

## The History and Politics of Order-making

Given by **Stephanie Hofmann (SPS)** and **Glenda Sluga (HEC)**

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This seminar is run by an historian and a political scientist (in alphabetical order), and intended for all EUI researchers, especially HEC and SPS. We are among those international historians and IR scholars who, in the last few years, have begun to exchange ideas about the history and politics of order-making. Our aims in this seminar are (1) to explore the methods and themes that historians and political scientists have each used to study the ‘international order’ (a concept that itself deserves interrogation), and (2) are now emerging out of the new fruitful interdisciplinary exchange between them. We will take the opportunity to locate ordering attempts, successes and failure across time (20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries) and diverse political spaces, to probe the utility of the idea of an ‘order’ and of ‘order-making’ in thinking about the past and our own world. Also, interested researchers will be invited to discuss their own cutting-edge research in this same context, where they see fit.

By the end of the course researchers will have:

- become familiar with the main debates around global order and able to locate them in their historical context
- become able to identify the assumptions underpinning these debates as well as their theoretical origins
- become familiar with current research conducted within various theoretical frameworks as well as critically evaluate their arguments
- considered the relevance of particular approaches to their own work and practiced different forms of argument construction.

Course requirements consist of

- **Complete the readings and active participation** in the seminar discussions and debates, e.g. contributing to addressing broader issues and questions underlying the readings.
- **authors’ defendant** (1x), that is, defend the merits of the week’s readings in class.

To receive credit for this seminar, you must get a pass on each of them.

## Sessions

<b>RS History and Politics of Order-Making (S. Hofmann, G. Sluga)</b>			
session 1	Tuesday 16 January 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 2	Tuesday 23 January 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 3	Tuesday 30 January 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 4	Tuesday 6 February 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 5	Tuesday 13 February 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 6	Tuesday 20 February 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 7	Tuesday 27 February 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
session 8	Tuesday 5 March 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
Session 9	Tuesday 12 March 15.00-17.00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia
Session 10	Tuesday 19 March 15:00-17:00	2 hrs	Sala Belvedere, Villa Schifanoia

## **Week 1      Introductions: history and IR**

Sluga, Glenda. 2023. "Afterword: New Histories of International Order." In Peter Jackson, William Mulligan, & Glenda Sluga (Eds.), *Peacemaking and International Order after the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 407-414.

Williams, Andrew. 1998. *Failed imagination? New world orders of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*. Manchester University Press, introduction (pp. 1-18).

### *Optional*

H-Diplo | RJISSF Policy Roundtable II-3: Sustaining Conversations between Political Scientists and Historians: <https://issforum.org/policy-roundtable/h-diplorjissf-policy-roundtable-ii-3-sustaining-conversations-between-political-scientists-and-historians>.

Cambridge IR/History Project: Pathways from Disorder to Order:  
<https://www.badisordertoorder.com>

Phillips, Andrew. 2016. "Global IR meets Global History: Sovereignty, Modernity and the International System's Expansion in the Indian Ocean Region." *International Studies Review* 18: 62-77.

## **Week 2      What is an international/global/world order?**

Canada IR/History Project Discussing the History of International Orders: A Workshop Report  
<https://toynbeeprize.org/posts/discussing-the-history-of-international-orders-a-workshop-report/>

Reus-Smit, Christian. 2017. "Cultural Diversity and International Order." *International Organization* 71, 4: 851-885.

Hurrell, Andrew. 2006. "Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?" *International Affairs* 82, 1: 1-19.

Kang, David C. 2020. "International Order in Historical East Asia: Tribute and Hierarchy Beyond Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism." *International Organization* 74: 65-93.

### *Optional*

Jackson, Peter, Mulligan, William, & Sluga, Glenda. 2023. Introduction. In P. Jackson, W. Mulligan, & G. Sluga (Eds.), *Peacemaking and International Order after the First World War* (pp. 1-34). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Summary of theories of international order)

Schroeder, Paul. 1989. "The nineteenth century system: balance of power or political equilibrium?" *Review of International Studies* 15, 2: 135-154.

Bull, Hedley. 2002. *The anarchical society: a study of order in world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Philipps, Andrew and JC Sharman. 2020. "Company-states and the creation of the global international system." *European Journal of International Relations* 26, 4: 1249-1271.

### **Week 3          Order-making (in times of crisis)**

Tourinho, Marcos. 2021. "The Co-Constitution of Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 258-281.

Sluga, Glenda. 2021. *The invention of international order: remaking Europe after Napoleon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Introduction.

Adler, Emanuel. 2019. *World Ordering. A Social Theory of Cognitive Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 13-44.

Hofmann, Stephanie. Forthcoming. "Dialectic order-making through ambiguity: Contestation is the norm in collective security." *Global Studies Quarterly*.

#### *Optional*

Zürn, Michael. 2018. *A Theory of Global Governance. Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.

Alker, Hayward, and Thomas Biersteker. 1984. "The dialectics of world order: Notes for a future archaeologist of international savoir faire." *International Studies Quarterly* 28(2): 121–142.

Goddard, Stacie, Ron Krebs, Christian Kreuder-Sonnen, Berthold Rittberger, eds. Forthcoming. "Contestation in a world of liberal orders." *Global Studies Quarterly*.

### **Week 4          Order and International Law**

GUEST: Or Rosenboim

Rosenboim, Or. 2017. *The Emergence of Globalism: Visions of World Order in Britain and the United States. 1939–1950*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 6.

Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After Victory: institutions, strategic restraint and the rebuilding of order after major wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 163-215.

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

Thornton, Christy. *Revolution in Development: Mexico and the Governance of the Global Economy*, Chapter 4: 'Voice and Vote: Mexico's Postwar Vision at Bretton Woods', pp. 79-98.

### *Optional*

Conrad, Sebastian and Dominic Sachsenmaier, eds. 2007. *Competing Visions of World Order, Global Moment and Movements 1880s–1930s*. London: Palgrave.

Balasubramanian, Aditya and Srinath Raghavan. 2018. "Present at the Creation: India, the Global Economy, and the Bretton Woods Conference." *Journal of World History* 29, 1: 65-94.

Sluga, Glenda. 2013. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, chapter 3.

## **Week 5          Postcolonial order-making**

Getachew, Adom. 2019. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3, pp. 71-106.

Berger, Tobias. 2022. "Worldmaking from the margins: interactions between domestic and international ordering in mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century India." *European Journal of International Relations* 28, 4: 834-858.

### *Optional*

Anghie, Antony et al. 2003. *The Third World and International Order*. Brill.

## **Week 6          What makes an order, when, why, and how? The 1945 case study**

Benton, Lauren and Lisa Ford. 2018. *Rage for Order. The British Empire and the Origins of International Law, 1800-1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chapter 5.

Orford, Anne. 2021. "Regional Orders, Geopolitics, and the Future of International Law." *Current Legal Problems* 74: 149-94.

Wheatley, Natasha. 2023. *The Life and Death of States: Central Europe and the Transformation of Modern Sovereignty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Introduction.

### *Optional*

Mantilla, Giovanni and Carsten-Andreas Schulz. "The Turn to the History of International Law in the Discipline of International Relations." in Cambridge History of International Law, Vol. I, Anne Peters and Randall Lesaffer, eds. Cambridge University Press (Forthcoming 2023).

Bull, Hedley. 1972. "International Law and International Order." *International Organization* 26, 3: 583-588.

Koskenniemi, Martti & Nouwen, Sarah. 2021. "The Politics of Global Lawmaking: A Conversation." *European Journal of International Law* 32, 4: 1341-1352.

### **Week 7      What makes an order, when, why, and how? The NIEO Case Study**

'Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, 1974'.

<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/218450?ln=en>

Gilman, Nils. 2015. "The New International Economic Order: A Reintroduction." *Humanity*, <https://humanityjournal.org/issue6-1/the-new-international-economic-order-a-reintroduction/>

Bockman, Johanna. 2015. "Socialist globalization against capitalist neocolonialism: the economic ideas behind the new international economic order." *Humanity*, <https://humanityjournal.org/issue6-1/socialist-globalization-against-capitalist-neocolonialism-the-economic-ideas-behind-the-new-international-economic-order/>

The New International Economic Order. Lessons and Legacies 50 Year Later. Conference: <https://apps.unive.it/server/eventi/71851/NIEO2023Banner.pdf>

### *Optional*

Fioretos, Orfeo. 2020. "Rhetorical appeals and strategic cooptation in the rise and fall of the New International Economic Order." *Global Policy* 11, 3: 73-82.

### **Week 8      End of the order as we know it?**

Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations, *Our Common Agenda* (2021), [https://www.un.org/en/content/common-agenda-report/assets/pdf/Common\\_Agenda\\_Report\\_English.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/content/common-agenda-report/assets/pdf/Common_Agenda_Report_English.pdf)

Lake, David, Lisa Martin, and Thomas Risse. 2021. "Challenges to the Liberal International Order. Reflections on International Organization." *International Organization* 75(2): 225-257.

Acharya, Amitav. 2017. "After liberal hegemony: the advent of a multiplex world order." *Ethics and International Affairs* 31, 3: 271-285.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, and Stephanie Hofmann. "Of the Contemporary Global Order, Crisis, and Change." *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(7): 1077-1089.

Tooze, Adam. 2019. 'Everything you know about global order is wrong', 30 January, Foreign Policy, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/30/everything-you-know-about-global-order-is-wrong/>

### *Optional*

Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94,1: 7-23.

Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel Nexon. 2020. *Exit from Hegemony. The Unraveling of the American Global Order*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Finnemore, Martha. 2009. "Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn't All It's Cracked up to Be." *World Politics* 61(1): 58-85.

Dani Rodrik and Stephen Walt, 'How to Construct a New Global Order', 24 May 2021, [file:///C:/Users/Francine/Downloads/RWP21-013\\_Rodrik\\_Walt.pdf](file:///C:/Users/Francine/Downloads/RWP21-013_Rodrik_Walt.pdf)

Sluga, Glenda. 2017. 'Anfänge und Ende(n) der Weltordnung', *Geschichtskolumne Merkur*, 816: 72-81 also published in English, as "The Beginnings and Ends of International Orders,' *E-IR*, May 2017. available <http://www.e-ir.info/2017/05/22/the-beginnings-and-ends-of-the-international-order/>

## **Week 9      Changing Global Order Project (tbc)**

GUEST: Louise Fawcett

<https://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/project/oxford-martin-programme-changing-global-order>

## **Week 10      From Disorder to Order Project**

GUEST: Ayşe Zarakol

Zarakol, Ayşe. 2022. *Before the West: The Rise and Fall of Eastern World Orders*. Cambridge University Press.