

## **CSS 391: Senior Colloquium**

### **VISIONS OF WORLD ORDER and PERPETUAL PEACE**

**Fall 2025 WF 2:50-4:10 pm**

Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins

Office Hours: Wednesdays: 4:30 to 6 and by appointment

Classroom: FRANK 301

Welcome to your senior colloquium! This course seeks to build on some of the ideas you've been working with in your last two years in the CSS while introducing some new ways to think about these ideas. It offers a survey of how social scientists, philosophers and politicians have understood and imagined global order from the late 18th century until the present. In doing so, however, the course is specifically concerned with their visions of world peace. It is divided into three parts.

The first part focuses principally on the period between the Enlightenment/French Revolution to the eve of World War I. It shows how visions of perpetual peace that were birthed out of the Enlightenment and French Revolution inspired both technocratic conceptions of building peaceful federations, such as with the Holy Alliance of 1815, as well as the pacifist visions of the Abolitionist Movement in the United States. It was the Abolitionist Movement—notably the figures of William Lloyd Garrison and Adin Ballou—that had a major intellectual, spiritual and moral influence on the renown Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. By the late 19th century Tolstoy would become arguably the world's the most influential advocate of non-violence. This section concludes with a discussion of the peace movement in the run-up to World Word I.

The second part examines how peace was imagined during the period between the World Wars and the early Cold War. It first looks at debates over the League of Nations—those who saw it as ushering the possibility of a new peaceful world were challenged by those who saw the League as being a prop for imperialism. This section transitions to discuss how advocates of non-violent resistance dealt with the challenge of Nazi imperialism. Nothing did more to discredit pacifism, in the eyes of its critics, than the rise of National Socialism and the need to violently resist it. The section then discusses the early Cold War, and in particular, the role that nuclear weapons played in galvanizing anti-war sentiment. It concludes by placing the non-violent thought of Martin Luther King Jr within the larger context of the global Cold War.

The final section begins with the 1970s, by discussing how the new states emerging from colonialism imagined world peace. It focuses, in particular, on the rise of the New International Economic Order. The section then transitions to the fall of Communism and the 1990s, in which defenders of the free market prophesied that globalization would lead to a new era of world peace. This vision died in the Iraq War, which in turn renewed not only anti-war sentiment on

the Left, but an “America first” nativism on the Right, which played a role in Donald Trump’s rise to the American presidency.

Sensing these currents, after Trump’s defeat in 2020, newly elected President Joe Biden promised to end America’s “forever wars.” Instead, Biden became, in a sense, a war time president, due to the US’ becoming ensnarled in the Ukraine and Gaza wars. Trump, the section concludes, was re-elected in part, on anti-war sentiment, only to renege on his anti-war message with the bombing of Iran. Meanwhile, the US, under Trump, has backed away from its commitment to NATO, reverted to the economic weapon of tariffs, while one crisis after the next—the so called “polycrisis”—engulfs the world. The class concludes by trying to image the prospects for a new peaceful world given the booming buzzing confusion of the current order of things.

### **Course Objectives**

To acquire a deeper awareness of how history can be used to understand global politics and theories of global order.

To understand the intellectual origins and evolution of key terms used to describe global history and politics.

To enrich your skills for debating and discussing global politics.

### **Requirements**

**Participation:** 20%: Please come to class having completed the readings and ready to engage in class discussion. If you struggle with talking, provide me with ways of knowing you are following along on by sending me emails or attending office hours

**Group Presentation:** 20%: For each class there will be a group presentation (2 to 3 students per group) based on the readings assigned for each class. The presentations should be 10 to 15 minutes long. It is essential that you present an argument and defend it. As everyone is required to do all the readings, you must go beyond merely providing an overview of what the readings say. I am interested in your opinion of the readings. What do you find to be their strengths and weaknesses?

**Final Paper:** 60%: This is an 18-20 page research paper that must be based on the major theme of the class, namely imagining global peace. You can choose the topic, but you must first consult with me about it before you commence writing the paper. As a research paper, you will be required to consult books, journal articles, online resources, etc., when writing the paper. You should consult at bare minimum 7 sources. This paper is due on **Tuesday, December 23rd** at 11:59PM. It is to be sent to my email address as a MS Word Document, Times New Roman. If you forget to attach your paper it will be considered late.

## **Plagiarism/AI**

With the ubiquity of the web, plagiarism has become easier and consequently an increasing problem on many campuses, including Wesleyan. Plagiarizing is taking and passing off as one's own the ideas or writings of another person, whether from the web or from printed sources. Plagiarism can also occur if you paraphrase passages of someone else without clear references to that source. Plagiarism is an act of dishonesty and a violation of the University's Honor Code. Consequently, clear cases of plagiarism will normally result in a failed paper and can result in dismissal from the CSS and University disciplinary action. Be warned that while the web has made plagiarism more tempting, the same technology makes it easier to catch plagiarists. If I suspect it, I reserve the right to enter suspected passages of papers into search engines and Turnitin.com, a plagiarism detection service contracted by Wesleyan.

## **Students with disabilities**

Wesleyan University provides reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. Students, however, are responsible for registering their documented disability with Accessibility Services in the Office of Student Affairs and making their requests for accommodation known to me in a timely manner. If you require accommodations in this class, please email me as soon as possible—by the end of the 1st week of the tutorial at the very latest—so that appropriate arrangements can be made. The procedures for registering are outlined on the Office of Student Affairs Accessibility Services [website](#).

## **Readings**

For the most part, the readings will be made electronically to you via Moodle. However, the readings marked with an asterisk (\*) will either need to be purchased or will be made available via the library.

# **Week One (September 10/12): Introduction to Colloquium; On “Perpetual Peace”**

## **Section outline**

### **Wednesday:**

Go over syllabus and class expectations; choose presentations

Readings:

--Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present*, Chapter 1

--David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, Chapter 1

### **Friday**

--Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. [Available here](#)

--Giuseppe Mazzini, "Manifesto of Young Italy" (1831); "Three Essays on Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment," "On the Duties of Man" (1841-1860) all available in: *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations*

Available in Readings

--Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "Charles Mills Thinks Liberalism Still Has a Chance," *The Nation*

<https://www.thenation.com/article/culture/charles-mills-thinks-theres-still-time-to-rescue-liberalism/>

--Carol Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, Chapter 1 available [here](#)

## **Week Two (September 17/19): The Holy Alliance and the Rise of the Technocrat**

### **Section outline**

#### **Wednesday: Holy Alliance**

--Isaac Nakhimovsky, *The Holy Alliance: Liberalism and the Politics of Federation*, Introduction Chapters 1 and Chapters 2, Available in Readings

--Mark Mazower, Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present, Introduction

Available via EBook through the Wesleyan library [here](#).

--Saint-Simon and Augustin Thierry, The Reorganisation of European Society (1814). Available [here](#) (in Chapter 7) and in library

--Jeremy Bentham, Rid Yourself of Ultramarina (1822). Available [here](#) in library

### **Friday: The Rise of Technocracy**

--Jens Steffek, International Organization as Technocratic Utopia, Chapter 2.

Available in "Readings"

--Friedrich Hayek, The Counter-Revolution of Science, Part II—Chapters 1 and 2 available [here](#)

Re-read

--Saint-Simon and Augustin Thierry, The Reorganisation of European Society (1814). Available [here](#) (in Chapter 7) and in library

--Jeremy Bentham, Rid Yourself of Ultramarina (1822). Available [here](#) in library

## **Week Three (September 24/26): Abolitionism and Non-Violence**

### **Section outline**

#### **Wednesday**

--Domenico Losurdo, Non-Violence: A History Beyond the Myth Book, Introduction and Chapter 1

Available in "Readings" linked below

--William Lloyd Garrison, "Declaration of Sentiments," (1838)

--Adin Ballou, Christian Non-Resistance, (1846), Chapters 1-7

--Lucretia Mott, "American Anti-Slavery Society, Broadway Tabernacle New York City, (1848)

### **Friday**

--Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," (1849)

-- David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, Chapter 2

Available in "Readings" linked below

--Ted A. Smith, *Weird John Brown : Divine Violence and the Limits of Ethics*, Introduction, Chapters 3 and 4

Available as an Ebook via the Wesleyan library

-- Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "The Abolitionist Dilemma," Available in Readings:

## **Week Four (October 1/3): Tolstoy's Absolute Pacifism and the Late 19th/Early 20th Century Peace Movement**

### **Section outline**

#### **Wednesday**

--Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (1894) Chapters 1 and 2

--Samuel Moyn, *Humane: How the United States Abandoned Peace and Reinvented War*, Prologue, Chapters 1

Available in Readings

--Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "Tolstoy's Pacifism: An Alternative Intellectual Genealogy of the Global South," *Foreign Exchanges*, 2025

Available in readings

### **Friday**

--Bertha von Suttner, Lay Down Your Arms (1889) [Chapters 11 and 12](#)

--Jane Addams, Newer Ideals of Peace (1906) [Chapter 1](#)

--William James, "[The Moral Equivalent of War](#)," (1910)

--Samuel Moyn, Humane: How the United States Abandoned Peace and Reinvented War, Prologue, Chapters 2-3

Available in Readings

--Marc-William Palen, Pax Economica: Left-Wing Visions of a Free Trade World, Chapter 4

Available via Ebook [here](#)

## **Week Five (October 8/10): The League of Nations**

### **Wednesday**

David Cortright, Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas, Chapter 3

Available in Readings

--[Woodrow Wilson, "14 Points" \(1918\)](#)

--[Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations \(1919\)](#)

-- W.E.B Du Bois, "The Negro and the League of Nations," (November 1921): <https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b210-i073>

### **Friday**

--Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Introduction and all of Part One)

Available via Ebook [here](#)

--Nicholas Mulder: *The Economic Weapon*, Introduction, Chapter 4 and 5

Available as an Ebook via Wesleyan library

--Lucian M. Ashworth, "Women of the Twenty Years' Crisis: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Problem of Collective Security"

Available in Readings

## **Week Six (October 15/17): Peace and Imperialism**

- **Wednesday**

--Trotsky, "Pacifism As The Servant of Imperialism," (1917)

--Lenin, "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism," (1924)

--Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "A Technocratic Vision of Peace: The Pan-Europe Movement," in *Foreign Exchanges*, 2025

Available in Readings

--Marc-William Palen, *Pax Economica: Left-Wing Visions of a Free Trade World*, Chapter 4

Available via Ebook [here](#):

### **Friday**

--Gandhi: *Selected Political Writings*, All of part 1

Available [here](#) and in the [library](#)



--Domenico Losurdo, *Non-Violence: A History Beyond the Myth* Book, Chapter 2-4

Available in Readings

--Faisal Devji, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence*, Chapter 1

Available via Ebook [here](#)

## **Week Seven (October 22/24): Non-Violence and Fascism**

### **Wednesday**

--Simone Weil, *"The Iliad or The Poem of Force"* (1939—selection)

--Gandhi, *"The Jews"* (1938)

-- Martin Buber and Judah Magnes, *"Two Letters to Gandhi,"* (1939)

--Gandhi, *"Is Non-Violence Ineffective"* (1939)

--Gandhi, *"Letter to All Englishmen,"* (1940)

-- Faisal Devji, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence*, Chapter 5

### **Friday**

Available via Ebooks [here](#)

--Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, *"The Collaborationist Temptation,"* *Foreign Exchanges*, 2024

Available in Readings

--Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, *"Integral Pacifism in World War II,"* *Foreign Exchanges*, 2024

Available in Readings

--David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, Chapter 4

Available in Readings

## Week Eight (October 29/31): The United Nations and the Bomb

### **Wednesday**

--Gandhi, Atom Bomb and Ahimsa (1946)

--Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein, The Russell–Einstein Manifesto

-- G.E.M. Anscombe, Mr. Truman's Degree (1958)

--Darrin McMahon, Equality: The History of an Elusive, Chapter 10.

Available in Readings

--Mark Mazower, Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present, Chapters 7-9

Available in Ebooks [here](#)

--David Cortright, Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas, Chapter 5-7

Availble in Ebooks [here](#)

### **Friday**

**No Class**

## Week Nine (November 5/7): Civil Rights and the Global Cold War

### **Wednesday**

--Martin Luther King Jr, A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches, Part I, Pages 5-74

Available [here](#) or purchase in bookstore

--Domenico Losurdo, *Non-Violence: A History Beyond the Myth* Book, Chapter 6

Available in Readings

Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 79 – 202, 249 – 254.

Available in Readings

Michael Brenes and Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "[Legacies of Cold War Liberalism](#)," *Dissent Magazine*, Winter 2021

### **Friday**

– W.E.B. Dubois, "To the Peoples of Asia and Africa Meeting at Bandung," (April 1955):

< < <https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b144-i347>

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, the preface by Jean Paul Sartre and Chapters 1-2

Available in Readings

Adom Getachew, *World Making After Empire: The rise and Fall of Self-determination* (Intro and Chapter 1)

Available in Readings

## **Week Ten (November 12/14): The New International Economic Order and the Turn to Human Rights**

### **Wednesday**

Nils Gilman, "The NIEO: A Reintroduction"

<<<http://humanityjournal.org/issue6-1/the-new-international-economic-order-a-reintroduction/>

--Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present*, Chapters 10-12

Available via Ebooks [here](#)

--Adom Getachew, *World Making After Empire: The rise and Fall of Self-determination*, Introduction and Chapter 5

Available in Readings

### **Friday**

--Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia* (Chapters 3, 4 and 5)

Available in Readings

--Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Chapter 7)

Available in Readings

## **Week Eleven (November 19/21): The 1990s, Neoliberal Globalization and the End of History**

### **Wednesday**

--Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The Nation Interest* No. 16 (Summer 1989):  
<<[https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)>>

--J. Williamson, "Democracy and the Washington Consensus"

--George HW Bush, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit," 1991.

### **Friday**

**I will give a short lecture on "What is Neoliberalism"**

--Gary Gerstle, The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order (Chapters 3, 4 and 5)

Available in Readings:

--Kenichi Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State*:

--Domenico Losurdo, Non-Violence: A History Beyond the Myth Book, Chapters 8 and 9.

Available in Readings

## **Thanksgiving Break**

## **Week 12 (December 3/5): Against the War on Terror**

### **Wednesday**

Jeremy Varon, Our Grief Is Not a Cry for War The Movement to Stop the War on Terror, Introduction, Chapters 1-6,

Available in Readings

Richard Beck, Homeland: The War on Terror in American Life, Introduction, Chapters 1-3

**\*You must purchase this book**

Stanley Hauerwas, "How Not to be a Good American,"  
2016 <https://www.abc.net.au/religion/how-not-to-be-a-good-american/10096422>

"Trump slams Bush for 'worst single mistake' in U.S. history" The Hill 2018

<https://thehill.com/hilltv/rising/407398-trump-slams-bush-for-worst-single-mistake-in-us-history>

### **Friday**

**TBD**

# Week 13 (December 10/12): Forever Wars and the Revival of the anti-war Movement?

Bulk actions

## Section outline

- **Wednesday**

Andrew Prokop "The surprising right-wing push to keep us out of war," Vox, 2025

<https://www.vox.com/politics/416742/trump-iran-israel-war-america-first-tucker-carlson-china>

Lolita Baldor, "Biden praises Afghanistan evacuation, defends departure from 'forever war'" PBS 2021 <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/watch-live-biden-addresses-nation-about-end-of-afghanistan-war>

Jeet Heer, "How Biden's Foreign Policy Destroyed His Presidency," The Atlantic, 2025

<https://www.thenation.com/article/world/biden-gaza-legacy-foreign-policy/>

Edward Helmore, "Echoes of Vietnam era as pro-Palestinian student protests roil US campuses," The Guardian, 2024

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/apr/28/us-student-protests-gaza-israel>

--Domenico Losurdo, Non-Violence: A History Beyond the Myth Book, Chapter 10.

-- Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "The Anti-War Political Tradition: An Introduction," Foreign Exchanges 2024: <https://www.foreignexchanges.news/p/the-anti-war-movement-an-introduction>

## **Friday**

## **Concluding remarks**

## December 14 - December 23

Final paper is due on Tuesday, December 23rd at 11:59PM.