

# **The International System**

University of San Diego, Kroc School of Peace Studies

Spring 2019

W/5:30-8:20

Shiley Center for Science and Technology - 129

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## **Course Description and Objectives**

The central question in the study of the International System is how states, organizations, and international entities interact in the absence of a formal authority. How is cooperation, order, and even *peace* possible, especially when power is unevenly distributed? How does global governance (or lack thereof) influence outcomes of war, peace, and prosperity? These are the central organizing questions for this course.

In the *first part* of this course, students will better understand theoretical issues in the international system and an overview of the structural architecture of global governance, with special attention on transnationalism, multilateralism, regime theory, and economic and cultural ties beyond mere power politics. Topics explored will include:

- State-Centered Governance and Power
- Regimes and Institutions / The United Nations
- Regimes and Institutions / NATO and Security Governance
- International Political Economy & The “Bretton Woods” Institutions
- Regional Governance
- Gender, Identity, Norms and Cultural Perspectives

In the *second part* of the course, we will consider the global governance of War, Peace, Prosperity, and Political Change. These will consider such topics as:

- International War
- Civil War and Identity Conflict
- Gender in War
- Terrorism
- Peacebuilding and Postconflict Statebuilding
- Non-State Civil Society And Substate Governance
- Development, Globalization, Climate Change
- Democracy
- Protest and Civil Resistance
- Alternative Structural Views

Overall, no introduction or survey course can cover every important topic, and without narrowing the focus, we risk missing a deeper applied understanding. This course, nested within a School of Peace

and Justice, will use and International System framework to explore themes in governing conflict and peace in particular.

### **Learning Outcomes**

Upon completing this course, successful students should have: a fairly sophisticated understanding of international organizations, and a working understanding of regional, subregional, supranational, and substate, nonstate, and critical/cultural approaches to global architecture; understanding of how to apply theoretical insights to applications of state and substate conflict, including terrorism, civil war, and great power conflict; A broad understanding of global public policy issues and ability to articulate how the global system can empower and constrain actors in public policy outcomes; a strong commitment to clear and effective writing; a basic understanding and working knowledge of methods as employed in the field of international system; a disciplined, habitual expertise in managing reading and writing schedules; a discipline of engaging with peers and the instructor in a professional way.

### **Required Material**

The required text of this course is

*Frederking & Diehl. "The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World" Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.; 5th edition edition (July 22, 2015).*

The readings for that week from this text are noted each week with a bullet point.

Readings on blackboard / available online are also be mandatory. Almost all the readings are also available through a basic search in Google Scholar or the Library Website.

### **Expectations and Grading**

This is a foundational graduate course for the MA degree and thus the bar is quite high for student performance. You are expected to attend class regularly, participate verbally and non-verbally, and keep current with the reading schedule. We will be reading several hundred pages per week. The reading will prove overwhelming in a single sitting, so I highly recommend daily work. Lecture notes will not be posted online. I will provide an outline of the lecture during class to assist with note-taking. You must participate in the course by active and attentive note-taking, both during the lecture and during class discussion. If you miss a class, you are expected to get notes from a classmate. You must attend class regularly, arrive early, and be fully prepared for a lecture and discussion. Finally, you are expected to be engaged, respectful, inclusive, and professional at all times. Students can expect the same from me.

### *Class Schedule*

Our classes will follow a general format: 1) a 15-minute open session where students can settle in, talk about course themes seen in the news, talk about their other courses, etc.; 2) a 60-90-minute lecture 3) a 10-minute break; and 3) a 1 hour guided discussion session in which I will pair students into sections and ask 8-10 questions from the reading - one to each section - which will then be discussed as a group and presented to the class.

1. Grading. Course grades will be based on the following elements, but failure to complete any of the individual assignments is grounds for failing the course.

*Midterm Exam (25%)* The take-home midterm exam will be distributed at the end of class Week 6 and it will be due at the beginning of class of Week 8. The exam accounts for 25% of the total course grade and covers material through Week 7. Late exams will receive a one grade deduction for every day late.

*Course Participation (25%)* Students should think of the course participation grade as an in-class oral examination extended throughout the semester. I evaluate participation on the basis of preparation, comprehension, professionalism, and engagement. To achieve the maximum score on participation, students should attend class regularly, prepare for discussion by completing the readings in advance, contribute to the discussion in class, and be respectful of and responsive to other students. Quantity of participation is not as important as quality. Questions, insights, and synthesis are all considered quality. Irregular attendance, rude behavior, arriving to class late, failing to participate in discussions, and disrupting class with side conversations, texting, sleeping, or using your laptop for non-course related reasons will detract from the participation grade.

*Policy Memo (10%)* An important aspect of mastering advanced material is to be able to translate ideas for a lay audience. Your task will be to produce a 1200 word policy memo on a prompt to be given in class. You will have one week to write this memo. Examples are provided on Blackboard.

*Final (40%)* The final paper, worth 40% of the total course grade, will be comprehensive and responsive to three prompts, from a list of five options. You will use readings, lectures, and discussions from the course. The prompts will be given at the end of class on Week 15 and expected by Midnight on May 22. Late exams will receive a one grade deduction for every day late.

#### *A Word on Writing Expectations*

All of your written work must include citations of work read and discussed in class, indicating a mastery of the subject and even an ability to go beyond the assigned readings to offer new insights. Writing must be fantastic, well thought out, and make an argument with special attention to generously considering alternatives. You are instructed to also pay attention to the arguments you are making, who originally made them, what evidence they used, and for what political purpose they wrote. If you are making an inclusive and well researched argument, I also advise you to cite global academics, women, and persons of color as a matter of practice. While the particular ideas are of central concern, we will learn fairly early in the course that all ideas are “for someone and for something” and being mindful of citations is a way in which you can signal that you have internalized this approach to knowledge creation.

#### *A Word on Reading Expectations*

You are expected to be familiar with *all* of the content. This means spending time with each of the readings, but perhaps not mastering it all. If you find something that intrigues you, do a deeper dive. If you dislike a reading, note why and don't simply dismiss it - struggle with it, give it due diligence. We

are going to spend time on each reading in class discussion, so you need to be conversational, but it is also ok to not understand it all or how they piece together. Part of the expectation of this course is that you learn to be strategic about how you spend your time. Please consult the Practical Tips for Critical Reading handout.

2. Assignment Due Dates / Make Up. Incompletes are granted only for significant and verifiable personal emergencies (e.g., serious personal illness, death in the family), which are accommodated only at my discretion. No extensions are granted due to the pressures of academic life (such as work due in other classes, extracurricular activities, or stress). I encourage students to think of course deadlines as opportunities to practice the self-discipline required for a successful professional life.

3. Academic Integrity. Cheating and plagiarism should not be tolerated in any academic environment, and I intend to hold everyone equally accountable to that standard. Please review the university policy on academic dishonesty, cheating and plagiarism. Violations of this will be referred to the department chair and Dean for appropriate discipline.

4. Student Complaints and Grade Disputes. In the event you disagree with a grade, you must notify me via email and then schedule an appointment with me to discuss the grade. To this appointment, you must bring the original piece of work with a professional, typed note outlining the reasons why you believe the grade is unfair or wrong. I will deliberate and revise the grade based upon these merits. Please keep in mind that revisions of grades go both ways – up and down. If a dispute still remains, this course will follow the dispute procedure outlined by the university.

5. Student Disabilities. Students with disabilities should notify me immediately so that I can make the appropriate accommodations. Please see the university's policies on students with disabilities.

## Schedule

### PART I: The Architecture of Global Governance

#### **Week 1 (January 30): Introduction to the International System**

Annan, Kofi. "The New World Disorder: Challenges for the UN in the 21st Century," David Hamburg Lecture, Foreign Policy Association, October 2014

James Fearon and David Laitin. 2004. "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* 28 (4): 5-23.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 76, No. 5 (Sep-Oct 1997) pp. 183 -197

### **Week 2 (February 6): Power and the State**

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch. 13. Available online at <http://www.constitution.org/th/leviatha.htm> (search for "Chapter XIII")

Kenneth Waltz. 2000. Structural Realism after the Cold War. *International Security*. 25:1 (2000): 5-41

Laura Sjoberg, "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See," *International Theory* 4, 1 (2012), pp.1-38.

Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17: 67-85.

Stephen David, "Explaining Third World Alignment," *World Politics*, Vol. 43, no 2 (January 1991), pp. 233-57.

### **Week 3 (February 13): Regimes and Institutions**

Lisa L. Martin and Beth Simmons. 1998. Theories and empirical studies of international institutions. *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (Autumn): 729-757

Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795): <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

The Charter of the United Nations available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml>

- Identifying Formal International Organizations—T.J. Volgy et al.
- Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations—K.W. Abbott and D. Snidal.
- A Tale of Two Institutions: The UN Security Council and the International Criminal Court—R. Aloisi.

### **Week 4 (February 20): Critical Perspectives - Discourse and Identity**

Milliken, Jennifer, *The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods*, *European Journal of International Relations*, 5:2 (1999), 225-254

Richard K. Ashley and R. B. J. Walker, "Reading Dissidence/Writing the Discipline: Crisis and the Question of Sovereignty in International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 34 (September 1990): 367-416.

V. Spike Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations." *Millennium* 21 (Summer 1992): 183-206.

Pauline Rosenau, "Once Again into the Fray: International Relations Confronts the Humanities," *Millennium* 19 (Spring 1990): 83-110.

### **Week 5 (February 27): Political Economy and Supranational Structures**

Daniel Drezner, "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion," *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (2003)

The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011, Conflict, Security and Development*, Overview available at [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011\\_Overview.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Overview.pdf)

Peter Rosendorff and Helen V. Milner, 2001: *The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape*, *International Organization* 55(4): 829-857.

- Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics—M.E. Keck and K. Sikkink.
- Providing a Release Valve: The US-China Experience with the WTO Dispute Settlement System—K.J. Castel-Fodor.
- Is the EU Collapsing?—W.J. Thies.

**\*\*Week 7 (March 6): SPRING BREAK\*\***

## PART II: ISSUES IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

### **Week 8 (March 13): International War**

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 68, No. 2 (Spring 1989): 162-177.

Robert Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization*, 60, 1 (2006), pp.169-203.

Nils Petter Gleditsch, "The Decline of War: The Main Issues," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 15: 396-419.

Giegerich, Bastian. "NATO's Smart Defence: Who's Buying?," *Survival*, vol. 54, no. 3 (June-July 2012): 69-77 [9 p.]

- "The Responsibility to Protect": Humanitarian Concern and the Lawfulness of Armed Intervention—C.C. Joyner.

### **Week 9 (March 20) : Civil War**

Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner. 2009. *Beyond greed and grievance: feasibility and civil war*. *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, no. 1 (January): 1-27.

Kathleen Cunningham, "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (2013): 659-672.

Monica Duffy Toft. 2010. *Ending Civil Wars: A case for rebel victory?* *International Security* 34:4 (Spring): 7-36.

Sarah Lischer, "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict," *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 1 (summer 2003).

Ben Valentino, "Final Solutions: The causes of mass killings and genocide," *Security Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2000).

### **Week 10 (March 27): Gender and War**

Charli Carpenter, "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: Gender, Strategic Frames, and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (June 2005).

Megan MacKenzie, "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone," *Security Studies*, Vol 18, No, 2 (2009).

Marie Berry and Mili Lake. "Gender Politics After War: Mobilizing Opportunity in Post-Conflict Africa" 2017. *Politics & Gender*. Volume 13. Issue 2.

Annan, J., Blattman, C., Mazurana, D., & Carlson, K. (2011). Civil war, reintegration, and gender in Northern Uganda. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(6), 877-908.

### **Week 11 (April 3): Peacebuilding and Postconflict Statebuilding**

Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Institutions and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 2004)

Susana Campbell and Michael Hartnett. A framework for improved coordination: Lessons learned from the international development, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, humanitarian and conflict resolution communities - National Defense University, Washington DC, 2005

Alexandra Gheciu and Roland Paris. "NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding." *Global Governance* 17 no. 1 (March 2011): 75-9

- Demanding Peace: The Impact of Prevailing Conflict on the Shift from Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding—A. Balas et al.

### **Week 12 (April 10): Terrorism**

Bin Laden, "Letter to America" 1996

George Bush Speech to West Point (2002)

Barbara Walter and Andrew Kydd. 2006. Strategies of terrorism. *International Security*. (Summer): 49-80.

Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2002/3. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism." *International Security*. (Winter 2002/2003).

Renee de Nevers, "NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (Spring 2007), pp. 34-66.

Review United Nations Counter Terrorism Mandate Online

### **Week 13 (April 17): Development / Globalization / Climate**

Fred Hu and Michael Spence. 2017. "Why Globalization Stalled" *Foreign Affairs*, Jul/Aug, pp.9-15

Thomas Dietz, 2003. "The Struggle to Govern the Commons." *Science*

Halle, Mark. 2015. "Accountability and the SDGs: Three Reasons for Optimism."

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). 2014. *Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report, Summary for Policymakers*.

Rajamani, Lavanya. 2013. "Differentiation in the Emerging Climate Regime." *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*. 14(1): 151-172.

- International Norm Dynamics and the "End of Poverty": Understanding the Millennium Development Goals—S. Fukuda-Parr and D. Hulme.

#### **Week 14 (April 24): Democracy**

\*Policy Memo Due\*

Barbara F. Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace," *International Security* Vol. 24, No. 1 (summer 1999)

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength and War," *International Organization* Vol. 56, No. 2 (spring 2002).

Robert O. Keohane, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik, 2009: Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism, *International Organization* 63: 1-31.

Woods, Ngaire, "Unelected Government: Making the IMF and the World Bank More Accountable," *International Affairs*, 21 (2) pp. 9-12

#### **Week 15 (May 1): Protest and Civil Resistance**

Sean Chabot and Majid Sharifi. 2013. The violence of nonviolence: Problematizing nonviolent resistance in Iran and Egypt. *Societies Without Borders* 8, no. 2: 205-232.

Erica Chenoweth and Jay Ulfelder. 2017. Can structural conditions explain the onset of nonviolent uprisings? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 2 (January): 298-324.

Susanne Shaftenaar. 2017. How (wo)men rebel: Exploring the effect of gender equality on nonviolent and armed conflict onset. *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 6 (November): 762-776

Maria J. Stephan. 2015. Civil resistance vs. ISIS. *Resistance Studies*. Vol. 1, no. 2: 127-150.

#### **Week 16 (May 8): Rethinking the System**

Elizabeth Saunders, "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force," *Security Studies* 24(3): 466-501 (2015).

Donnelly, Jack. 2012. "The Elements of the Structures of International Systems." *International Organization* no. 66 (4):609-643. Read pp. 617-632.

Neta Crawford, "The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships." *International Security*. (Spring 2000):1-38

Ole Jacob Sending, Iver B. Neumann, 2006. "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power," *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (3): pp. 651–672

- Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History of Progress—E.C. Luck.



