

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 2703F

History of the Global Order since 1945

Fall 2025

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Office: **Department of History, Lawson Hall 2201**

Office Hours: **Friday 1.00-3.00**

This is a *draft* outline. Please see the course site on OWL Brightspace 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.

Questions of order and disorder are central to the study of international relations. For a number of years now many observers predict the demise of our current so-called 'liberal international order'; others criticize its international organizational architecture as outdated and focused on advancing the interests of a small group of influential nations while placing those in the 'Global South' at a disadvantage; finally, much commentary suggests the potential rise of alternative global orders, some of them driven by authoritarian power contenders.

While there is much talk about order in international relations, there is frequently little effort to define and historically ground the concept of order. In this course we will study the historical formats, formations, and transformations of order since the 'long' 19th century with an emphasis on the world since the 1940s. We will furthermore reflect on the role of governance, economics, law, nuclear weapons, artificial intelligence, infrastructure, and war and mass violence in upholding, endangering, and contesting global order. We will finally reflect on order transformations with specific attention to the imperial decline of the United States and the simultaneous rise of People's Republic of China.

Prerequisite(s): Registration in the Honours Specialization in International Relations module.

Antirequisites: The former IR 2701E + the former IR 2702E

Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. The decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites.

Course Syllabus

Upon completion of the course students will be able to:

- Understand the history of international relations in the ‘long twentieth-century’
- Assess and discuss theoretical concepts and empirical contours of global orders
- Identify and engage the main arguments about global orders in the research literature on international relations
- Compare formats and formations of order to identify historical patterns and historical specificity
- Connect present day issues to historical events and provide historical contextualization for current debates on global order
- Strengthen skills of oral and written communication

Methods of Evaluation

The final grade for this course is based on the accumulated results of one class presentation, two essays, and your participation in both lecture and tutorial.

Presentation:	20%
Essay One:	20%
Essay Two:	40%
Participation Lecture:	10%
Participation Tutorial	10%

1. Presentation – 20%

Every week we will set aside time for presentations in our tutorial. On average there will be 2-3 people preparing their presentation together; you will divide the readings, prepare a class handout together, and develop a list of discussion questions together. You should think about slide decks as well. The presentation time limits are as follows: For three presenters you have 30 minutes, two presenters will have 20 minutes, and one presenter 15 minutes.

2. Essay One – 20%

You work for Prime Minister Mark Carney as an expert on international relations and U.S. foreign policy. The PM needs a brief on U.S. President Donald Trump’s global outlooks and attitudes towards globalization(s). The Prime Minister wants you to examine Trump’s speeches and policies during the first administration with his current attitude as displayed in public pronouncements, speeches, and administration policies. Is there a difference between the two administrations or can we use Trump’s first term as a guide to predict his future global policies?

Research form and format of policy memos and provide a 1000 word analysis; the memo should be double-spaced and printed in standard size font (i.e. Times New Roman 12pts) with standard margins. Follow the *Chicago Manual Style* conventions, spell-check and staple your memo. .

The essay is due in the History Department mailbox during business hrs. November 12, 2025 – there is a little bit of flexibility in the submission of your work but nothing can be submitted after November 14, 2025 end of business day.

3. Essay Two – 40%

Most of the literature on global orders discusses structures, parameters, dynamics etc. But we learn little about people. Curiously, there is also little discussion of the ethical and moral implications of order and/or disorder. Maybe the two aspects are related and ethical considerations seem less important as long as we examine ordering as a technical challenge in international relations. Some, for whom IR is an essentially anarchic struggle for survival, even go as far as to say that morality and ethics have no place in global ordering.

After this semester you have learned enough about global orders to develop your own position on this question. Write the best essay you can responding to this prompt by political scientist Stephen A. Kocs on the question of ethics and international relations:

“Although it may be argued that unjust political arrangements – by definition – are morally unacceptable, in international politics the quest for justice must sometimes give way to the need for order. As the two world wars showed, the collapse of global political order produces far more human suffering and oppression than exists in an unjust but relatively peaceful world. In today’s nuclear-armed world, an all-out war between major powers would wreak inconceivable harm. For that reason, maintaining an orderly peace among the major powers is an overriding moral imperative, even if doing so produce substantial amounts of injustice. The question of how best to promote a more just world while preserving international order remains vital” in: Stephen A. Kocs, *International Order: A Political History*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2019), 6.

The length of the paper is 2000 words, double-spaced, and printed in standard size font (i.e. Times New Roman 12pts) with standard margins. Follow the *Chicago Manual Style* conventions, spell-check and staple your paper. Follow the *Chicago Manual Style* conventions, be double-space, and printed in standard size font (i.e. Times New Roman 12pts) with standard margins. Spell-check and staple your paper.

The essay is due in the department mailbox during business hrs. December 3, 2025 – there is a little bit of flexibility in the submission of your work but nothing can be submitted after December 5, 2025 end of business day.

3. Participation Lecture – 10%

In this class we will not be using a textbook and the lectures will not be posted on OWL Brightspace. Your prepared attendance in all lectures is a pre-condition for success in this course.

4. Participation Tutorial – 10%

Much of the learning in tutorial is based on discussion and debate; the success of the exercise depends on your completion of the assigned readings, reflection on the material, your prepared attendance, and your active participation in our weekly discussions.

5. Course Specific Conditions

Students must attend at least 80% (10 out of 12) of the lectures and tutorials in order to pass the course, regardless of grades received for other assignments. Students must submit all course assignments in order to pass the course.

Course Materials

This is a reading-intensive course and the timely completion of the assigned texts is a pre-condition for good discussions. Most, if not all, of the required readings are available in digital format at Weldon Library. In previous tutorials you have learned how to use library resources. In case you have questions, or cannot immediately locate a source, please speak to a librarian.

Course Readings and Work Plan

Part One: Introduction

September 10 Parameters of Global Order

This Week's Question: What Do We Mean By Global Order?

Class Readings

BUNDE, Tobias Sophie Eisentraut, Leonard Schütte (eds.), *Munich Security Report 2025: Multipolarization*, (Munich: Munich Security Conference, February 2025), online at: <https://securityconference.org/en/publications/munich-security-report-2025/>

MAULL, Hanns W., "Introduction: The International Order: A Framework for Analysis", in: Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, 2018, pp. 1-22.

McKEIL, Aaron, "On the Concept of International Disorder", in: *International Relations* 35:2 (2021): pp. 197-215.

Part Two: Histories and Memories

September 17 Histories of Global Orders I

This Week's Question: What does international history tell us about global orders before World War II?

Class Readings

BUZAN, Barry, George Lawson, "The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations", in: *International Studies Quarterly* 57:3 (September 2013): pp.620-634.

PEDERSEN, Susan, "Empires, States, and the League of Nations", in: Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 139-169.

Presenter Readings

BELL, Duncan, "Angloworld Narratives: Race as Global Governance", in: Daniel Deudney, G. John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay (eds.), *Debating Worlds: Contested Narratives of Global Modernity and World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 28-57.

HERREN; Madeleine; "Fascist Internationalism", in: Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 91-212.

MANELA, Erez, "Dawn of a New Era: The 'Wilsonian Moment' in Colonial Contexts and the Transformation of World Order, 1917-1920", in: Sebastian Conrad, Dominic Sachsenmaier (eds.), *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880-1930s* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 121-149.

Motadel, David, "The Global Authoritarian Moment and the Revolt against Empire", in: *American Historical Review* 124:3 (June 2019): pp. 843-877.

September 24 Histories of Global Orders II

This Week's Question: What does international history tell us about global orders before World War II?

--Tutorial this Week at Goodman Symposium "The State of Democracy"--

Class Readings

ROSENBOIM, Or, "State, Power, and Global Order, in: *International Relations* 33:2 (June 2019): 229-245.

ZAHRA, Tara, "Against the World: Anti-Globalism and Mass Politics between the World Wars", in: *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 73 (Spring 2024): pp. 3-22, at: https://www.ghi-dc.org/fileadmin/publications/Bulletin/bu73/GHI73_01FEAZahraAnnualLecture_4pp_3-22.pdf

October 1 Cold War(s) I: History and Memory

This Week's Question: What was the Cold War Order and how is it remembered today?

Class Readings

BRANDS, Hal, John Lewis Gaddis, "The New Cold War: America, China, and the Echoes of History", in: *Foreign Affairs* 100:6 (November/December 2021): pp. 10-21.

KOTT, Sandrine, "Cold War Internationalism", in: Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 340-362.

MCFAUL, Michael, "Cold War Lessons and Fallacies for U.S.-China Relations Today", in: *The Washington Quarterly* 43:4 (October 2020): pp. 7-39.

Presenter Readings

AYDIN, Cemil, “Pan-Islamic Narratives of the Global Order, 1870-1980”, in: Daniel Deudney, G. John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay (eds.), *Debating Worlds: Contested Narratives of Global Modernity and World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 80-114.

SLUGA, Glenda, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), chapter three, chapter four, afterword, pp. 79-160.

VIK, Hanne Hagtvedt, “Indigenous Internationalism”, in: Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 315-339.

October 8 Cold War(s) II: The *Pax Americana* and Its Challengers

This Week’s Question: What was the Role of Great Power Competition in the Cold War?

Presenter Readings

COX, Michael, “The Rise and Fall of a Global Narrative: The Soviet Challenge to the Western World”, in: Daniel Deudney, G. John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay (eds.), *Debating Worlds: Contested Narratives of Global Modernity and World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 58-79.

MUELLER, John, “‘*Pax Americana*’ is a Myth: Aversion to War Drives Peace and Order”, in: *The Washington Quarterly* 43:3 (July 2020): pp. 115-136.

STEWART, Patrick, “World Order: What, Exactly are the Rules?” in: *The Washington Quarterly* 39:1 (January 2016): pp. 7-27.

COX, Michael, “The Rise and Fall of a Global Narrative: The Soviet Challenge to the Western World”, in: Daniel Deudney, G. John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay (eds.), *Debating Worlds: Contested Narratives of Global Modernity and World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 58-79.

October 15 ‘New World Orders’ 1990s until today

This Week’s Question: What were the Characteristics of the Post-Cold War Order?

Class Readings

BRANDS, Hal, “The Age of Amorality: Can America Save the Liberal Order Through Illiberal Means?” in: *Foreign Affairs* 103:2 (March/April 2024): pp.104-117.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, “Ask the Experts: Did the Unipolar Moment Ever End?” May 23, 2023, at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ask-the-experts/did-unipolar-moment-ever-end>

KRAUTHAMMER, Charles, “The Unipolar Moment”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 70:1 (1990/91): pp. 23-33.

Presenter Readings

BROOKS, Stephen G., William C. Wohlforth, “The Myth of Multipolarity: American Power’s Staying Power”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 102:3 (May/June 2023): pp. 76-91.

DEUDNEY, Daniel, “Hegemonic Disarray – American Internationalisms and World Disorder”, in: Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 199-216.

MITTER, Rana, “The Chinese Global in the Long Postwar: Narratives of War, Civilization, and Infrastructure since 1945”, in: Daniel Deudney, G. John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay (eds.), *Debating Worlds: Contested Narratives of Global Modernity and World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 162-183.

MURITHI, Tim, “Order of Oppression: Africa’s Quest for a New International System”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 102:3 (May/June 2023): pp. 24-29.

PANG, Zhongying, “China and the Struggle over the Future of International Order”, in: Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 235-251.

October 22 COVID, Trump, and the Age of Crisis

This Week’s Question: How have COVID, the First Trump Presidency, and the Age of Crises affected the Global Order?

Class Readings

BRANDS, Hal, Francis J. Gavin, “COVID-19 and World Order”, in: Hal Brands, Francis J. Gavin, *COVID-19 and World Order. The Future of Conflict, Competition, and Cooperation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), pp. 1-22.

JERVIS, Robert, “The Trump Experiment: An Assessment”, in: Robert Jervis, Diane N. Labrosse, Stacie E. Goddard, Joshua Rovner (eds.), *Chaos Reconsidered: The Liberal Order and the Future of International Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), pp. 15-27.

TOOZE, Adam, “Interview: What is the Polycrisis”, *World Economic Forum* April 2023, at: <https://www.weforum.org/videos/experts-explain-adam-tooze-what-is-the-polycrisis/>

Presenter Readings

--This week you are free to choose the respective chapters for your presentations from two books; the number of texts depends on the number of presenters for this week--

BRANDS, Hal, Francis J. Gavin, *COVID-19 and World Order: The Future of Conflict, Competition, and Cooperation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020)

JERVIS, Robert, Diane N. Labrosse, Stacie E. Goddard, Joshua Rovner (eds.), *Chaos Reconsidered: The Liberal Order and the Future of International Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023),

Part Three: Structures and Contours

October 29 Governing the World: Political and Legal Orders

This Week's Question: How Have Concepts of Global Governance Advanced or Contested Order

Class Readings

GUTERRES, Antonio, "Growing the Pie: A Global Order that Works for Everyone. Secretary General's Remarks to the Munich Security Conference, February 16, 2024, at:

<https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2024-02-16/secretary-generals-remarks-the-munich-security-conference-growing-the-pie-global-order-works-for-everyone-delivered>

PATRICK, Stewart, "Rules of Order: Assessing the State of Global Governance", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Working Paper September 2023, at:

<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2023/09/rules-of-order-assessing-the-state-of-global-governance?lang=en>

Presenter Readings

ECONOMY, Elizabeth, "China's Alternative Order", in: *Foreign Affairs* 103:1 (May/June 2024): pp. 8-24.

O'MALLEY, Alanna, Lydia Walker, "A Revisionist History of the United Nations", in: *Past and Present* 20 (2024): pp. 1-25.

HOGAN, Erica, Stewart Patrick, "A Closer Look at the Global South", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 20, 2024, at: <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/05/global-south-colonialism-imperialism?lang=en>

November 12 A World at War: Global Orders of (In-) Security?

This Week's Question: What was/is the Relationship between War and Global Order?

---Guest Lecture by Professor Oleksa Drachewych, UWO on the war in Ukraine and global order (TBC)---

Class Readings

DRACHEWYCH, Oleksa, „Putin's War on Ukraine and on History", in: *Active History*, March 1, 2022, at: <https://activehistory.ca/blog/2022/03/01/putins-war-on-ukraine-and-history/>

MCGLYNN, Jade, *Russia's War* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2023), chapter 5 "We are at war with the West", pp. 100-136.

Presenter Readings

HATHAWAY, Oona A., “How Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine Tested the International Legal Order” March 30, 2023, Brookings Institution, at: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-russias-invasion-of-ukraine-tested-the-international-legal-order/>

KENDALL-TAYLOR, Richard Fontaine, “The Axis of Upheaval: How America’s Adversaries are Uniting to Overturn the Global Order”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 103:3 (May/June 2024): pp. 50-63.

MEARSHEIMER, John J. “Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order”, in: *International Security* 43:4 (Spring 2019): pp. 7-50.

WESTADT, Odd Arne Westad “War and World Order since 1870”, Norwegian Academy of Science and Letter, October 19, 2023, at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zz41vP6jXXk>

November 19 Globalization and Its Discontents: Economic and Social Orders

This Week’s Question: What is the relationship between globalization(s), their contestation, and global orders?

Class Readings

HEER, Jeet. “Thanks to Covid-19, Neoliberal Globalization Is Unraveling.” *The Nation*, April 17, 2020. <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/globalization-unravelling-internationalism-coronavirus/>.

HORNER, Rory, Daniel Haberly, Seth Schindler, Yuko Aoyama. “How anti-globalisation switched from a left to a right-wing issue – and where it will go next.” *The Conversation*, January 25, 2018. <https://theconversation.com/how-anti-globalisation-switched-from-a-left-to-a-right-wing-issue-and-where-it-will-go-next-90587>

Presenter Readings

ADELMAN, Jeremy, “Inequality, Development, and Global Distributive Justice”, in: Daniel Deudney, G. John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay (eds.), *Debating Worlds: Contested Narratives of Global Modernity and World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 211-235.

HELLEINER, Eric, “The Return of National Self-Sufficiency? Excavating Autarkic Thought in a De-Globalizing Era”, in: *International Studies Review* 23:3 (September 2021): pp. 933-957.

IRIYE, Akira, Petra Goedde, *International History: A Cultural Approach* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), Part Four “Transnational Connections”, pp. 215-294.

PAUL, T.V., “Globalization, Deglobalization and Reglobalization: Adapting Liberal International Order”, in: *International Affairs* 97:5 (September 2021): pp. 1599-1620.

November 26 Ninety Seconds to Midnight: Technology and Global Order

This Week's Question: How have technology, technological change, and infrastructure affected global order?

Class Readings

Watch the panel discussion on “AI and Global Order”, May 31, 2024 at Stanford University’s Cyber Policy Center, at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGgEw7R-A0M&t=8s>

VALLANCE, Chris, “Artificial Intelligence Could Lead to Extinction, Experts Warn”, BBC May 30, 2023, at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-65746524>

Presenter Readings

COHEN, Jared, George Lee, “The Generative World Order: AI, Geopolitics, and Power”, Goldman Sachs Global Institute Report, December 14, 2023, at: <https://www.goldmansachs.com/insights/articles/the-generative-world-order-ai-geopolitics-and-power>

FREEDMAN, Lawrence, “The Interplay between the International System and the Global Nuclear Order”, in: Steven E. Miller, Robert Legvold, and Lawrence D. Freedman, *Meeting the Challenges of the New Nuclear Age: Nuclear Weapons in a Changing Global Order*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, January 2019, at: <https://www.amacad.org/publication/nuclear-weapons-changing-global-order>

SIPRI, Yearbook 2024: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, chapter 7 “World Nuclear Forces”, pp. 272-367, at: <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/YB24%2007%20WNF.pdf>

WALKER, William, “The International Nuclear Order after the Cold War – Progress and Regress”, in: Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 85-103.

Part Four: Reflections and Conclusions

December 3 The Rise and Fall of Empires

This Week's Questions: How is the 2nd Trump Administration affecting global order? Are we headed for a new Cold War or a breakdown of the international system?

Class Readings

EKBLADH, David, “No, the world isn’t heading towards a new Cold War – it’s closer to the grinding world order collapse of the 1930s”, in: *The Conversation*, August 23, 2024, at: <https://theconversation.com/no-the-world-isnt-heading-toward-a-new-cold-war-its-closer-to-the-grinding-world-order-collapse-of-the-1930s-234939>

GODDARD, Stacie E., “The Rise and Fall of Great Power Competition: Trump’s New Spheres of Influence”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 104:3 (May/June 2025): pp. 8-23. .

KUPCHAN, Charles A., “A New Cold War Could Be Much Worse Than the One We Remember”, in: *The Atlantic* June 2, 2023, online.

LEONHARD, Mark, “China is Ready for a World of Disorder. America is not”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 102:4 (July/August 2023): pp. 116-127.

Presenter Readings

CONCLUSIONS: “The Rise and Decline of the Liberal International World Order”, in: Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 272-312.

IKENBERRY, G. John, „Three Worlds: the West, East and South and the Competition to Shape Global Order”, in: *International Affairs* 100:1 (January 2024): pp. 121-138.

KIMMAGE, Michael, „The World Trumps Wants: American Power in the New Age of Nationalism”, in: *Foreign Affairs* 104:2 (March/April 2025): pp. 8-21.

SCHIRM, Stefan, A., “Alternative World Orders? Russia’s Ukraine War and the Domestic Politics of the BRICS”, in: *The International Spectator. Italian Journal of International Affairs* 58:3 (2023): pp. 55-73.

SCHUMAN; Michael, Jonathon Fulton, Tuvia Gering, “How Beijing’s Newest Global Initiatives Seek to Remake the World Order”, *Atlantic Council Issue Brief* June 21, 2023, at: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/how-beijings-newest-global-initiatives-seek-to-remake-the-world-order/>

Additional Statements

All work submitted in this course must be your own.

You may not make any use of generative AI tools, such as ChatGPT, in this course. Any use of such tools for assignments in this course may be considered a form of academic misconduct.

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.