

GESM 130g—Seminar in Social Analysis

The United Nations In the World

Dr. Douglas Becker

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Monday/Wednesday, 5:00-6:20

Online, so the honest answer is likely your room, a closet, or anywhere you can keep the family/friends/roommates away from you for the time of the class

CPA 42A but let's be honest, my living room on Zoom

Office Hours: M/W 12:00-1:00 and by appointment

The Challenge of Online Instruction: This course will be conducted online, thanks to the pandemic. A couple of important considerations about online instruction:

- a) You are expected to have your cameras on for every session. When I am sharing a screen you can turn them off, but we will have discussions and use breakout rooms. If this is a challenge, please contact me directly. And you must have it on for the exams, which will be online. This is a seminar and discussions really require you to have the camera on so we can see one another as we talk about material. Also, we will have a couple of Security Council simulations and those of course need to be visual.
- b) Zoom instructions will be posted every morning before class on Blackboard. You will always find them in Announcements. I also will have them emailed to you, so ensure your email can receive Blackboard messages.
- c) I will create a course Slack to enable communication and also enable the online simulations to become both synchronous and asynchronous. It is a very easy program to use. I will help walk you through the program the first week.
- d) If you have technical issues, you should contact ITS to help. I do understand that connections can be unstable and finding space to attend class without interruption can be a challenge. I am laid-back about these issues. I will work with you if you have them. But if your dog barks or your cat meows audibly, you will need to tell us all their name. I mean, if they are going to participate, we should know who they are!
- e) I will post all classes recording and when I use a powerpoint or any material, I will post those too. But we will have a great deal of discussion. This is a small class and a seminar and we will take advantage of that to have discussions rather than just have me lecture. The University has a policy to not share this information on platforms outside of USC. If you do want to share any course material outside of class, contact me for permission.
- f) When you are not speaking, please mute your microphone. Trust me, you will want to. You can avoid a lot of embarrassment!
- g) Finally, we are living in a pandemic. Your safety and the care for you and your loved ones is the primary consideration. If something comes up (heaven forbid

someone tests positive for Covid-19 or anything), please let me know. It is always confidential. I will make accommodations.

This course examines both the operation of the United Nations and its importance in global politics. The United Nations is not a single organization but instead is viewed as a set of institutions which we in international relations call the UN system. Its influences are many. One is the original cooperative model of great powers of the 19th Century (the Concert of Europe) to a more legal, multilateral system of cooperation enshrined in international law from the early 20th Century (the League of Nations). But unlike either of those institutions, the United Nations seeks to improve cooperation across a whole range of issues. Peace and security may be the most visible, but the UN also seeks to gather intellectual resources (what are termed epistemic communities) to work on varied issues such as economic development, environmental protection, human rights advancement, and public health. This course will examine both the processes and policy proposals of the organization as well as its actual impact on sovereign nations only nominally required to follow its dictates.

The course objectives for this seminar therefore are:

- 1) Applying International Relations historical and case methods in understanding the motivations for creating the United Nations (and how its institutions, practices, norms, and principles reflect these motivations)**
- 2) Examination of numerous UN historical cases as a qualitative method for analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the organization as an institution**
- 3) Explore the relationship between this supranational organization and the sovereign nations of the world. In particular, we will examine what the concept of sovereignty means within international relations. This will allow us to analyze the relationship between global governance institutions and sovereign states**
- 4) Evaluate the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions, using a combination of case analysis and general theorizing about when UN peacekeeping is likely to be successful and what policy options have the highest rate of success**
- 5) Demonstrating an understanding of the interplay between leaders and international organization, with a particular focus on how UN norms have influenced state leaders decisions. The United Nations is one of the world's leading norms entrepreneurs, both formally in organizing treaty conferences as well as informally through gathering epistemic communities and offering policy prescriptions. We will examine how often these norms actually become a part of state policy or individual leader decisions.**
- 6) Critically analyze the manner in which leading states have exercised diplomacy through the United Nations, with a particular eye to the Security Council, as well as examine the relationship between the permanent members and the elected members of the Council.**
- 7) The impact of the United Nations on economic development, cooperation over environmental protection such as climate change, technical cooperation on issues such as global health, and in cultural heritage protection.**

The course will be comprehensive in examining the role of the United Nations across issue areas, and the student will emerge with a greater understand of what roles the UN carries out effectively (as well as what it is NOT intended to address—notably an actual global government).

The assignments for the class are as follows:

2 6-8 page papers	20% each
Mid-Term	25%
Leading Class Discussion	5%
class participation and attendance	5%
In-Class Final	25%

As a seminar, students will prepare written essays (and will also write essay answers for both the mid-term and final.) One of these essays will address an issue of peace and security, and analyze the effectiveness of a current or historic UN peacekeeping force. The specific topic is open to the student's interest but is limited to an area that has been addressed by the UN Security Council. The second of these essays will address the role of the UN in advancing norms and international law. It may focus on any area of the UN system, from the organs of the organization to its specialized agencies. The mid-term and final are in-class and scheduled on the syllabus. They will have an objective section, which will expect students to write short answers identifying terms, individuals, historical events and developments or other related material. It will also have a more subjective essay, which will require both critical analysis of material in class and informed personal opinions. Students also will sign up and lead the discussion for the class once during the semester. This means the student will lead us off with a roughly 10 minute presentation of material and pose a few questions for discussion. I also will expect that the student will be particularly active in the class discussions that class. A final 5% will consist of class participation, which requires class attendance as well as thoughtful response to questions posed on the readings. We will also have a couple of Security Council simulations, which will take the form of an informal caucus rather than resolution writing or formal debate. Participation in these simulations will be included in the class participation grade.

The penalty for late work is 5 points a day. When work is turned in late, you may email me a copy only to establish when it was completed. All papers are submitted via email. I prefer them in Word format or possibly a PDF (the former makes it easier to provide feedback in the text of the papers). The only excuses accepted are University sanctioned excuses and must be documented. Also, this course will follow all of the guidelines for reasonable accommodations laid out in the University Handbook.

Grading Scale

Course final grades will be determined using the following scale

A	94-100
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	80-82
C+	77-79
C	73-76
C-	70-72
D+	67-69
D	63-66
D-	60-62
F	59 and below

Grading and Correction of Grades Excerpts for this section have been taken from the University Grading Handbook, located at

<http://www.usc.edu/dept/ARR/grades/gradinghandbook/gradingpolicies.html>

Please see the link for the course before the semester ends. All missing grades must be resolved by the instructor through the Correction of Grade Process. One calendar year is allowed to resolve a MG. If an MG is not resolved [within] one year the grade is changed to [Unofficial Withdrawal] UW and will be calculated into the grade point average a zero grade points. A grade of Incomplete (IN) “is assigned when work is not completed because of documented illness or other ‘emergency’ occurring after the twelfth week of the semester (or 12th week equivalency for any course scheduled for less than 15 weeks).” for more details on grading concerns. A grade of Missing Grade (MG) “should only be assigned in unique or unusual situations... for those cases in which a student does not complete work”

The dates of the simulations are:

October 7: Simulation on Libya

November 11: Fictional Zombie outbreak Security Council simulation

The books for the class are the following:

Jolly, Richard, Louis Emmerrij, and Thomas G. Weiss. **UN Ideas that Changed the World.** Indiana University Press, 2009, ISBN: 9780253221186 **Available Online via Library**
Weiss, Thomas, David Forsythe, Roger A Coates, and Kelly-Kate Pease. **The United Nations and Changing World Politics.** 8th edition. ISBN: 9780813349787
PLUS Readings posted on Blackboard

Part 1: How does the UN foster collective security and collective action?

August 17: Introductions and a discussion of the UN in the world

19: The History of Collective Security

Matthew Rendall, “Defensive Realism and the Concert of Europe”
Review of International Studies, Jul., 2006, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul., 2006),
pp. 523- 540 **Blackboard**

Jari Eloranta, “Why did the League of Nations Fail?” *Cliometrica* (2011)
5:27–52 **Blackboard**

24: What is the Theory that Forms the principles of Collective Security and Action at the United Nations?

Weiss et al, Introduction, Chapter 1

Danesh Sarooshi, "The United Nations Collective Security System and the Establishment of Peace." *Current Legal Problems*, Volume 53, Issue 1, 2000, Pages 621–645, **Blackboard**

Part 2: The Security Council in Practice

26: The Early History of UN operations
Weiss et al, Chapter 2

Alan Doss (2014) In the Footsteps of Dr Bunche: The Congo, UN Peacekeeping and the Use of Force, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 37:5, 703-735, **Blackboard**

31: The UN after the Cold War: The New Promise?
Weiss et al, Chapter 3

Aurel Croissant (2008) The Perils and Promises of Democratization through United Nations Transitional Authority – Lessons from Cambodia and East Timor, *Democratisation*, 15:3, 649-668, **Blackboard**

September 2: The UN after 1999: The Era of the Brahimi Report
Brahimi Report synopsis, **Blackboard**

Weiss et al, Chapter 4-5

John Karlsrud (2019) United Nations Stabilization Operations: Chapter Seven and a Half, *Ethnopolitics*, 18:5, 494-508, **Blackboard**

7: Labor Day, No Class

Part 3: Decision-making at the UN Security Council

9: The United States at the Security Council

Marc Weller, "Iraq and the Use of Force in International Law" pgs 132-188 **Blackboard**

Lise Morje Howard, "Sources of Change in United States-United Nations Relations." *Global Governance*, Oct.-Dec. 2010, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 2010), pp. 485-503 **Blackboard**

Bruce Jentleson "Global Governance, the United Nations, and the Challenge of Trumping Trump" *Global Governance* 23 (2017), 143–149 **Blackboard**

14: China at the Security Council
Joel Withnuw, Chinese Diplomacy at the UN Security Council: Beyond the Veto, Pgs 12-58 **Blackboard**

Peter Ferdinand, “The Positions of Russia and China at the UN Security Council in Light of Recent Crises” **Blackboard**

16: How the Elected Members Act on the Security Council

James Raymond Vreeland and Axel Dreher, The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council: Money and Influence. Pgs 62-93
Blackboard

Jeremy Farrall et al, “Elected Member Influence at the Security Council”
Leiden Journal of International Law (2020), 33, pp. 101–115 **Blackboard**

21: Emerging Powers and the Potential for Security Council Reform

Sabine Hassler. Reforming the UN Security Council Membership: The Illusion of Representativeness. Pgs 133-162. **Blackboard**

James Raymond Vreeland and Axel Dreher, The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council: Money and Influence. Pgs 220-241
Blackboard

Kara McDonald and Stewart Patrick, UN Security Council Enlargement and US Interests, pgs 5-10, 15-20 **Blackboard**

Paper #1 due

Part 4: The Role of the Security Council on Contemporary Issues

23: The UN and terrorism, the CTC and the Horn of Africa

Isobel Roele, “Disciplinary Power and the UN Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee” **Blackboard**

Peter Tase, “Terrorism, War and Conflict, an analysis into the Horn of Africa Al Shabaab in Somalia; US and UN efforts to Reduce Violence.”
Blackboard

28: The former Yugoslavia and the International Tribunals

Rachel Kerr, “International Peace and Security, International Criminal Justice, and the Yugoslav War.” **Blackboard**

Rosa Aloisi, A Tale of Two Institutions: The United Nations Security Council and the International Criminal Court. **Blackboard**

1st paper due

30: Working with regional organizations—Libya

Daniel Silander “R2P—Principle and Practice? The UNSC on Libya”,
Journal of Applied Security Research, 8:2, 262-284, **Blackboard**

Geir Ulfstein and Hege Fosund Christiansen, “The Legality of the NATO
Bombing in Libya” **Blackboard**

October

5: Mid-Term

7: In-Class and Slack SIMULATION: The War in Libya

Part 5: The United Nations and Norms Creation

12: The UN and armed humanitarian intervention—evolution of R2P?
Jolly pgs 163-198 **Online**

Roland Paris (2014)The ‘Responsibility to Protect’ and the Structural
Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention, International
Peacekeeping, 21:5, 569-603, **Blackboard**

14: The UN and Refugees
Alexander Betts et al, “The United Nations High Commission for
Refugees” Chpaters 5-6 **Blackboard**

Phil Orchard, “A Right to Flee” **Blackboard**

19: The United Nations and Human Rights

Jolly et al, pgs 51-67, **Online**

Weiss, Chapters 6-9

Betrand Ramcharan, “The National Responsibility to Protect Human
Rights” **Blackboard**

21: The UN and Economic Development: the Millennium Development
Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals
Jolly, pgs 83-117, 149-162, 186-198 **Online**

26: The UN and Environmental Protection: Climate Change
Raymond Clemencon, “The Two Sides of the Paris Climate Accords:
Dismal Failure of Historic Breakthrough?” **Blackboard**

Karen Elizabeth McNamara, “Conceptualizing Discourses on
Environmental Refugees at the United Nations.” **Blackboard**

28: Gender and Equality

Jolly, pgs 68-82 **Online**

Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, *The Evolution of Gender Reforms in UN Peacekeeping Missions*, Oxford University Press, 2017, **Blackboard**

November 2: Weapons of Mass Destruction

Heather Williams (2018) A nuclear babel: narratives around the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, *The Nonproliferation Review*, 25:1-2, 51-63 **Blackboard**

John Borrie, Michael Spies & Wilfred Wan (2018) Obstacles to understanding the emergence and significance of the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons, *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 30:2, 95-119 **Blackboard**

Scholar's Circle, "Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons" June 23 2019. (Guests Ira Helfand of ICAN and Wayne Glass)
<http://www.armoudian.com/scholars-circle-international-law-affected-by-human-rights-and-war-prohibition-of-nuclear-weapons-an-on-going-struggle-june-23-2019/>

Part 6: The UN and Global Society

4: National Interest, Education, Cultural Protection, and UNESCO
J. P Singh, *United Nations Educational, scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)* p 11-46; 67-82 **Blackboard**

Meskill et al "Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: decision-making, States Parties and political processes" *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21:5, 423-440, **Blackboard**

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests and International Society*, pgs 34-68 **Blackboard**

Paper #2 due

9: Global Pandemics, Global Health and the WHO

Obiliofor Aginam, *Globalization of Health Insecurity: The World Health Organization and the New International Health Regulations*. *Medicine and Law* (2006) 25:663-672 **Blackboard**

Ruth Roemer, Allyn Taylor, and Jean Lariviera. Origins of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control American Journal of Public Health; Jun 2005 **Blackboard**

- 11: SIMULATION: Pandemics and the Security Council, or, How would the UN confront a Zombie Outbreak

Adam Kamrandt-Scott, Managing Global Health Security, pgs 151-179; 21-43 **Blackboard**

Douglas Becker and Marcelo Valenca, "Briefing on Zombie outbreak" presented at International Studies Association Annual Conference, Toronto, 2014 **Blackboard** (inspired by Max Brooks **World War Z**)

- 16: Optional Review Session for Final

Final Exam: Wednesday, November 18, 4:30-6:30 pm

Support Systems

Student Counseling Services (SCS) - (213) 740-7711 – 24/7 on call

Free and confidential mental health treatment for students, including short-term psychotherapy, group counseling, stress fitness workshops, and crisis intervention.

<https://engemannshc.usc.edu/counseling/>

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline - 1-800-273-8255

Provides free and confidential emotional support to people in suicidal crisis or emotional distress 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. <http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org>

Relationship & Sexual Violence Prevention Services (RSVP) - (213) 740-4900 - 24/7 on call

Free and confidential therapy services, workshops, and training for situations related to gender-based harm. <https://engemannshc.usc.edu/rsvp/>

Sexual Assault Resource Center

For more information about how to get help or help a survivor, rights, reporting options, and additional resources, visit the website: <http://sarc.usc.edu/>

Office of Equity and Diversity (OED)/Title IX compliance – (213) 740-5086

Works with faculty, staff, visitors, applicants, and students around issues of protected class.

<https://equity.usc.edu/>

Bias Assessment Response and Support

Incidents of bias, hate crimes and microaggressions need to be reported allowing for appropriate investigation and response. <https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/bias-assessment-response-support/>

Student Support & Advocacy – (213) 821-4710

Assists students and families in resolving complex issues adversely affecting their success as a student EX: personal, financial, and academic. <https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/ssa/>

Diversity at USC – <https://diversity.usc.edu/>

Tabs for Events, Programs and Training, Task Force (including representatives for each school), Chronology, Participate, Resources for Students

USC Department of Public Safety – UPC: (213) 740-4321 24-hour emergency or to report a crime.

Provides overall safety to USC community. dps.usc.edu

Academic Conduct

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. Students are expected to submit original work. They have an obligation both to protect their own work from misuse and to avoid using another's work as their own. All students are expected to understand and abide by the principles of academic honesty outlined in the University Student Conduct Code (see University Governance, Section 11.00) of SCampus (www.usc.edu/scampus or <http://scampus.usc.edu>). The recommended sanctions for academic integrity violations can be found in Appendix A of the Student Conduct Code.

Emergency preparedness/course continuity

If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, USC Emergency Information <http://emergency.usc.edu> will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of Blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.

Students with Disabilities

USC is committed to making reasonable accommodations to assist individuals with disabilities in reaching their academic potential. If you have a disability which may impact your performance, attendance, or grades in this course and require accommodations, you must first register with the Office of Disability Services and Programs (www.usc.edu/disability). DSP provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in GFS (Grace Ford Salvatori Hall) 120 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776. Email: ability@usc.edu