwelt*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979: *Theory of International Politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.  
Mearsheimer, John J. 2001: *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton.  
Organski, Abramo F. K. 1958: *World Politics*. New York: Knopf.  
Gilpin, Robert 1981: *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
Modelski, George 1978: The long cycle of global politics and the nation-state, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20: 2, 214-235.

### **English School**

Bull, Hedley [1977] 2002: *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.).  
Buzan, Barry 2011: A World Order Without Superpowers: Decentred Globalism, *International Relations* 25: 1, 3-25.  
Hurrell, Andrew 2007: *On Global Order. Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Liberalism**

Ikenberry, G. John/Slaughter, Anne-Marie 2006: Forging A World of Liberty Under Law: U.S. National Security in the 21st Century. Final Paper of the Princeton Project on National Security. Princeton: The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.  
Ikenberry, G. John 2015: *America, China, and the Struggle for World Order: Ideas, Traditions, Historical Legacies and Global Visions*. New York: Palgrave.  
Ikenberry, G. John 2011: *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.  
Ikenberry, G. John 2000: *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.  
Slaughter, Anne-Marie 2004: *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### **Realist Theory of History**

Schroeder, Paul W. 1986: The 19th-Century International System: Changes in the Structure, *World Politics* 39: 1, 1-26.  
Schroeder, Paul W. 1992: Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power? *The American Historical Review* 97: 3, 683-706.  
Schroeder, Paul W. 1994: Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory, *International Security* 19: 1, 108-148.  
Schroeder, Paul W. 1997: History and International Relations Theory: Not Use or Abuse, but Fit or Misfit, *International Security* 22: 1, 64-74.

### **Geopolitics**

Mackinder, Halford J. 1904: The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal* 23: 4, 421-437.  
Mahan, Alfred T. [1890] 2004: *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. New York: Barnes & Noble.  
Spykman, Nicholas J. 1938: Geography and Foreign Policy (I + II), *The American Political Science Review* 32: 1, 28-50 and 32: 2, 213-236.

### **Critical Geopolitics (incl. Non-Western Approaches)**

Acharya, Amitav 2014: *The End of American World Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.  
Agnew, John A. [1998] 2003: *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.  
O'Tuathail, Gearóid/Dalby, Simon 1998: *Rethinking Geopolitics*. London and New York: Routledge.  
Toal, Gerard [O'Tuathail, Gearóid] 1996: *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. London: Routledge.

### **Marxism**

Hardt, Michael/Negri, Antonio 2000: *Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
Lenin, Vladimir I. [1917] 1970: *Der Imperialismus als höchstes Stadium des Kapitalismus* (Gemeinverständlicher Abriss). Berlin: Dietz (12th ed.).  
Wallerstein, Immanuel M. 1974: *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.

### **Moderate Constructivism**

Bially Mattern, Janice 2005: *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis and Representational Forces*. London: Routledge.  
Wendt, Alexander 2003: Why a World State is Inevitable, *European Journal of International Relations* 9: 4, 491-542.  
Wendt, Alexander 1999: *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
Wendt, Alexander 1992: Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics, *International Organization* 46: 2, 391-425.

### **Post-Structuralism**

Walker, Robert B.J. 1992: *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.