

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 2703F
History of the Global Order since 1945
Fall 2023

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This is a **draft** syllabus. Please see the course site on OWL for a final version.

Course Description: This course examines the history, theory, and practice of global politics since 1945, explores the international system's evolution with an emphasis on the Cold War, decolonization, and development, and asks who has benefitted from and been disadvantaged by the global order.

Prerequisite: Registration in the Honours Specialization in International Relations module

Antirequisites: The former International Relations 2701E, the former International Relations 2702E

Course Syllabus:

There is a lot of discussion, debate, and anxiety about the viability and sustainability of the global order. Some people fear the so-called liberal international order is under siege and on the brink of collapse; they want to preserve the institutions and norms that define the liberal international order. Others believe the UN-system has become anachronistic and is out of touch with current world conditions and dynamics. Still others believe there is a discrepancy between the ideal and reality of the global order; they look at the possibility of change more positively. In this class, we will focus on the establishment, operation, and evolution of the global order since 1945. We will identify and interrogate its core features, study critiques of the liberal order and alternatives to it. We will concentrate on the immediate postwar period (circa 1945-50), the Cold War (1947-1991) and the early post-Cold War period (1991-2001).

Learning outcomes: By the end of the course, IR2703 students will

- Have a broad overview as well as detailed understanding of the history of international relations since 1945
- Understand key concepts in the history of international relations
- Understand arguments in support of and critiques of a liberal world order
- See how historical knowledge (mis/)informs contemporary policy discussions
- Improve public speaking skills

Course materials:

We do not have a textbook for the first half of the course. We use a variety of readings from books, journals, think tanks, newspapers and blog sites etc.

Evaluation:

1. Defining Global Order Paper: 25%
2. UNGA Speech: 20%
3. Lessons of History for Canadian Foreign Policy Paper: 40%
4. Tutorial Participation: 15%

Instructions for Assignments:

Your assignments should be uploaded to the class Owlsite under Assignments. The late penalty is 5%/day, including weekends.

1. **Defining Global Order.** To start, everyone must read Iain Johnston's article, 'China in a World of Orders'. The author makes many points, but one important point is that there are many co-existing orders. There is also a problem of terminological impression: scholars and IR specialists use the term 'order' without always defining it. Your challenge is to write about global order, based on one of the following themes: the creation of the UN, American order, the Cold War, economic order, human rights, and China. In this paper, you should explain and evaluate each author's argument and then focus on their conception (implicit and explicit) and definitions of order (implicit and explicit). Critically interrogate their conceptions and definitions. What does 'order' mean and what are the implications of this conception? Make clear what definition you believe is most apt or useful and explain why. If you want, provide your own definition of order. I will provide a list of sources to consult for each topic. The deadline for this paper moves, depending on what topic you decide to write about. I have included due dates at the end of the syllabus, with the reading list. This paper should be 1250 words and is worth 25% of your final grade.

2. **UNGA Speech:** We will travel back in time to April 1974, just before the UN General Assembly approved a Declaration for a New International Economic Order. You will each be responsible for representing one country. You will receive a letter from the President of the General Assembly (me) indicating the resolution (on the NIEO) and inviting you to give a **two-minute statement**. Your speech should explain your country's views on the NIEO and can suggest amendments to the resolution. You will have to do primary and secondary research to prepare your speech. Your speech is worth 20% of your mark. You must submit your speech to the class Owlsite and include footnotes and a bibliography with your speech. Your speech is due on 24 October by 9am and is worth 20% of your final mark.

You will have a chance to practice your speech in your tutorial.

3. **Lessons of History for Canadian foreign policy:** There are (and always have been) critics of Canadian foreign policy. Some of these criticisms suggest that Canada's relevance and influence in the world have declined from a so-called golden era following the Second World War. Defeats in the 2010 and 2020 UN Security Council elections have strengthened the belief that Canada has "lost its way" in world affairs. In this research paper, you will explain why Canada has declined and develop historically-informed proposals to guide foreign policy in the future. Your proposals should include a strategic vision, articulate the basis of Canadian foreign policy (values or interests), identify priority issues and areas, and define a style of diplomatic practice. We will discuss this assignment in class and tutorial. Below are some readings and material to help get you started.

Global Affairs Canada will soon publish a white paper on a feminist foreign policy; I will add the link when it is published.

Roland Paris, 'Can Middle Powers Save the Liberal World Order?', Chatham House, 18 June 2019, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2019/06/can-middle-powers-save-liberal-world-order>

Chrystia Freeland speak, 'How Democracies Can Shape a Changed Global Economy', Brookings Institute, 11 Oct. 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/events/how-democracies-can-shape-a-changed-global-economy/>

Margaret MacMillan, *The Uses and Abuses of History*, 'History as Guide and Friend', pp. 152-183.

This paper should be 2500 words and is due on 1 December 2023. It is worth 40% of your final mark.

4. **Participation:** Your participation mark will be based on attendance and thoughtful contributions in weekly tutorials.

Lecture and Tutorial schedule:

Please complete the readings before lectures. They will also be the basis for your tutorial discussion. Readings will be uploaded to OWL or are available through Weldon, either as an e-book or a journal article available online or are on another online platform. An * indicates that the reading is available in a digital format through Weldon or the internet.

12 September: Introduction to the class and current debates about global order.

*Adam Tooze, 'Everything you know about global order is wrong', 30 January 2019,

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/30/everything-you-know-about-global-order-is-wrong/>.

Dan Gorman and Francine McKenzie eds, *Histories of Global Order Discussion Forum*, H-Diplo, March 2022.

Tutorial: Introductions and setting expectations.

19 September: Planning Peace: The Construction of a (Sort of) New Global Order

*Francine McKenzie, *Rebuilding the Postwar Order: Peace, Security and the Construction of the UN-System*, Chapter 2, National Security Peace: the United Nations.

*Amitav Acharya, 'Race and racism in the founding of the modern world order', *International Affairs*, 98 1 (2022): 23-43.

Tutorial Question: What were the elements of internationalist thinking that shaped the creation of the United Nations?

26 September: Pax Americana and American Hegemony after World War Two

*G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: institutions, strategic restraint and the rebuilding of order after major wars* (2019 edition), Chap. 6: 'The Settlement of 1945', pp. 202-253.

*Stephen Wertheim, *Tomorrow the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy*, Chapter 4, 'Instrumental Internationalism, 1941-1943', pp. 115-144.

Tutorial Questions: Was the United States a hegemon? Should we describe the post-World War Two order as American?

3 October: The Start of the Cold War

*John Lewis Gaddis, 'The Long Peace: Elements on Stability in the Postwar International System', *International Security*, vol. 10, no. 4 (Spring 1986), 99-142.

Kenneth Waltz, 'The Stability of a Bipolar World' in Williams et al, *Classic Readings*, pp. 62-68.

Tutorial Question: Was the Cold War an order or a conflict?

10 October: Decolonization: Independence and The Non-Aligned Movement

*M. P. Bradley, 'Decolonization, the global South and the Cold War, 1919-1962', in Leffler and Westad, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Volume I: 464-485.

*Bonny Ibhawoh, 'Seeking the Political Kingdom: Universal Human Rights and the anti-colonial Movement in Africa' in A. Dirk Moses, Marco Duranti and Roland Burke, eds, *Decolonization, Self-Determination and the Rise of Global Human Rights Politics*, pp. 35-53.

Tutorial Questions: What were the main aims of the non-aligned movement? Did the Cold War perpetuate a racialized global hierarchy and order?

17 October: Economic Order

*Francine McKenzie, *GATT and Global Order in the Postwar Era*, Chap. 1, 'Accidental Organization: Origins and Early Years of GATT', pp. 1-25 and Chapter 5: 'Rich Man's Club': The Development Challenge to GATT', pp. 174-231.

Tutorial: Practice your UNGA speeches. (In person and during my office hours)

24 October: UNGA and the NIEO debate

Tutorial Question:

Lessons of History: What lessons can we take away from the NIEO in relation to global inequality today?

30 October - 5 November: Fall Reading Week

7 November: Human Rights Order

*Bonny Ibhawoh, 'Nationalists and Dissidents: African Anti-colonialism and the Making of Universal Human Rights' in B. Mirzai and B. Ibhawoh, eds, *Africa and its Diasporas: Rethinking Struggles for Recognition and Empowerment*, pp. 141-155.

Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Chapter 2: 'Death from Birth', pp. 44-83.

Tutorial Questions: Was the UDHR universal? How did human rights affect relations between individuals and the state and how did human rights affect global order?

14 November: The End of the Cold War and American's Unipolar Moment

*Charles Krauthammer, 'The Unipolar Moment', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70 (1) (1990), 23-33.

*John Mearsheimer, Why We will Soon Miss the Cold War, *The Atlantic*, Aug. 1990, 35-50.

*Warren I. Cohen, Chapter 10: 'New World Order', in *The New Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*, pp. 253-301.

Tutorial Questions: Did the end of the Cold War strengthen the US position in the world? Was the post-Cold War period one of order or disorder?

21 November: Canada, middle powers and the future of global order

*Adam Chapnick, 'Canada and the Middle Power Myth', *International Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 2, Spring 2000: 188-206.

*Roland Paris, Can middle powers save the liberal world order?, Chatham House June 2019,

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2019-06-18-MiddlePowers.pdf>

*Address by Minister Freeland on Canada's Foreign Policy Priorities, 6 June 2017,

[https://www.canada.ca/en/global-](https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html)

[affairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html](https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html)

Tutorial Questions: What role can middle powers play in today's global order? Should Canada support the liberal global order?

28 November: China and a New World Order?

Alastair Ian Johnston, 'Is China Trying to Undermine the Liberal International Order?' in Carrai, Rudolph and Szonyi, eds, *The China Questions 2*, (Harvard University Press, 2022).

O. A. Westad, 'Will China Lead Asia?' in J. Rudolph and M. Szonyi, eds, *The China Questions: Critical Insights into a Rising Power*, pp. 67-72.

*Elizabeth Economy, 'Xi Jinping's New World Order: Can China Remake the International System?', *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb. 2022: 52-67.

*Yuen Yuen Ang, 'How Resilient is the CCP?', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 33, July 2022: 77-91.

Xi Jinping, Speech to Davos Economic Forum, 17 January 2017

Tutorial Question: Is China a revisionist power?

5 December: Wrapping up.

No tutorial this week.

Additional Readings for Global Order Papers

UN-System and Global Order: (due 28 September 2023)

*Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: the end of empire and the ideological origins of the United Nations*, chapter 1, 'Jan Smuts and imperial internationalism', pp. 28-65.

Dan Plesch, *America, Hitler and the UN: How the Allies Won World War II and Forged a Peace*, Chapter 8, Security, Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, pp. 163-184.

*John M. Hobson, 'Re-Embedding the Global Colour Line Within Post-1945 IR Theory' in A. Anievas et al, eds, *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*, pp. 81-97.

American order (due 6 October 2023)

Robert Kagan, *The World America Made*, pp. 3-36.

*Stephen Wertheim, 'Instrumental Internationalism: The American Origins of the United Nations', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 55, No. 2 (April 2019): 265-283.

Erez Manela, 'Visions of One World' in Blower and Preston eds, *The Cambridge History of America and the World*, pp. 702-722.

Warren Kimball, *The Juggler, Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*, chap. 5: '“The Family Circle”: Roosevelt's Vision of the Postwar World', pp. 83-106.

Cold War: (due 13 October 2023)

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chap. 1: The Chinese Civil War and the Rise of the Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1946, pp. 17-37.

*Melvyn P. Leffler, 'The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952' in Leffler and Westad, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1*, pp. 67-89.

*Vladimir O. Pechatnov, 'The Soviet Union and the World, 1944-1953' in Leffler and Westad, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1*, pp. 90-111.

*Richard Seymour, 'The Cold War, American Anti-Communism and the Global Colour Line' in A. Anievas et al, eds, *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*, pp. 157-174.

*M. Latham, 'The Cold War in the Third World', in Leffler and Westad, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume 2*, pp. 258-280.

Economic Order: (due 27 October 2023)

*N. Cullather, 'Development –It's History', *Diplomatic History* 2000, 24 (4): 641-653.

*Nils Gilman, 'The NIEO: A Reintroduction' in *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism and Development* 2015 (6) (1): 1-16.

Corrina Unger, *International Development: A Postwar History*, Chapter 7, 'Challenges to Development', pp. 127-142.

*D. J. Sargent, 'North/South: The United States Responds to the New International Economic Order', *Humanity*, 2015 (6) (1): 201-216.

*Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: the making and unmaking of the third world*, Chapter 4: 'The Dispersion of Power: Tales of Food and Hunger', pp. 123-165.

*Douglas A. Irwin, *Clashing over Commerce: A History of US Trade Policy*, Chapter 11: New Order and New Stresses, 1950-1979, pp. 509-564.

Human Rights Order: (due 17 November 2022)

*R. Burke, 'Some Rights Are More Equal Than Others: The Third World and the Transformation of Social and Economic Rights', *Humanity*, 2012 (3) (3): 427-448.

*Mark Mazower, 'The Strange Triumph of Human Rights', *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2) (2004): 379-398.

G. Daniel Cohen, 'The Holocaust and the "Human Rights Revolution": A Reassessment in Akira Iriye et al, eds, *The Human Rights Revolution: an international history*, pp. 53-71.

*Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*, Chapter 2, 'Forging a New American Multilateralism', pp. 46-86.

China and a New World Order: (due 1 December 2023)

*Yan Xuetong, 'The Age of Uneasy Peace: Chinese Power in a Divided World', *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb. 2019

*G. J. Ikenberry, 'The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?', *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2008: 23-37.

*Alastair Iain Johnston, 'China in a world of orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations', *International Security*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Fall 2019, 9-60.

Please review the Department of History's shared policies and statements for all undergraduate courses at: https://history.uwo.ca/undergraduate/program_module_information/policies.html for important information regarding accessibility options, make-up exams, medical accommodations, health and wellness, academic integrity, plagiarism, and more.