

Barnard College, Columbia University
Political Science W4820x, MW 2:40-3:55
Spring 2015, Diana Center LL 103

**“International Relations of a Post-Western World”
(Revised)**

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PREREQUISITES: 1601 or an equivalent introductory course in International Politics; an introductory course in Economics or international finance is recommended for background, but not required.

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course explores the growing contestation of the Western-governed order, institutions and norms in contemporary international relations. Since World War II, the study and practice of International Relations has developed in tandem with the institutionalization of American power. US hegemony has been the foundation for the establishment of prominent international organizations, international law and new norms of international conduct. Though American military power remains unmatched, many commentators, academics and policymakers now openly refer to waning global American influence, the rise of China as an economic superpower and potential rival, and the establishment of a new “multipolar” order. This current transitional era can be termed the “post-Western world.”

In this course, we will theoretically and empirically investigate the various contours of this emerging era in international relations. We will use perspectives developed in North American political science and international relations theory, but also read recent work by non-Western scholars. The first half of the course will focus on how the post-Western world is engaging with international economic issues and consider possible new forms of emerging global economic governance. We will assess the political fallout of the recent global financial crisis and investigate the growing power of emerging markets and political groups like the BRICS. The second part of the course will deal with challenges to the authority of the US-led security system and the third will explore the global standing of the so-called Western values agenda of democracy promotion and human rights that is becoming an important arena of “multipolar” contestation. Throughout the course we will read about new political relationships and processes, but also critically interrogate claims that Western power has eroded. Much of the case material will draw from Eurasia, but we will also consider emerging political dynamics in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia.

Classes will consist mostly of lectures. Students majoring in disciplines other than political science are free to take the course with the necessary prerequisites.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES: The course will introduce students to the major debates on globalization within the international relations field. Students who complete the course will learn how to:

1. Identify the major international organizations, processes and norms established by the United States and its allies as the foundation of the international order.
2. Understand the various processes, actors and institutions that international relations theorists identify as driving forces to change the formal and informal rules of the international system.
3. Provide analytical context to new cases and news reports of emerging powers challenging US power and authority in various issue areas.
4. Understand areas of overlap and difference between Western approaches to the study international relations and their scholarly counterparts in emerging powers.
5. Evaluate the merits and shortcomings of these positions in writing.
6. Critically assess the quality of evidence and methodology employed by academic and popular authors in support of their theoretical and analytical claims.
7. Apply the concepts and analytical constructs learned in this course to related methodological and theoretical questions in the political science discipline and the social sciences, more broadly.

REQUIREMENTS: Given the course's broad scope and heavy reading load, it is ESSENTIAL to keep up with the weekly reading assignments, as the readings are designed to be building blocks for understanding topics in subsequent weeks. Lectures will complement, not substitute for, the readings and regular class attendance is imperative. Students are encouraged to seek help from the instructor and teaching assistants during office hours or to make individual appointments. In addition, students are required to complete:

1. One Short Paper (5-6 pages) Assignment (due Monday February 23, 2015)
2. One 11-12 page Final Paper assignment (due April 9, 2015)
3. One Take-Home Final Exam (Distributed April 29, due May 6)

The short paper topic and guidelines will be distributed on Wednesday, February 4. Final paper topics and guidelines will be distributed in early March. All students, regardless of institutional affiliation, must adhere to the Barnard College Academic Honor Code.

GRADING: Grades will be calculated as follows:
Short paper (25%);
Final Paper/Project (40%);
Final Exam (35%).

I will grant Incompletes or extensions only in the case of a documented medical emergency. Otherwise, all late work will be downgraded.

READINGS: The following books are required and are available for purchase at the Columbia University bookstore:

Stephen Hopgood, *The Endtimes of Human Rights*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2013.
David Bosco, *Rough Justice: the International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics*.
New York: Oxford University Press.
Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: the New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

The rest of the readings are journal articles or short commentaries that are available through the E-Journals tab on Columbia University's LibraryWeb. To find an article, simply type in the journal title and follow the appropriate link based on your citation information (volume, date). Readings should also be available through Courseworks. Students are encouraged to download and keep personal copies of these readings. If you still have problems obtaining the readings even after you've followed these procedures, please let one of us know ASAP.

The Columbia University Libraries and Harriman Institute will also be developing a dedicated course page that will include a set of resources (maps, data sets, reading lists) designed to accompany some of the course's topics.

I. Introduction: Overview, Definitions and Theoretical Approaches

Class 1-3 (Jan 21, 26, 28) *Course Overview and Introduction*

Charles Kindleberger, *The World in Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984 [1973]), Chapters 1, 14.
John G. Ikenberry, "The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 93, No. 3 (May-June 2014).
Naazneen Barma, Giacomo Chiozza, Ely Ratner and Steven Weber, "A World without the West? Empirical Patterns and Theoretical Implications," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 2, No. 4 (2009), pp. 525-544.
Richard Haas, "The Unraveling: How to respond to a Disordered World." *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 93, No. 6 (November-December 2014).
Henry Farrell and Martha Finnemore, "The End of Hypocrisy: American Foreign policy in the Age of Leaks," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 92, No. 6 (November/December 2013), pp. 22-26.

Class 4 (Feb 2) *New Global Rules and Rule-Making? Dynamics of International Organizations and Global Governance*

Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, "Who Governs the Globe?" in Avant, Finnemore and Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* (New York: Cambridge, 2010), pp. 1-31.
Ebert, Hannes, and Tim Maurer. "Contested Cyberspace and Rising Powers." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 6 (2013): 1054-1074.
Stewart Patrick, "The Unruled World: The Case for Good Enough Global Governance," *Foreign Affairs* Vo. 93, No. 1.

Recommended: Robert Wade, "Emerging World Order? From Multipolarity to Multilateralism in the G20, World Bank and IMF," *Politics & Society* Vol. 39, No. 3 (2011), Vol. 347-378.

Class 5 (Feb 4) *Global Norms, Judgments and Governance*

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998): 887-917.

Ann E. Towns, "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion 'From Below,'" *International Organization* Vol. 66, No. 2 (April 2012), pp. 661-694.

Kevin E. Davis, Benedict Kingsbury, and Sally Engle Merry. "Indicators as a Technology of Global Governance." *Law & Society Review* 46, No. 1 (2012), pp. 71-104.

Recommended:

Sally Engle Merry. "Measuring the World." *Current Anthropology* Vol. 52, No. S3 (2011), S83-S95.

Class 6 (Feb 9) *Case Study of Emerging Powers, Norms and Rule-Making: Rise of the BRICs*

Jim, O'Neill, "Building Better Global Economic BRICs," New York: Goldman Sachs Economics Paper No. 66, 2001.

Available at: <http://www.content.gs.com/japan/ideas/brics/building-better-pdf.pdf>

Oliver Steunkel, "The Financial Crisis, Contested legitimacy, and the Genesis of Intra-BRICS Cooperation," *Global Governance* Vol. 19 (2013), 611-630.

Christian Brütisch and Mihaela Papa. "Deconstructing the BRICS: Bargaining Coalition, Imagined Community, or Geopolitical Fad?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 6, No. 3 (June 2013), pp. 299-327.

Distribution of Short Paper Assignment: "The Rules are Changing!" due Monday, February 23

II. Challenges to Western-Led Bretton Woods Institutions

Class 7 (Feb 11) *The Impact of the Great Financial Crisis, 2007-*

Eric Helleiner, "Understanding the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis: Lessons for Scholars of International Political Economy," *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 14 (2011), pp. 67-87.

Johannes F. and Homi Kharas, "Hypocrisy in Financial Crisis Response: East Asia 1998 vs. the USA 2008," *The Brookings Institution*, April 2008.

Daniel Drezner, "The System Worked: Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession" *World Politics* Vol. 66, No. 1 (January 2014), pp. 123-164.

Class 8 (Feb 16) *The Politics of Global Trade and Investment*

Stephen Hartman, "The WTO, the Doha Round Impasse, PTAs and FTAs/RTAs," *The International Trade Journal* Vol. 27 (2013), pp. 411-430.

Robert Wade, "The Art of Power Maintenance: How Western States Keep the Lead in Global Organizations," *Challenge* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Jan-Feb 2013), 5-39.

Benjamin J. Cohen, "Sovereign wealth funds and national security: the Great Tradeoff," *International Affairs* 85, no. 4 (2009): 713-731.

Recommended: Kristen Hopewell, "Different Paths to The Rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization," *Review of International Political Economy* (forthcoming 2015, online June 2014).

Class 9 (Feb 18) *The Politics of the Dollar: Debating Western Monetary Power*

Jonathan Kirshner, "Bringing them All Back Home? Diminution and U.S. Power," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Summer 2013), pp. 27-45.

Doug Stokes, "Achilles' Deal: Dollar Decline and US Grand Strategy after the Crisis," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2014), pp. 1071-94.

-TBA Reading on Western sanctions towards Russia

Class 10 (Feb 23) *Debating Emerging Donor Aid and Influence: China and the Gulf States*

Short papers due today!

Moises Naim, "Rogue Aid." *Foreign Policy* 159, no. 96 (2007): 95.

Ngairé Woods, "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance," *International Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 6 (November 2008), pp. 1205-1221.

Bräutigam, Deborah. "Aid 'With Chinese Characteristics': Chinese Foreign Aid and Development Finance Meet the OECD- DAC Aid Regime," *Journal of International Development* 23, no. 5 (2011): 752-764.

Ely Ratner, "Making Bank," *Foreign Policy* October 23, 2014.

Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/23/making-bank/>

Class 11 (Feb 23) *The Politics of Off-Shore Money and Regional Tax Havens*

Michael Webb, "Defining the Boundaries of Legitimate State Practice: norms, transnational actors and the OECD's project on harmful tax competition." *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 11, no. 4 (2004): 787-827.

Michael G. Findley, Daniel L. Nielson, and J.C. Sharman, "Using Field Experiments in International Relations: A Randomized Study of Anonymous Incorporation," *International Organization* Vol. 67, No. 4 (Fall 2013), pp. 657-93.

IV A Declining US Global Security System?

Class 12 and **Class 13** (Mar 2 and 4) *The Politics of US Power, Forward Basing and Global Influence*

Joseph Parent and Paul Macdonald, "The Wisdom of Retrenchment: America Must Cut Back to Move Forward," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (Nov-Dec 2011), pp. 32-47.

Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge will Endure," *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41-78.

Robert Pape, "Soft-Balancing Against the United States," *International Security* Vol. 30, No. 1 (September 2005), pp. 7-45.

Daniel W. Drezner, "Military Primacy Doesn't Pay (Nearly As Much As You Think)." *International Security* Vol. 38, No. 1 (2013), pp. 52-79.

Yuen Foong Khong, "The American Tributary System." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 6, No. 1 (2013), pp. 1-47.

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, "The Empire Will Compensate You: The Structural Dynamics of the US Overseas Basing Network," *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 11, No. 4 (December 013).

Class 14 (Mar 9) *Regional Security Organizations and their Development*

Amitav Acharya, "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* Vol. 58, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 239-275.

Alexander Lukin, "What the Kremlin is Thinking: Putin's Vision for Eurasia," *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2014.

Lewis, David. "Who's Socialising Whom? Regional Organisations and Contested Norms in Central Asia." *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 64, No. 7 (2012): 1219-1237.

Class 15 (March 11)

Paper Writing Workshop: no Assigned Readings

Spring Break: March 16-20

Class 16 (Mar 23) *The Rise of "Illiberal" Conflict Resolution and New Mediators*

Paris, Roland. "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding." *Review of International Studies* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2010), pp. 337-365.

Lewis, David. "The Failure of a Liberal Peace: Sri Lanka's counter-insurgency in global perspective." *Conflict, Security & Development* Vol. 10, No. 5 (2010): 647-671.

de Oliveira, Ricardo Soares. "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 49, No. 02 (2011), pp. 287-314.

Recommended: Saferworld, "China and Conflict-Affected States: Between principle and Pragmatism." At: <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/China%20and%20conflict-affected%20states.pdf>

Class 17 (Mar 25) *Politics of Global Energy Security*

Rawi Abdelal, "The Profits of Power: Commerce and Realpolitik in Eurasia," *Review of International Political Economy*. Vol. 20, No. 5 (2013): 421-456.

Edward Morse, "Welcome to the Revolution: Why Shale is the Next Shale," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 93, No. 3 (May-June 2014).

V Contesting Values in a Post-Western World: Activism, Human Rights, Democracy and the Backlash

Class 18 (Mar 30) *Global Social Movements: Does the West Set the Advocacy Agenda?*

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal* Vol. 51, No. 159 (March 1999), pp. 89-101.

Clifford Bob, "Merchants of Morality," *Foreign Policy* No. 129 (Mar/Apr 2002), pp. 36-45.

Karen Dupuy, James Ron and Aseeme Prakesh, "Who Survived? Ethiopia's Regulatory Crackdown on Foreign-Funded NGOs," *Review of International Political Economy* (forthcoming, 2015, published online 2014).

Class 19 (Apr 1) *Video Screening: Putin's Kiss*

Keep working on papers

Classes 20 (Apr 6) *Regional Variation in Human Rights Theory and Practice*

Stephen Hopgood, *The Endtimes of Human Rights*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2013.

Emilie Hafner-Burton and James Ron, "The Latin Bias: Regions, the Anglo-American Media, and Human Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 57, No. 3 (September 2013), pp. 474-491.

Leslie Vinjamuri and James Ron, "Time for a New Kind of Debate on Global Rights,"

Introduction to new Open Democracy Forum. June 17, 2013. Available at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/leslie-vinjamuri-james-ron/time-for-new-kind-of-debate-on-global-rights>

Class 21 (Apr 8) *The Changing International Media Landscape: Political Consequences?*

Long Papers due today!

Anne Nelson, "CCTV's International Expansion: China's Grand Strategy for Media?"

Available at: http://cima.ned.org/sites/default/files/CIMA-China%20Anne%20Nelson_0.pdf

Brian Rotheray and Anne Geniets, "International Broadcasting Revived: Does it Merit the Effort? A Case Study of Eight Developing Countries." *International Journal of Digital Television* Vol 2, No. 3 (2011), pp. 323-344.

Class 22 (Apr 13) *Democratic Backlash: The Rise of Competing Monitors, Institutions and Counternorms*

Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 85, No. 2 (Mar/Apr 2006), pp. 55-68.

Kim Lane Scheppele, "The Migration of Anti-Constitutional Ideas: The Post-9/11 Globalization of Public Law and the International State of Emergency." In *The Migration of Constitutional Ideas*, edited by Sujit Choudhry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The Myth of Democratic Recession," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 26, No. 1 (January 2015), 45-58.

Judith Kelley, "The More the Merrier? The Effects of Having Multiple International Election Monitoring Organizations," *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2009), 59-64.

Recommended:

Gia Nodia, "The Revenge of Geopolitics," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 25, No. 4 (October 2014), 139-150.

Class 23 (Apr 15) *The ICC and the Politics of Justice Regimes*

David Bosco, *Rough Justice: the International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. Selections

VI Case Studies of Post-Western Dynamics

Class 24 (Apr 20) *Central Asia as a Post-Western Arena*

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: the New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Class 25 (Apr 22) *The Crisis in Ukraine*

John Mearsheimer, "Why the Crisis in Ukraine is the West's Fault: the Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs* Vol.93, No. 5 (September-October 2014).

Michael McFaul (rebuttal), Steven Sestanovich (rebuttal) and John Mearsheimer (surrebuttal), "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs* Vol.93, No. 6 (September-October 2014).

Class 26 (Apr 27) *After Mubarak and the Struggle for Egypt*

Readings TBA

Classes 27 + 28 (April 29 + May 4) *Course Conclusion and Exam*

Overview of Course and Concluding Discussion.

Distribution of Take-Home final exam on April 29th. Due Wednesday May 6 by Noon.