POL 2: INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT, ORDER AND JUSTICE
2019-2020

Paper Organiser:
Adam Branch
Department of Politics and International Studies
Email: arb209@cam.ac.uk

Lecturers:
Adam Branch (Michaelmas Term)
Department of Politics and International Studies

Ayşe Zarakol (Lent Term)
Department of Politics and International Studies

Supervisors: (For an updated list, see the HSPS Part I Moodle Site.)

Niyousha Bastani nb557@cam.ac.uk
Duncan Bell dsab2@cam.ac.uk
Adam Branch arb209@cam.ac.uk
Nicholas Chan Wai Yeap wyc40@cam.ac.uk
Mike Clark mdc48@cam.ac.uk
Maximilian Curtis mcc82@cam.ac.uk
Geoffrey Edwards gre1000@cam.ac.uk
Jeremy Green jbg35@cam.ac.uk
Alex Grigor avg32@cam.ac.uk
Jaakko Heiskanen jwh48@cam.ac.uk
Christopher Hill cjh68@cam.ac.uk
Philipp Hirsch pamh2@cam.ac.uk
Pieter van Houten pjv24@cam.ac.uk
K-C Lin kcl35@cam.ac.uk
Matthew S Mahmoudi mm2134@cam.ac.uk
James Mayall jblm2@cam.ac.uk
Liana Minkova lgm27@cam.ac.uk
Lucas de Oliveira Paes ld508@cam.ac.uk
Justin Pearce jp663@cam.ac.uk
Evaleila Pesaran ep336@cam.ac.uk
Marie Prum mmdp2@cam.ac.uk
Glen Rangwala gr10009@cam.ac.uk
Stefano Recchia sr638@cam.ac.uk
Ian Shields ies25@cam.ac.uk
Ayşe Zarakol az319@cam.ac.uk
Mehmet Erol mee38@cam.ac.uk
Outline of Paper

Aims and Objectives

This class will introduce students to politics beyond the state. We will seek to understand the contemporary international political world as the product of intersecting forms of power, each of which has a distinct history and may require a distinct theoretical approach. The dominant traditions in the study of international politics in the West since the Second World War have emphasized the power of and relations among states – their conflicts and efforts at coordination. But, as new global political realities have emerged, new theoretical approaches have entered the debates on international politics to interpret these new realities and re-interpret dominant histories of international order.

Some of these approaches maintain that actors beyond the state – international organizations, social movements, multinational corporations, or terrorist groups – need to be foregrounded to understand international politics. Others argue that alternative logics – such as race, gender, or constructed civilizational divides – shape international politics and should not be ignored by focusing exclusively on inter-state interaction. Still others argue that giving priority to the Western nation-state obscures the very different visage that international politics may have from the standpoint of the non-Western world and occludes alternative possibilities of order and justice. Thus, the global study of international politics today requires attention to other forms and histories of international order, as well as a history of the state and how we understand it. This paper seeks to explore international politics but will leave open the questions of what issues matter, whose experiences should be the basis for theory, and what methodological tools we can use in this pursuit.

POL2: International Conflict, Order and Justice is thus structured around debates among scholars espousing different theoretical approaches as they make sense of a series of key topics in international politics. Students can expect to find that distinct approaches to international relations may sit uneasily with each other epistemologically or politically, tensions that should provoke further critical inquiry. Throughout all these texts, however, three primary themes will cut across the course as a whole. First, conflict. Under this theme, we will examine not only conflict among states but also violence by non-state actors and conflict that crosses the domestic-international divide, such as environmental violence or counterinsurgency. We will also look at systemic forms of international structural violence and repression, such as might exist along class, race, or gender lines, which may be embedded in the existing international system. This leads to the second theme: order. While order among states is a perennial concern for international politics, there is also the question of whose interests that order serves and at whose expense it is maintained. What is the character of international order – for example, is it hierarchical or anarchical – what are its origins, and how does it establish its legitimacy? And are there alternative ways to order the world? This points to the third theme: justice. Ethical questions such as just war or international economic inequality have long histories of engagement by scholars of politics beyond the state. This paper will also pay attention to the demands for international and global justice being made by a diversity of voices today both in the sphere of political practice and within the study of international politics itself.

Being an introduction, the paper is meant to whet students’ appetites and help them decide, as they advance to Part II of the HSPS Tripos, what they wish to focus on – such as, for instance, international organizations, international law, gender, race, development, political theory, international sociology, international political economy, or a specific geographical region. The objective of the course is thus two-fold: to ensure that students have a firm foundation for future studies in international politics, and to equip students with the conceptual tools needed to critically interpret and to act in the contemporary world.
Structure of Paper
The paper has five modules, each of which explores a specific problem in contemporary international politics. For each problem, we trace its historical origins and development over time, asking how it arose. We also ask what theoretical tools can best help us to understand that problem, drawing in the process on a diverse set of theoretical traditions. Thus, each module has three dimensions: a current question, an historical inquiry, and a theoretical engagement. Of course, there will be some overlap among the different modules, and students may find that theoretical frameworks introduced in one module can work well for others, or that specific historical legacies arise throughout the course. The lectures are as follows:

**Michaelmas Term (Lecturer Adam Branch)**

Lecture 1: The Space and Time of International Politics

**Module I: The End of the Cold War and the Rise of Human Rights**
Lecture 2: Exploring Colonial Legacies
Lecture 3: The ‘Hot’ Cold War, Decolonisation and Development
Lecture 4: Interpreting the End of the Cold War
Lecture 5: Histories of Human Rights
Lecture 6: The International Criminal Court: Enforcing Human Rights

**Module II: 9/11 and the War on Terror**
Lecture 7: Did 9/11 Change Everything?
Lecture 8: The Gender of 9/11
Lecture 9: The Law and Ethics of War I: Histories and Theory
Lecture 10: The Law and Ethics of War II: The Iraq Invasion
Lecture 11: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency, Terrorism and Counterterrorism

**Module III: Climate Change and the Politics of the Anthropocene**
Lecture 12: Global Climate Change: Origins and Impacts
Lecture 13: The Anthropocene: A New Epoch?
Lecture 14: Global Climate Governance and Sustainable Development
Lecture 15: Struggles for Global Climate Justice
Lecture 16: Envisioning and Writing Planetary Futures

**Lent Term (Lecturer Ayşe Zarakol)**

Lecture 17: Is the sky falling?

**Module IV: Between Rising Powers and Populism: Rethinking the ‘End’ of the Liberal International Order**
Lecture 18: What is ‘the Liberal International Order’? Historical Overview
Lecture 19: How sustainable is/was the Liberal International Order? Predictions from IR theory
Lecture 20: Rise of China & the Global South
Lecture 21: Populism in the West
Lecture 22: Merging waves of discontent; Russian foreign policy

**Module V: The End of the Nation State? Origins and Future of the Westphalian System**
Lecture 23: International change – what is it?
Lecture 24: What is the Westphalian System? Historical Overview
Lecture 25: The nation-state & modern sovereignty
Lecture 26: Westphalian Hierarchies
Lecture 27: Challenges to the Modern State, from above and below
Lecture 28: Is it the end of world (as we know it)?
Easter Term: Revision Lectures (The lectures are identical, so students are expected to attend only one.)

Monday, Week 1, 10-11 am
Wednesday, Week 1, 10-11 am

Readings
There are three categories of readings in the paper guide below. First, Lecture Pre-Reading: This is a piece that provides important background to the lecture; if students have time to read only one piece before the lecture, it should be this one. Second, Core Readings: Core Readings explore the key themes for each topic, and students can expect these pieces to be referred to during the lecture. Third, Supplementary Readings: Supplementary Readings are just that – supplementary. They are meant to be useful for writing supervision essays and preparing for the exam by focusing further on specific topics or aspects of topics.

It is not expected that students will read all the Supplementary Readings for the topics they are focusing on, but they should read all the Lecture Pre-Readings and Core Readings and a selection of Supplementary Reading for their chosen topics to be adequately prepared for the exam. Students should read Supplementary Readings that are of particular interest and relevance, as guided by the lectures, their supervisors, and their own concerns. Students may also find that reading additional chapters beyond what is assigned in the books on the reading list, or looking into other works by included authors, can be helpful in writing supervision essays or revising for the exam. Many of the readings can be found in the Library’s POL2 Moodle site.

Teaching
The paper is taught through a combination of 28 lectures and six hours of supervision for each student. Supervisions are organised by Directors of Study. Students should complete a piece of written work for each supervision; at least four of these pieces of work should be essays. Two of the supervisions set by supervisors can be alternative written work; this could be, for example, an exercise based on the reading. Details on question selection, length of essay, and style should be discussed with each student’s specific supervisor. Students should have one or two revision supervisions in Easter Term. Lists of sample essay questions for supervisions are given at the end of each module.

Since there are five modules and six supervisions, we recommend having one supervision on each module and using one of the Lent Term supervisions to work on a cross-cutting question. In addition to the sample supervision essay questions included at the end of each module, there is a list of sample cross-cutting questions included at the end of the paper guide. There is also a sample exam at the end of the paper guide as a whole that can provide guidance on questions.

Given the significant depth and breadth of the reading, attending lecture is essential for students to establish paths through the material. Lectures begin promptly at 10:00 am on Mondays and Wednesdays. There will be two lectures per week in the Michaelmas term and two lecture per week for most weeks of Lent Term (see the schedule below for details on dates). There will be two identical Revision Lectures during Easter term. Students are expected to attend only one of these lectures.

Assessment
There will be a three-hour unseen examination in the Easter term, in which each student will be required to answer three questions, all given equal weight in marking. The exam will be divided into two sections. The first will comprise four cross-cutting questions pertaining to the paper as a whole, of which students select one to answer. The second section will
comprise twelve questions, of which students select two. Among the twelve, there will be two or three questions associated with each module (although students may draw on any lecture/topic in answering any of the questions).

Previous years’ exams for POL2 are available on the paper’s Moodle site. Students should be aware, however, that the paper underwent considerable revision in previous years, as well as more minor reorganization for this year. Therefore, exams prior to that of 2018 may cover material that is not covered in POL2 this year. For this reason, the sample supervision questions, sample exam, and 2018 exam should be the focus in revising for this year’s exam.
MICHAELMAS TERM

Lecture 1: The Time and Space of International Politics
Spectacular and shocking, 9/11 was said at the time to ‘change everything’. But the same was said of the end of the Cold War, is being said today with the inception of runaway climate change, and has been said countless times for other historical events, large and small. This introductory lecture raises questions around how we understand international politics – where we look, how we grasp difference over space and time – by approaching 9/11 as an event that was definitive for the political sensibility of a recent generation, but that seems to have receded into the past today.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

MODULE I: The End of the Cold War and the Rise of Human Rights
The end of the Cold War gave birth to a new vision of the possibilities of global justice, a form of justice that would be anchored in universal human rights and enforced by the international community. During the 1990s, this cosmopolitan vision of a humanitarian world order was ascendant and given apparent support by a series of humanitarian interventions, a new robust UN role in peacekeeping, and the development of the International Criminal Court. But it was also a time of grave concern over a world unmoored from its previous foundations, a new world disorder characterized by the atrocity of civil war, failed states, and humanitarian crisis. This Module traces the colonial legacies of this vision of universal order, looks to the history of decolonization in the post-WWII era, and explores the politics of the new vision of human rights enforcement, asking how the 1990s still shape our world, and our understanding of the world, today.

Lecture 2: Exploring Colonial Legacies
Where do we begin a history of our international political present? In this lecture, we turn to the colonial past to locate legacies that can help historicize the world around us today. In particular, we focus on the ways that colonialism understood those subject to colonial rule, those whose land was taken, those who were enslaved, or, in certain cases, those who were subject to attempts at extermination. Central will be the relation between difference and violence – how violence is deployed against those defined as different, and how people subject to such violence have responded.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:
• Jennifer Pitts, A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France (Princeton, 2005), Ch. 1, 5, 8. [An important text for placing Western political liberalism in its imperial context.]
• Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (UNC Press, 1944): Ch. 1 and 2. [The classic study of the relation between capitalism, the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas.]

**Supplementary Reading:**

• Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009). [How an engagement with the Haitian Revolution enables a reassessment of political theory and the writing of history.]

• Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000 [1955]). [Alongside Fanon’s *Wretched of the Earth*, a key anti-colonial text that also helped set the stage for postcolonial thought.]

• Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Duke University Press, 2015), Ch. 1 & 5 [An important recent book exploring the relationships between peoples of the four continents as they developed through broad networks of colonial trade and rule.]

• Walter Mignolo, ‘Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality’, *Cultural Studies*, 21:2, 449-514. [A prominent decolonial theorist tracing the links between modernity and coloniality.]

• Charles W. Mills, ‘Race and Global Justice’, in Duncan Bell, ed., *Empire, Race and Global Justice* (Cambridge, 2019), ch. 4. [The political philosopher argues that ‘we need to rethink and decolonize imperial liberalism, racial liberalism, so as to eliminate its distinctive white bias’. The rest of the essays in this excellent collection are also highly recommended.]


• Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Vintage, 1978), Introduction. [*Orientalism*, although not easy or uncontroversial, has been a foundational book for scholarship on the politics and culture of colonialism and postcolonialism.]


**Lecture 3: The ‘Hot’ Cold War, Decolonisation and Development**

The traditional history of the Cold War has cast it as a bipolar struggle between the US and the USSR. However, if we consider the broader set of dynamics during that period – in particular decolonization, the changing role of the UN, and the emergence of ‘development’ – then new continuities may emerge with our present. Here we read both contemporary historians of the Cold War and also some of the key thinkers of that time, in particular those engaged in anti-colonial struggles. A focus on Africa provides a common regional frame.

**Lecture Pre-Reading:**


**Core reading:**

• Siba N. Grovogui, *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans* (Minnesota, 1996), Ch. 1, 2. [Considers the always partial and qualified manner in which sovereignty was granted to Africans, with important lessons for international order and sovereignty today.]

• Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, 2019), Introduction, Ch. 1, 3. [A pathbreaking new work re-interpreting the worldmaking efforts of anti-colonial nationalism.]
Supplementary Reading:


• Robin D.G. Kelley, Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination (Beacon Press, 2003), ‘“This Battlefield Called Life”: Black Feminist Dreams’. [Essential work for understanding histories and cultures of black feminism and internationalism.]

• Mark Mazower, Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present (Penguin, 2012), Ch. 7-10. [A comprehensive, critical historical text placing the emergence and politics of the UN in both the context of the Cold War and decolonization.]


• Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Howard UP, 1974), Ch. 1. [The foundational work by the Guyanese political economist on the destructive economic impact that colonialism had on Africa.]

• Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), Ch. 1-3. [Extremely useful critical history of the Cold War, putting the ‘periphery’ at the centre.]

Lecture 4: Interpreting the End of the Cold War

The end of the Cold War brought forth a broad array of universalist visions for the future of the world. Marked by the newly revived master-concept of ‘globalization’, some saw the dark sides of globalization as leading to new global disorder, while others saw globalization as promising a new era of perpetual peace. This lecture explores competing interpretations of the end of the Cold War and the visions for the world emerging at that moment.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

• Francis Fukuyama, ‘The End of History?’, National Interest, No. 16 (1989): 3-18. [An influential thesis claiming that the end of the Cold War has brought an end to alternatives to liberal, free-market democracy.]

Core Reading:


• Mary Kaldor, New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era (Polity Press, 2012 [1998]), Chapter 1. [It’s bad, says the LSE professor, but there are also new opportunities for global civil society that have arisen in the midst of the expanding violent chaos.]

Supplementary reading:

• Eqbal Ahmad, ‘The Cold War from the Standpoint of its Victims’, Available online at http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/eqbalahmadcoldwar.html. [Ahmad was a Pakistani political analyst and activist, as well as a prominent critic of US foreign policy.]
Lecture 5: Histories of Human Rights

The end of the Cold War and the UN-authorized war against Iraq produced a new exuberance among lawyers, diplomats, and activists about the possibilities for human rights to be enforced around the world. Others, however, raised doubts and asked whether human rights would become simply another guise for Western power. This lecture explores the positions in this debate, with a look back to Arendt’s critique of the very notion of human rights beyond the state.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

Core reading:

Supplementary reading:
• Sally Engle Merry, *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice* (University of Chicago Press, 2006), ch. 1 & 6. [Anthropologist explores the disjunctures between ‘global’ cultures of human rights and ‘local’ cultures of justice.]

• Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Harvard, 2010): Ch. 5 and Epilogue. [Influential work providing a critical political history of human rights.]

• Aryeh Neier, ‘Did the Era of Rights End on September 11?’ (2002). [Director of Human Rights Watch hopes it didn’t.]

• Issa Shivji, *The Concept of Human Rights in Africa* (Codesria Book Series, 1989), pp. 59-92. [An effort by a foremost Tanzanian legal scholar to reconceptualize human rights as responding to both domestic and international oppression.]

**Lecture 6: The International Criminal Court: Enforcing Human Rights**

Global criminal justice has been imagined as the pinnacle of a human rights world order, in which certain fundamental human rights can be enforced by international courts of law. Its proponents argue that international criminal trials can realize justice and peace; critics maintain that it will achieve neither. This lecture engages with the International Criminal Court (ICC), hailed by Ban Ki-Moon as representing ‘a fundamental break with history.’ What does the short history of the ICC reveal about the possibilities of global justice and human rights enforcement?

**Lecture Pre-Reading:**


**Core reading:**

• Adam Branch, ‘Uganda’s Civil War and the Politics of ICC Intervention’, *Ethics & International Affairs* 21, No. 2 (2007). [Your faithful lecturer waxes critical about the possibility of the ICC realizing peace and justice in Uganda—or anywhere, really. See also his ‘Dominic Ongwen on Trial: The ICC’s African Dilemmas’, *IJTJ* (2017).]

• Leslie Vinjamuri, ‘Deterrence, Democracy, and the Pursuit of International Justice’, *Ethics and International Affairs* 24, No. 2 (2010): 191-211. [Careful critical examination of the different justifications used for international criminal trials.]

**Supplementary reading:**


• David Bosco, *Rough Justice: The International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics* (Oxford UP, 2014), Introduction, Ch. 6. [A critical examination of the political pragmatism of the ICC. See also Chapter 1 for an explicit application of IR theory to the ICC.]

• Antonio Cassese, ‘On the Current Trends towards Criminal Prosecution and Punishment of Breaches of International Humanitarian Law’, *European Journal of International Law* 9 (1998), 2-17. [One of the founding figures in contemporary international criminal law discusses the transformations giving rise to the ICC.]


• Kathryn Sikkink, The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics (W.W. Norton, 2011), pp. 1-28, 162-188. [Strong proponent of the idea that international trials have led to a cascade of accountability mechanisms at different levels.]
• International Centre for Transitional Justice, ‘Is the International Community Abandoning the Fight Against Impunity?’, on-line debate, https://www.ictj.org/debate/article/debate-whose-time-has-come [Illuminating debate among top figures in the international criminal justice world – especially recommended are Ignatieff’s interventions.]

SAMPLE ESSAY QUESTIONS:

1. Are the political, economic, or epistemic legacies of colonialism most entrenched?
2. Does the state have a different history in the West and non-West? If so, how does that difference matter for our understanding of international politics?
3. Did the end of the Cold War present a moment of political opportunity? If so, for whom?
4. Can human rights avoid being politicized? Does it matter if they cannot?
5. Why has the ICC focused on Africa?
MODULE II: 9/11 and the War on Terror
With the acts of extreme violence of 11 September 2001, a new round of re-assessment arose among analysts of international politics. Some saw 9/11 as the opportunity to bring new order to the world, others saw it as proof of global disorder, and yet others saw it as entrenching the unequal power relations that had always been present, whether along the lines of colonialism, gender, class, or race. In practice, terrorism was presented as the most threatening form of global violence, and a Global War on Terror was put forth as the answer to this global threat. The acts of 9/11 thus set in motion a long train of political violence – from the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, to a flourishing of national ‘wars on terror’ globally, to a broad geography of drone strikes, proxy wars, and state surveillance and repression. With its promise of ‘infinite justice’ and the defense of civilization, the War on Terror built on many of the discourses and tools of the 1990s. But there were also new efforts to end or regulate that violence through law, as well as new popular resistance that arose against the wars on terror. In this module, we look at these many forms of violence and projects of order and justice that arose across the globe in the wake of 9/11, with a focus on the politics and ethics of international violence today.

Lecture 7: Did 9/11 Change Everything?
The violence of 9/11 and the US response shattered many of the images of post-Cold War globalization, stability and progress. Some argued that 9/11 proved conclusively that global politics was no longer restricted to states, but defined by broad and conflicting cultural or religious identities. Others argued, conversely, that 9/11 in fact demonstrated the state’s continuing centrality to international politics, and that we need to look at the recent history of superpower politics and the Cold War itself to understand the attacks. Or, some maintained, by launching two invasions of foreign countries as well as a global ‘War on Terror’, the US embarked on a program to build a new empire.

Lecture Pre-Reading
• Mahmood Mamdani, Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror (Random House, 2004), pp. 3-38. [Mamdani is a Ugandan political analyst and one of today’s most important public intellectuals; here he offers a critique of Huntington, arguing that terrorism must be seen in historical political perspective.]

Core Reading:
• Samuel P. Huntington, ‘The Clash of Civilizations?’, Foreign Affairs 72, No. 3 (1993). [This influential text frames post-Cold War world as a conflict between oppositional civilizations. Written before 9/11, it provided a key framework for understanding the event.]

Supplementary Reading:
• Paul Gilroy, After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture? (Routledge, 2004). [One of Britain’s most important contemporary intellectuals inquires into the meanings of Empire in the wake of 9/11].
• Robert Jervis, ‘Understanding the Bush Doctrine’, Political Science Quarterly 118, No. 3 (2003): pp. 365-388. [Excellent analysis of the belief system behind the U.S. invasion of Iraq, by one of America’s foremost international relations scholars.]


Lecture 8: The Gender of 9/11

Some feminist theorists have argued that there is nothing new about 9/11 or the War on Terror: for these writers, both are part of a long history of violence against women, and so we need to look at these episodes through a gender lens to grasp their full meaning. Gender has typically been excluded from the study of international relations, however, which has traditionally considered it to belong to the domestic political realm, without relevance for the supposedly abstract and universal political logics of the international. These writers challenge this assumption, showing how gender shapes international order and how certain images of, and assumptions about, gender are built into the very way we think about international politics.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:
• bell hooks, ‘Feminism and Militarism: A Comment’, Women’s Studies Quarterly 23, No. 3/4 (1995): 58-64. [Theorist and activist discusses the relation between militarism and patriarchy and breaks down the supposed opposition between women and war, demonstrating the intersecting nature of different forms of power.]

Supplementary Reading:
• Cynthia Enloe, Bananas, Beaches and Bases (University of California Press, 1989; 2001), Ch. 1, 3, Conclusion. [Groundbreaking work in feminist international relations, setting the stage for much of the work that has followed.]
means to Iraqi women – a lesson in why international politics cannot be understood without considering how politics looks from different standpoints.]
[Prominent Indian feminist interrogates categories of gender, epistemology, and justice.]
• Charles W. Mills, ‘Revisionist Ontologies: Theorizing White Supremacy’, Social and Economic Studies 43, no. 3 (1994): 105-34. [Foremost political philosopher asks how to theorize global white supremacy, interesting as comparison to how global patriarchy is conceived and thinking about their intersection.]

Lecture 9: The Law and Ethics of War I: Histories and Theory
Political efforts to prevent and contain force through law have a long and contested history. Here, we focus on the international law of war – both jus ad bellum and jus in bello – to explore its possibilities and limitations for dealing with the War on Terror and its aftermath. We look to different histories of international law and the place of the law of war within it.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:

Supplementary reading:
• Conway Henderson, Understanding International Law (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), Ch. 1, 3, 4, 8. [An extremely useful overview of international law, of central importance for explaining key terms and concepts.]
• William Scheuerman (2006), ‘Carl Schmitt and the Road to Abu Ghraib’, Constellations, 13: 108-124. [Another effort to locate resources for thinking through the international law of of post-9/11 in Schmitt’s work; feel free to read Schmitt’s Nomos itself, if you like!]

POL2 – International Conflict, Order and Justice 2019-2020

**Lecture 10: The Law and Ethics of War II: The Iraq Invasion**

Must war be legal for it to be just? Today, questions about the legitimacy and legality of the Iraq War continue to reverberate, as the recent Chilcot Report makes clear. This lecture looks to the debates that took place in the lead up and aftermath of the Iraq invasion, assessing the reasons given for the war against theories of just war and humanitarian intervention, including the debate over the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). We also include reading on the history of the war itself for background.

**Lecture Pre-Reading:**
- Michael Byers, *War Law* (Grove, 2005). [Comprehensive account of the law of war from the perspective of the aftermath of the US invasion of Iraq, with a focus on the UN Security Council.]

**Core Reading:**
- Fernando R. Tesón, ‘Ending Tyranny in Iraq’; Terry Nardin, ‘Humanitarian Imperialism’, Ethics & International Affairs 19, No. 2 (September 2005). [Debate over whether the 2003 Iraq War was a humanitarian intervention.]

**Supplementary reading:**
- Andrew Bacevich, America’s War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History (Random House 2016) [American historian lays bare the decades-long history of militarized US foreign leading up to the Iraq War.]
- Alex J. Bellamy, Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq (London: Polity, 2006), Ch. 7, 8. [Exploration of the legitimacy of the pre-emptive and preventative war, with immediate application to Iraq. See his The Responsibility to Protect: A Defense (Oxford UP, 2014) for precisely that.]
- Philip Cunliffe, Critical Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Interrogating Theory and Practice (Routledge, 2011). [An incisive collection that seeks to lay bare some of the articles of faith around R2P.]
- Cynthia Enloe, Nimo’s War, Emma’s War: Making Feminist Sense of the Iraq War (University of California Press, 2010): Ch. 1, 4, Conclusion. [Brilliant weaving together of stories of women involved on many sides of the Iraq War with Enloe’s always incisive and illuminating political analysis.]
- Kimberly Hutchings, ‘Cosmopolitan Just War and Coloniality’, Ch. 9 in Duncan Bell, ed., Empire, Race and Global Justice (Cambridge, 2019). [On the inability of just war theory to overcome its colonial legacies.]
- Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars (Basic Books 1977; 1992), Preface to 2nd Edition and Chapters 4-6. [The classic work on the topic; the entire book is illuminating for many of the themes we are covering in this module.]
Lecture 11: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency, Terrorism and Counterterrorism

As the War on Terror has shifted from wars of occupation, concerned with counterinsurgency, to counterterrorism, concerned with and surveillance, policing, and ‘countering violent extremism’, many of the tactics and ideas that were developed as part of international counterterrorism have been brought into the domestic politics of Western states. As global and national politics come crashing together, the resulting dynamics raise difficult questions of sovereignty and strategy, of legitimacy and efficacy. Are we in an era of ‘new’ new wars, with terrorism and insurgency taking centre stage, requiring new forms of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency in response? Or are the forms of violence and counterviolence that have arisen since 9/11 all too familiar from previous periods, representing new justifications for essentially similar political dynamics?

Lecture Pre-Reading:
• Eqbal Ahmad, ‘Revolutionary War and Counter-insurgency’, Journal of International Affairs 25, No. 1 (1970): 1-47. Excerpted as ‘Counterinsurgency’ in The Selected Writings of Eqbal Ahmad, pp. 36-64. [Ahmad again, this time with a seminal analysis of the politics of counterinsurgency. From a different era, but equally illuminating for today.]

Core Reading:
• Hisham Aidi, Rebel Music: Race, Empire, and the New Muslim Youth Culture (Vintage, 2014), Prologue, Chapter 4, 9. [A globe-spanning look at the past and present of youth communities facing the War on Terror; these chapters focus on the UK. Good background on the social politics of Prevent in the UK.
• Maria Ryan, “‘War in countries we are not at war with”: The “war on terror” on the periphery from Bush to Obama’, International Politics, vol. 48 2-3 (2011): 364-389. [Looks to the War on Terror as transnational, merging international and domestic across many countries and regions.]

Supplementary Reading:
• Rita Abrahamsen, ‘A Breeding Ground for Terrorists? Africa & Britain’s “War on Terrorism”’, Review of African Political Economy 31, No. 102 (2004): 677-684. [How Africa has been defined as a source of terrorism and how UK policy towards the continent has been shaped by that understanding.]
• Zygmunt Bauman, et al., ‘After Snowden: Rethinking the impact of surveillance’, International Political Sociology 8 (2014): 121-144. [A discussion of the ramifications of globalized surveillance for international politics, written by some of the most prominent contemporary international theorists.]
• Faisal Devji, The Terrorist in Search of Humanity: Militant Islam and Global Politics (Hurst, 2010), Ch. 1. [A complex and iconoclastic account of terrorism and humanitarian politics.]
• David Kilcullen, ‘Countering global insurgency’, Journal of Strategic Studies 28, No. 4 (2005): 597–617. [Military analyst provides a highly influential account of the connections between local and global forms of insurgent violence and how to combat it. Look for resonances with the The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual.]
• Anthony Richards, ‘From terrorism to “radicalization” to “extremism”: counterterrorism imperative or loss of focus?’, International Affairs 91, No. 2 (2015): 371–380. [Critical assessment of the UK government’s Prevent agenda.]
• Leila Nadya Sadat, ‘Extraordinary Rendition, Torture, and Other Nightmares from the War on Terror’, *George Washington Law Review* 75, No. 5/6 (2007). [Examination of the international legal dimensions of so-called ‘extraordinary rendition’.]

• Charles Tilly, ‘Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists’, *Sociological Theory* 22, No. 1. (2004): 5-13. [‘Some vivid terms serve political and normative ends admirably despite hindering description and explanation of the social phenomena at which they point.’ Such as terrorism, as the renowned sociologist explains.]

**SAMPLE ESSAY QUESTIONS:**

1. Does cultural difference produce political violence?
2. Was the War on Terror a war for women or a war on women? Or neither?
3. ‘9/11 and the War on Terror are not proof of the continued importance of colonialism, but, rather, are proof of how much things have changed since colonialism’. Is this true?
4. Is international law really law?
5. Was the Iraq War just?
6. Does foreign intervention always give rise to resistance?
Module III: Climate Change and the Politics of the Anthropocene

Our decade has seen climate change, global warming, and the devastation of the Anthropocene – climate emergency in the emergent discourse – come to be presented as the new global threat to order, in need of global climate governance, climate action, and climate justice. A raft of transformations are proposed – mitigation, adaptation, sustainability, geoengineering, carbon neutrality, degrowth, to global protest and extinction rebellion. And so the human rights vision of the 1990s and the counterterrorism of the 2000s seem to have receded, as new demands for a planetary politics have placed a new ground under our feet. This Module asks whether the Anthropocene indeed ‘changes everything’, requiring a rethinking of our most sacred political, ethical, and ontological beliefs, or whether the legacies of past eras, from colonialism to the War on Terror, still determine how we should think about our present and our future.

Lecture 12: Global Climate Change: Origins and Impacts

How do we know that the global climate is changing, and what are the causes and consequences of that change? And how did we come to imagine there being a global climate in the first place? Here, we look at the history of our understanding of the planet’s climate, the emergence of Earth System science and the debates over the origins of the ongoing transformations. We also begin to explore the debates over the response, in particular around mitigation and adaptation.

Lecture Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:
- Mike Hulme, Why We Disagree about Climate Change (Cambridge, 2009), Chapters 3 and 4. [Cambridge geographer on the way that debates over climate change rely on much deeper sets of assumptions and beliefs.]
- Amitav Ghosh, The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable (University of Chicago Press, 2016) [Brilliant work by the novelist and essayist, taking climate change seriously as a global phenomenon.]

Supplementary Reading:
- John Urry, ‘The Problem of Energy’, Theory, Culture & Society 2014, Vol. 31 (5): 3-20. [How does attention to the materiality of energy help us to re-think our political present? The rest of the special issue is very useful as well.]
- Vandana Shiva, Making Peace with the Earth (London: Pluto, 2013), Ch. 1, 4, 9. [The eco-feminist theorist and activist discusses contemporary environmental and political crisis.]
- Paul Edwards, A Vast Machine: Computer Models, Climate Data, and the Politics of Global Warming (MIT Press, 2010), Ch. 1, 2, 10, 15. [Groundbreaking and definitive work on the history of the science of climate change. If you read this, you will know more than the person you are arguing with.]
• E.O. Wilson, *Half-Earth: Our Planet’s Fight for Life* (W.W. Norton, 2016). [The famous evolutionary biologist calls for half the planet to be given over to regenerate biodiversity.]
• Joshua Busby, ‘Warming World’, *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 4 (Jul 2018): 49-55. [Recent assessment of the threats climate change poses to national and international security.]
• Andreas Malm, *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (Verso, 2016): Ch. 1, 12, 14-16. [On the historical and present co-dependence of fossil fuels and global capitalism, with a trenchant chapter on ‘China as the Chimney of the World’.]
• Joseph Masco, ‘The Age of Fallout’, *History of the Present*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2015, pp. 137–168. [The ability to see the planet as a planet is a Cold War creation, he argues, and our imagination of climate change bears its traces but also goes beyond it.]

**Lecture 13: The Anthropocene: A New Epoch?**
Over the last several years, the idea of the Anthropocene has gone from a niche concern to the mainstream, employed even by the IPCC to characterize our present. Proposed first as a new geological epoch in which humanity has become the dominant force shaping the planet, the concept has provoked wide-ranging debates across the social sciences and humanities. We ask about the historical processes that have produced the Anthropocene, but also whether the concept is the most appropriate way of characterizing the present or whether it occludes the real agents that have led us to a planet in crisis.

**Lecture Pre-Reading:**

**Core reading:**
• Heather Davis and Zoe Todd, ‘On the Importance of a Date, Or, Decolonizing the Anthropocene’, *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* (2017): 16(4), 761-80. [Builds on Indigenous knowledge and experience to argue for 1610 as the start of the Anthropocene as part of a project of decolonization.]
• Clive Hamilton, *Defiant Earth: The Fate of Humans in the Anthropocene* (Polity, 2017), Chapters 1 and 3. [Combative book on the importance of taking the science of the Anthropocene seriously.]

**Supplementary reading:**
• Janae Davis, Alex Moulton, Levi Van Sant, Brian Williams, ‘Anthropocene, Capitalocene, ... Plantationocene?: A Manifesto for Ecological Justice in an Age of Global Crises’, *Geography Compass* (2019). [Interrogates to idea of the plantationocene, tying our planetary ecological moment into the history of racial slavery and capitalism.]
• Marisol de la Cadena and Mario Blaser (eds.), *A World of Many Worlds* (Duke, 2018), Introduction, Chapter 3 by Isabelle Stengers, and Chapter 6 by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro
and Déborah Danowski. [A call for a politics commensurate to the pluriverse that is being revealed in the Anthropocene.]


- Donna Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Cthulucene* (Duke, 2016), Introduction, Ch. 1, 2, 4, 6. [The prominent philosopher of science offers novel ways of thinking with the planet today.]


- Jeremy Davies, *The Birth of the Anthropocene* (University of California, 2016), ch. 1. [Good overall introduction to the dominant debates around the topic, with a focus on geology rather than Earth System Science.]


- Jean-Baptiste Fressoz and Christophe Bonneuil, *The Shock of the Anthropocene: The Earth, History and Us* (Verso, 2016), Ch. 1, 4, 10. [How do we understand responsibility for climate change today? Do we blame humankind, capitalism, industry, mankind, or empire? And how do we imagine justice based upon that attribution of responsibility?]


---

**Lecture 14: Global Climate Governance and Sustainable Development**

If we are in a radically different world today, then how should global politics adjust to that new world? Many have argued that we need new global political institutions to deal with this new global challenge, or a repurposing of our existing institutions. In this lecture, we explore some proposals around a ‘planetary politics’, with a particular focus on the question of sustainable development. Even as the Sustainable Development Goals have become central to government planning and to the work of international organizations and NGOs, it is not clear how these goals translate into practice. Moreover, what sustainability itself means has been subject to question – what is being sustained, on what scale, and to the benefit of whom? How did development come to encompass such a wide agenda? And what new forms of power are emerging through sustainable development?

**Lecture Pre-Reading:**

- Jeffrey Sachs, *The Age of Sustainable Development* (Columbia University Press, 2015), Ch. 1, 6, 14. [A preeminent development economist brings the planet back in to global poverty.]

**Core Reading:**

• Anthony Burke, Stefanie Fishel, Audra Mitchell, Simon Dalby, and Daniel J. Levine, ‘Planet Politics: A Manifesto from the End of IR’, Millennium, vol. 44, no. 3 (2016), 499-523. [How must international organizations and the study of international politics change in the face of climate change?]

Supplementary Reading:
• Rita Abrahamsen, Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa (Zed Books, 2000), Introduction, Ch. 1. [A critical discussion of the expansion of development discourse to include the good governance agenda.]
• John Dryzek and Jonathan Pickering, The Politics of the Anthropocene (Oxford University Press, 2018), ch 1, 3. [An exploration of the international institutional developments needed to govern for the Anthropocene; see also the work of Frank Biermann on Earth System Governance.]
• Robert Falkner, ‘The Paris Agreement and the new logic of international climate politics’, International Affairs, Volume 92, Issue 5, September 2016, Pages 1107–1125. [LSE professor explores the changes in global climate governance with the Paris Agreement.]
• Mike Hulme, Why We Disagree about Climate Change (Cambridge, 2009), Chapters 8 and 9 and pp. 322-333, 359-364. [More from this crucial text.]
• Stephen Macekura, Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, 2016), Introduction, Ch. 7. [Traces the history of sustainable development to the 1970s, illuminating the forms of knowledge and power with which it is imbricated.]

Lecture 15: Struggles for Global Climate Justice
While some call for top-down global institutional development as the answer to the Anthropocene, others have called for a focus on bottom-up approaches, in particular transnational popular movements to force the radical change that neither the existing political or economic establishments will allow. This lecture looks to different forms of transnational environmental and climate struggles across the globe, asking about the coherence among them as well as their political possibilities. We also situate these movements in the history of transnational struggle, seeking common lineages and common dilemmas across space and time.

Lecture Pre-Reading:
• This is not a Drill: An Extinction Rebellion Handbook (Penguin, 2019), Pages 1-13 and Chapters 1, 3, 7, 11, 14, 28. [You’ve seen their protests, now read their book.]

Core Reading:
• Naomi Klein, This Changes Everything (Penguin, 2015), Introduction, Ch. 1, 13. [Gripping account of the political struggles around climate change, from the deniers, to the techno-optimists, to the communities seeking solutions on their own terms.]

**Supplementary Reading:**


• J.K. Gibson-Graham (2011) ‘A feminist project of belonging for the Anthropocene’, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 18(1), 1-21. [Explores a series of ‘adventures in living’ that can point to modes of political and ethical practice in the Anthropocene.]

• Patrick Bond (2011), ‘Carbon Capital’s Trial, the Kyoto Protocol’s Demise, and Openings for Climate Justice’, *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 22:4, 3-17. [The South African political economist looks to ‘knowledge production and resistance formation against hegemonic climate policy making.’]

• S.M. Borras, ‘La Via Campesina and its global campaign for agrarian reform’, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, vol. 8, no. 2–3 (2008): 258–289. [A political economist examines one of the most prominent peasant social movements for lessons about global struggle.]

• Arturo Escobar, ‘Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-globalisation Social Movements’, *Third World Quarterly* 25, No. 1 (2004): 207-30. [Counter-hegemonic globalization against global coloniality – a vision of new networked struggles. See also his ‘Sustainability: Design for the pluriverse’, *Development* (2011)]

• Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Duke, 2003), Ch. 1, 2, 9 [On the complex politics of feminist solidarity across the Global North-South divide.]

• Craig M. Kauffman, & Pamela L. Martin, ‘Scaling up buen vivir: Globalizing local environmental governance from Ecuador’, *Global Environmental Politics* 14, No. 1 (2014): 40-58. [Thinking through the implications of indigenous Andean concepts of development for global political economy.]

**Lecture 16: Envisioning and Writing Planetary Futures**

The radical and unpredictable novelty of the Anthropocene has given new prominence to speculative fiction and non-fiction as ways of exploring the political possibilities of the present and our imaginable – or unimaginable – future worlds. Here, we look to several such speculative texts, from classic Science Fiction to manifestos for a transformed future. We begin with two contemporary articles that help raise questions to ask of such cultural texts, both in terms of their content and form.

**Lecture Pre-Reading:**


**Core Reading:**

• Alondra Nelson, ‘Future Texts’, Introduction to ‘Afrofuturism’, special issue of *Social Text* vol. 20, no. 2 (2002). [How ideas of race both constrain and open possibilities for imagining the future.]
• Fredric Jameson, ‘Introduction: Utopia Now’ (p. xi-xvi) and ‘Progress versus Utopia, or, Can We Imagine the Future?’ (p. 281-295, originally published 1982), in Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions (London: Verso, 2005). [The Marxist literary critic asks how we can find the resources to think beyond capitalism.]

Supplementary Reading:

Less (?) Fictional:
• Geoff Mann and Joel Wainwright, Climate Leviathan: A Political Theory of Our Planetary Future (Verso, 2018). [Read this for the argument that ‘the result [of climate change] will be a capitalist planetary sovereignty, a terrifying eventuality’.]
• Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, Nils Bubandt, Elaine Gan, Heather Anne Swanson, et al., Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet: Ghosts and Monsters of the Anthropocene (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017). [Anthropologists and cultural theorists explore different visions and practices of living on our damaged planet.]
• Paul Kingsnorth and Dougald Hine, Uncivilization: The Dark Mountain Manifesto (2014) available at https://dark-mountain.net/about/manifesto/ See also the associated fiction.
• Mike Davis, “Who Will Build the Ark?”, New Left Review 61, January-February 2010 [Polymath writer on hope and despair in the face of climate change.]

More (?) Fictional:
• Octavia Butler, Parable of the Sower (1993). [Forging community in the midst of climate breakdown and racialized state violence.]
• Margaret Atwood, Oryx and Crake (2003), Vol I of the MaddAddam trilogy. [Genetic engineering, pharmaceuticals, capitalism, and climate change come crashing together.]
• Kim Stanley Robinson, Red Mars (1992), Book I of the Mars Trilogy. [California science fiction writer explores what it means to create a livable planet. See also his ‘Remarks on Utopia in the Age of Climate Change’, Utopian Studies vol 27, no 1 (2016).]
• Cormac McCarthy, The Road (2006). [Father and son wander through a devastated landscape. The movie is even less upbeat.]
• Nnedi Okorafor, Lagoon (2016). [Contact with extra-terrestrials in Lagos has dramatic consequences in this Afrofuturist novel.]

SAMPLE ESSAY QUESTIONS:
1. Does the science of global climate change point towards a specific political programme?
2. Does it matter politically when the Anthropocene starts?
3. Are existing institutions of international politics adequate to dealing with the Anthropocene?
4. Is sustainable development an oxymoron?
5. Does a struggle for climate justice need to take a totally different form from transnational struggles of the past?

6. “We’re doomed. Now what?” (Roy Scranton) Is this the question we need to ask ourselves today? If so, what is the answer?
LENT TERM

Lecture 17: Is the sky falling? (This lecture is an introduction to both modules of Lent Term.)
Many observers think that we are at a critical juncture in international politics but disagree as to the causes. Some argue that the main driver of change is a power transition between the US and China, others argue that the Liberal International Order is no longer sustainable, yet others point to larger changes, e.g. climatological, economic or demographic trends. This lecture reviews these arguments and explains the logic of the upcoming modules.

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
MODULE IV - Between Rising Powers and Populism: Rethinking the ‘End’ of the Liberal International Order

Module IV focuses on the Liberal International Order. Is it really in decline? If so, can it be salvaged? Should it be?

Lecture 18: What is ‘the Liberal International Order’? Historical Overview
Most observers take the existence of the Liberal International Order for granted and worry about its decline. In this lecture we consider whether the Liberal International Order has really existed by reviewing its (attributed) history and evolution from the nineteenth century onwards, as well as the theoretical arguments for (or against) its presence.

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Lecture 19: How sustainable is/was the Liberal International Order? Predictions from IR theory
Until recently, one group of scholars (liberal internationalists) were very optimistic about the future of the Liberal International Order and its ability to survive beyond American hegemony. In this lecture we focus on their arguments but also look at their critics (realists and constructivists) and see if anybody successfully anticipated the issues of our moment.

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
• Roger C. Altman (2013) The Fall and Rise of the West. Foreign Affairs, January/February. [Argues that the West will emerge stronger from the Financial Crisis.]

Lecture 20: Rise of China & the Global South
Is the Liberal International Order in decline because of the decline of the US and/or the Rise of China and/or the Global South? This lecture focuses mainly on American decline debates and what China’s rise implies for the international order.

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
• Ruchir Sharma (2012) Broken BRICS: Why the Rest Stopped Rising? Foreign Affairs, November/December. Also see “The Rise of the Rest” Collection from Foreign Affairs. [Argues that the BRICs are no longer rising.]

Lecture 21: Populism in the West
Some argue that the main challenge to the Liberal International Order is from within, from populist forces in the West such as Trump or Brexiter. In this lecture we consider the impact of Western populism on the liberal international order.

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:
• Pettitfor, Ann (2016) Brexit and its Consequences. Globalizations 14(1): 127-132. [Brexit is too recent for there to have emerged a settled academic literature on it. This is an example of an article that sees Brexit as a popular backlash against globalization].

Supplementary Reading:
Lecture 22: Merging waves of discontent; Russian foreign policy
This lecture considers the links between the political developments outside of the West and the populist movements within the West. Much is made of the fact that Russia acts as a conduit between these two blocks. Is this true and if so, what is Russia after?

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca and Ayse Zarakol. (Under Review at IO) Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of its Discontents’ [Will make it available in due course]
- Kurowska, Xymena and Anatoly Reshetnikov (Forthcoming) Neutrollization: Industrialized trolling as a pro-Kremlin strategy of desecuritization.

Supplementary Reading:

SAMPLE ESSAY QUESTIONS: (Relevant lectures/topics are suggested for each question; students may, of course, draw on any lectures/topics in writing their essays.)

1. Was there ever a liberal international order? (Lecture 18)
2. What did the liberal internationalists get wrong about our current moment? What was their biggest blind spot? (Lecture 19)
3. Which one is a greater threat to the stability of the liberal international order? US decline or rise of China? (Lecture 20-21)
4. Must populism be anti-internationalist? (Lecture 21)
5. Is Russia the greatest threat to the stability of the liberal international order? (Lecture 22)
**MODULE V: The End of the Nation State? Origins and Future of the Westphalian System**

Module V considers the possibility that the ongoing challenges we face have deeper roots than the decline of liberal international rules and institutions. Are the challenges systemic? Could the Westphalian system be under threat? Will the nation state survive as the primary unit of political organisation?

**Lecture 23: International change – what is it?**

This lecture reviews different understandings of the international system and systemic change.

*Pre-Reading:*

*Core Reading:*
- Buzan, Barry and George Lawson (2013) The global transformation: the nineteenth century and the making of modern international relations. *International Studies Quarterly* 57(3): 620-634. [This article argues that all of fundamental characteristics of the modern international order emerged in the nineteenth century. (There is a book version that develops the argument further – see supplementary readings).]

*Supplementary Reading:*

**Lecture 24: What is the Westphalian System? Historical Overview**

The modern international system is often referred to as the Westphalian system, in reference to the Westphalian arrangement of 1648, which is thought to have given birth to the modern sovereignty principle. The actual evolution of “Westphalian” sovereignty is a more complicated and gradual story. In this lecture, we review the historical development and expansion of the Westphalian order from Medieval Europe to the present.

*Pre-Reading:*
Core Reading:

- Ruggie, John Gerard (1993) Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations. International Organization 47: 139-174. [This essay provides an overview of the developments that gave rise to ‘modernity’ and the modern state.]
- Osiander, Andreas (2001) Sovereignty, international relations and the Westphalian Myth. International Organization 55(2): 251–287. [This article shows that the Westphalian myth is a creation of the nineteenth and twentieth century.]

Supplementary Reading:

- Bukovansky, Mlada, ‘The altered state and the state of nature—the French Revolution and international politics,’ Review of International Studies 25 (1999): 197-216. [This article argues that the French Revolution fundamentally altered the organising principles of the international order.]
- Blaney, David L. and Naeem Inayatullah (2002) ‘The Westphalian Deferral’. International Studies Review 2(2): 29-64. [This article argues that the Westphalian system did not solve the problem of difference in the international order but merely transformed it.]
- de Carvalho, Benjamin, Halvard Leira and John M. Hobson (2011) ‘The Big Bangs of IR: The Myths That Your Teachers Still Tell You about 1648 and 1919’, Millennium 39(3): 735-758 [This article challenges the notion that international relations as we know them emerged through the peace of Westphalia.]

Lecture 25: The nation-state & modern sovereignty

What does modern sovereignty entail, exactly? And why is it attached to the nation-state and not to other forms of political authority? In this lecture, we discuss definitions of modern sovereignty and consider the systemic implications of arranging international politics around this principle.

Pre-Reading:


Core Reading:

- The Jens Bartelson article in the ‘Forum: In the Beginning There was No Word (for it): Terms, Concepts, and Early Sovereignty’, International Studies Review 20.3: 489-519. [The rest of the forum should be considered supplementary reading].

Supplementary Reading:

text linking the emergence of nationalism to the industrial revolution.]

- Bartelson, Jens (2009) Visions of World Community. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Esp. Chapters 3 and 4. [Explains the processes by which the nation-state were constructed]
- Branch, Jordan (2012) “Colonial Reflection” and Territoriality: The Peripheral Origins of Sovereign Statehood. European Journal of International Relations 18(2): 277-97. [This article argues that the modern states system resulted from interactions between Europe and the rest of the world.]

**Lecture 26: Westphalian Hierarchies**

One of the main features of the Westphalian system has been the hierarchies between the West and the non-West. In this lecture we review how these hierarchies emerged and why they have been so durable. We focus on interventions as an ongoing manifestation of these hierarchies.

**Pre-Reading:**


**Core Reading:**

- Edward Keene (2013) International Hierarchy and the Origins of the Modern Practice of Intervention. Review of International Studies 39(5): 1077-90. [‘This article argues that hierarchy plays an important role in shaping the practice of intervention, and that the changing nature of international hierarchy is a crucial part of the story of how the modern practice of intervention emerged.’]

**Supplementary Reading:**

Lecture 27: Challenges to the Modern State, from above and below

This lecture considers the forces that undermine the nation-state principle: such as globalisation, regionalism, alternative approaches to sovereignty (e.g. Islamic state). Is the nation-state withering away?

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
SAMPLE ESSAY QUESTIONS: (Relevant lectures/topics are suggested for each question; students may, of course, draw on any lectures/topics in writing their essays.)

1. What is the best way to define ‘international systems’ and ‘systemic change’? (Lecture 23)
2. What is the ‘Westphalian system’? (Lecture 24)
3. What is the ‘Westphalian order’ in international politics? (Lecture 25)
4. Why have the Westphalian hierarchies proven so durable? (Lecture 26)
5. What is the greater threat to the nation-state: economic globalisation or Islamic terrorism? (Lecture 27)

Lecture 28: Is it the end of world (as we know it)?
This lecture recaps the lessons from the modules of the Lent Term and raises some new questions about climate, technological and financial change, as well as the impact of these changes on international relations.

Pre-Reading:

Core Reading:
- Immanuel Wallerstein (2002) The Eagle Has Crash Landed. Foreign Policy 131: 60-68. [Essay predicting that the end of capitalism is near (predates the Global Financial Crisis)]

Supplementary Reading:
Sample Cross-Cutting Questions:

1. Does international law shape the behavior of states?
2. Have we moved from a period of optimism about global progress to one of pessimism?
3. Have non-state actors become more important than states in international politics?
4. Are there certain aspects of international politics that can be understood without attention to gender?
5. Is the distinction between domestic and international politics still useful in today’s era of globalization?
6. Is the legacy of colonialism more important in terms of its impact on domestic politics or international politics?
7. Are we seeing a new global politics emerging today?
8. Does the international economy operate independently of international politics?
9. Will violence always be part of international politics, even if its precise form changes over time?
10. Is it the end of the world (as we know it)? Why or why not?
2019-2020 SAMPLE EXAM

A) Cross-Cutting Questions

Each student must answer ONE of these questions. Material can be drawn from any of the modules.

1) Did the end of the Cold War, 9/11, or climate change “change everything” in international politics?
2) Does imperialism still shape our political world today?
3) Should morality play a role in international politics?
4) Is there a period from the past that serves as an analogue for the state of international politics today?

B) Module-Specific Questions

Each student must answer TWO of these questions.

1) Does the history of human rights determine their politics today?
2) Has the UN been a help or hindrance to decolonization?
3) Is international law gendered?
4) Does military intervention have to be authorized by the United Nations Security Council in order to be legitimate?
5) Does the War on Terror still shape the present political world?
6) Is the Anthropocene a misnomer?
7) Is disagreement about climate change an obstacle to solving it?
8) If there is a liberal international order, what is the greatest threat to it?
9) Will the rise of China and other non-Western countries lead to the creation of a more egalitarian international order?
10) Does the rise of populism today carry with it a specific international political agenda?
11) Did the attainment of formal sovereignty fundamentally change Third World states’ status in international order?
12) Is sovereignty on the wane today?