

## IR 344: The Global South in World Politics

Tuesday/Thursday, 5:00-6:20 pm

CPA 150

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Office: CPA 231C, and by appointment on Zoom

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This course examines the role of developing countries, or what we call the “Global South,” in contemporary world politics. While the Global South numerically consists of the largest number of nations in the world, their impact on world politics is largely limited in comparison to their wealthier and more powerful neighbors in the North. International relations theory is largely constructed by scholars in the Global North. This course is constructed in part to address former International Studies Association President Amitav Acharya’s call for a more Global Studies approach to the study of international relations. It also addresses the growing importance of developing nations, as emerging economies and potential political powerhouses like China, India and Brazil take a much larger role on the world stage. So it addresses two related questions: does international relations theory accurately describe the politics in the developing world; and how much does this potential power shift from the global north to the global south change international politics?

The broad learning objectives of the course are:

1. Developing an understanding of the historical context by which international relations has conceptualized developing countries or what we now call the Global South. We will emphasize the history of colonialism, of weakness, and these nations’ positions on the periphery of the global order influenced the role it plays in global politics.
2. Explore the difference between the descriptions of traditional international relations theories derived from global north history with the experiences of the global south. In particular we will explore the foundational precepts of realism, with its emphasis on the nation-state and on the motivations of power and security, and its accuracy in Africa, as a region with weak national identities, historically dubious borders, and generally weak central governments. We also explore the historical development of the concept of sovereignty and alternative views of international relations based on Global South history.
3. Examine how the growing influence of developing nations have changed negotiations within existing global governance institutions, with a particular eye on the World Trade Organization and on institutions of the United Nations system, on issues as varied as global health, cultural heritage and development, sustainability, and climate change. We will consider how the role of regionalism has enhanced the negotiation positions of developing nations, allowing for the pooling of power in negotiations with more powerful nations. We also will consider how regionalism has played a key role in the domestic governance of developing nations, particular with the role of regional organizations as contrasts with global organizations.
4. Develop an understanding of the role of historical memory in identity formation and the important foundational historical experience of colonialism.

5. Introduce new negotiation and cooperation fora such as the BRICS forum promoting cooperation among the strongest developing nations as a potential bloc. We will examine the foreign policies of the BRICS nations and what they seek to accomplish through these negotiations. We further will examine the potential of new institutions may have in restructuring the current architecture of global governance
6. Imagining a world order that is derived from the newly growing influence of developing nations, and how it might differ from the current world order. This reconsideration will focus on potentially different ideologies and the construction of global governance under different power structures. Would a post-western world differ from the current western world?

**The Challenge of Teaching in a Pandemic:** We are meeting in person and you need to come to class for instruction. I will not record classes or use Zoom except if conditions require it. I want an interactive classroom where we have a conversation about the material. I will not post powerpoints (and indeed, I will use Powerpoint sparingly). Instead, I will post reflection questions to guide the material and for you to ensure that you have all the relevant information for exams. I don't want you uncertain as to what is on the exam, but my modality of teaching is a conversational style with some short "lectures" in the middle but with plenty of your responses. Come to each class prepared to talk about the material. Make sure you have read the material before class. I will try to post the reflection questions with plenty of time in advance to help you with the readings and preparations for class.

But, I realize we are living in a pandemic. I know we will have issues. I will work with you should something come up. One of the reasons I will post questions is that, if you do miss class, you can get your review of the answers to the questions to ensure you understand the material. If issues arise with the pandemic or any other issue, please let me know. It is always confidential. I will make accommodations. If you test positive or health issues arise, I will ensure you get the material. Your health is the most important consideration in our class instruction.

And a quick note about the material: I know not everyone is an international relations major. I love that this class attracted students from across majors (and yes, I know many of you are Global Health majors). It is an international relations class though, so we will discuss some specific topics in international relations theory. My approach will be to not assume you know the material in these theories and not assume you know the jargon. So I will try to start from this premise. But if I do use language that you don't understand, please do not hesitate to ask for clarification (in class as well as outside. It is the nature of a conversational style). Trust me, you likely are not the only one with that question. If you are, I may suggest an outside classroom conversation or emails. But err on the side of asking for clarification, not presuming you should already know the material.

Some key norms and rules for the classroom. Please be aware of these as we progress throughout the semester:

- **Share responsibility for including all voices in the conversation.**
  - I want to hear from all of you this semester. These issues can often carry a significant resonance with us, since the issues we raise can often be contentious. Let's make sure everyone has a chance to speak. If you find yourself being shut out of conversations, please let me know privately and I will make adjustments.

- **Listen respectfully.**
  - A great classroom is a dialogue. It is not simply my thoughts and you trying to recall and reconstruct them for exams. I want to hear from all of you. And I want you to listen to one another. We need to listen respectfully but also actively and critically. There is no greater respect you can show for one another than critical analysis of arguments.
- **Be open to changing your perspectives based on what you learn from others.**
  - Nothing is more exciting than learning something new. This allows us to evolve our perspectives and develop as scholars. I have learned something new from students every semester I've taught. I change material from semester to semester based on what I have learned. Always be prepared to change your mind.
- **Understand that we are bound to make mistakes in this space.**
  - I may have been raised Roman Catholic, but I am not infallible. I will make mistakes. You will too. We learn from our mistakes, but we can't be afraid to present our work and our thoughts on an issue because we might make one. When we do, we will respectfully update the information and learn from them.
- **Understand that your words have effects on others.**
  - Respect is based on the understanding that words matter. Freedom of speech means we can express ourselves freely. But it does not mean we don't consider the effects these words have on others in the classroom. Please keep that in mind as we progress this semester. Let's have a rich exploration and discussion of ideas while always remembering to respect one another. And if we make a mistake, we will learn from it. Compassion and empathy means always wanting to improve.
- **Understand that others will come to these discussions with different experiences from yours.**
  - The best thing about a campus like USC is the rich diversity of the student body. We have students from all over the world. And I think I learned as much as an undergraduate from the conversations I had with my classmates than even from class work. Toleration of different experiences is boring. Revel in them! Learn from one another. And be aware of them.
- **Make an effort to get to know other students.**
  - I like a class that is loud and boisterous before I come in. During the pandemic, we have too often all been so isolated from our classmates and friends. So, I will take some time and make connections as much as I can. Sure, you will have a groupme. But nothing beats actual physical interactions and conversations. Spend some time getting to know each other.
- **Understand that there are different approaches to solving problems.**
  - We approach issues differently. It is truly exciting to see the different ways we solve problems and wrestle with material. Indeed, one of the most rewarding outcomes of an interdisciplinary approach like this is learning from different approaches from different disciplines. This class has a long history of attracting students from a multitude of majors, and I want to hear from all of you.

#### Grading Scale

Course final grades will be determined using the following scale

A	93-100
A-	90-92
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 assignments for this course are as follows:

Mid-Term	25%
15 page research paper	35%
Final	35%
Class participation	5%

Students will prepare a substantial research paper, drawn from the theoretical issues raised throughout the course. The paper may address one of the key theoretical arguments or it may test one or more of the theoretical issues empirically. I will provide a much more detailed paper prompt. All paper topics must be approved by me in advance, so I may determine whether the topic addresses the themes of the course. I will also provide guidance to aid in the improvement of the research and its presentation. Specifically, you can get approval via email but I very much encourage you to some see me during office hours. The mid-term and final are in-class, blue-book exams with an emphasis on critical analysis and a short essay format to test retention and understanding of the material. The mid-term is scheduled on the syllabus and the final is as scheduled on the syllabus from the USC Schedule of Classes. Finally, a small percentage of the grade is determined by the student's participation in classroom discussions as well as attendance. All assignments as listed on the syllabus are to be completed for the class meeting indicated. **ALL LATE WORK IS PENALIZED 5 POINTS A DAY AND EXCUSES ARE RESTRICTED TO UNIVERSITY SANCTIONED EXCUSES WITH PROPER DOCUMENTATION.**

The books for this course are:

Henderson, Errol. *African Realism: International Relations Theory and Africa's Wars in the Postcolonial Era*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2015, 2017 (paperback) ISBN: 9781538104972

Roberts, Cynthia, Leslie Armijo and Saori Katada. The BRICS and Collective Financial Statecraft. Oxford University Press, 2017 ISBN: 9780190697525

Plus articles posted to Blackboard

Note: The Henderson and Roberts books are available online via the USC library

## Part 1: Introduction

- January
- 10: Introduction , Hand out Syllabi
- 12: What is the Global South? Third World? Developing and Underdeveloped nations? Definitions and why they matter
- Lee Kuan Yew, "The Role of Developing Countries in World Politics" Speech from March 22, 1967 **Blackboard**
- Vijay Prashad, The Darker Nations, pgs 31-50 (foundations of Non-Aligned Movement) **Blackboard**
- Amitav Acharya, "Global International Relations (IR) And Regional Worlds" International Studies Quarterly, pgs 647-659 **Blackboard**
- 17: The "New South" at the End of the Cold War
- Chris Alden, Sally Morphet, and Marco Antonio Viera, Chapter 3-4, pgs 91-159 **Blackboard**
- Marco Viera, "Understanding Resilience in International Relations: The Non-Aligned Movement and Ontological Security." (2016) International Studies Review, 290-311 **Blackboard**
- 19: Cultural And Artistic Heritage in the Aftermath of Colonialism
- Dan Hicks. The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence, and Cultural Restitution. Chapter 12 "Looting" pgs 135-151 **Blackboard**
- Cynthia Scott. Cultural Diplomacy and the Heritage of Empire: Negotiating Post-Colonial Returns. Chapter 5, pgs 153-192 **Blackboard**
- Lynn Meskell & Benjamin Isakhan (2020) UNESCO, world heritage and the gridlock over Yemen, Third World Quarterly, 41:10, 1776-1791 **Blackboard**
- 24: The World Health Organization: The Division of North and South
- Nisan Chorev, The World Health Organization Between North and South. Chapter 1 "World Health Organization) **Blackboard**
- Chapter 3 "A New International Order in Health" **Blackboard**
- Chapter 6 "Health in Economic Terms" **Blackboard**
- 26: Covid, Covax, and North/South Issues in the Pandemic

Martin Broberg “A Critical Appraisal of the World Health Organization’s International Health Regulations (2005) in Times of Pandemic: It Is Time for Revision” **Blackboard**

Katerini Tagmatarchi Storeng, Antoine de Bengy Puyvallee and Felix Stein. “COVAX and the rise of the ‘super public private partnership’ for global health” **Blackboard**

Ely L Paiva and Priscila LA Miguel, “Overcoming enduring inequalities in Global Value Chains? Interpreting the case of Brazil’s Covid-19 vaccine supply through a chess metaphor” **Blackboard**

## **Part 2: IR Theory and the Developing World: Goodness of Fit?**

31: What is Realism? A review of the concept and the literature

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, Making Sense of International Relations Theory pgs 15-66 **Blackboard**

Pierre Lizee, “Competing Universals; Realism” In A Whole New World: Reinventing International Studies for the Post Western World, pgs 17-38 **Blackboard**

Lizee, “Violence, Rationality, and the State” pgs 81-95, **Blackboard**

February 2: Western-Centrism in IR theory: What if IR Theory was based on Asian history?

David Kang, East Asia Before the West  
Chapter 4 “Diplomacy: The Tribute System” **Blackboard**  
Chapter 5: “War: The Longer Peace” **Blackboard**

Richard S Horowitz “The Opium Wars of 1839 and 1860” in East Asia in the World. **Blackboard**

7: African Conflict in International Relations Theory

Henderson, Chapters 1-3, pgs 1-116

9: An Underdeveloped State in a State-Centric Theory

Henderson, Chapters 4-5, pgs 117-200

14: Liberalism, the Democratic Peace, and African Conflict

Henderson, Chapters 6-7, 201-270

## **Part 4: Regional Organizations and Domestic Governance: The role of Sovereignty in the Developing World**

16: Jennifer Sterling Folker “Liberalism” 67-108 **Blackboard**

Pierre Lizée, *Competing Universalisms: Liberalism*, pgs 39-60 **Blackboard**

Pierre Lizée, *Reinventing Liberalism* pgs 168-192 **Blackboard**

### Regionalism and Popular Campaigns in the New South

- 21: Alden, Morphet, and Viera, Chapters 5-6 and Conclusion, pgs 160-210 **Blackboard**
- 23: Regional Organizations in Africa: Lessons from the AU, ECOWAS, and SADC
- Julia Leininger, "Against all Odds: Strong Democratic Norms in the African Union" in *Governance Transfers by Regional Organizations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pgs 51-67 **Blackboard**
- Christof Hartmann and Kai Striebinger, "Writing the Script: ECOWAS's Military Intervention Mechanism," in *Governance Transfers by Regional Organizations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pgs 68-83 **Blackboard**
- Merran Hulse and Anna van der Vleuten, "Agent Run Amok: The SADC Tribunal and Governance Transfer Rollback," *Governance Transfers by Regional Organizations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, 84-106 **Blackboard**
- 28: Human Rights and Post-Colonialism
- Anja Jetschke, "Why Create a Regional Human Rights Regime? The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission for Human Rights." *Governance Transfers by Regional Organizations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pgs 107-124 **Blackboard**
- Vera van Hullen "Just Leave us Alone: The Arab League and Human Rights." *Governance Transfers by Regional Organizations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pgs 125-140 **Blackboard**
- Andrea Ribeiro Hoffman, "At Last: Protection and Promotion of Human Rights by Mercosur." *Governance Transfers by Regional Organizations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pgs 192-210 **Blackboard**
- March 2: Feminism: the View from the Global South
- Raewyn Connell, "The Sociology of Gender in the Southern Perspective" **Blackboard**
- Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak" **Blackboard**
- 7: LGBTQI+ and Queerness in the Global South
- The Global Trajectories of Queerness: Re-Thinking Same-Sex Politics in the Global South*
- Iman Ganji, "The Silent Movements of the Iranian Queer" pgs 105-120 **Blackboard**

Krystal Nandini Ghisyawan “Queer-(in’) the Caribbean: The Trinidad Experience.” pgs 161-177 **Blackboard**

Witchanayee Ocho, “Queering Thailand: On the Emergence of New Genders and Sexual Identities.” Pgs 145-160 **Blackboard**

9: Mid-term

14, 16: Spring Break

### **Part 5: The Developing World at the United Nations**

21: The Global South and Sustainable Development at the UN

Dena Freeman, “The Role of the Global South at the UN: Using International Politics to Re-Vision the Global.” The Global South, Fall, 2017, pgs 71-91 **Blackboard**

Macharia Kamau, Pamela Chasek, and David O’Conner. Transforming Multilateral Diplomacy: The Inside Story of the Sustainable Development Goals. Chapters 2 and 5, pgs 16-46; 104-131 **Blackboard**

23: From Kyoto to Paris: Annex 1 and Climate Change

Harald Fuhr, “The Rise of the Global South and the Rise of Carbon Emissions.” Third World Quarterly. **Blackboard**

David Held and Charles Rager, “Three Models of Global Climate Governance: From Kyoto to Paris and Beyond.” Global Policy. November, 2018, pgs 527-537 **Blackboard**

Sean Walsh, Huifang Tian, John Whalley and Manmohan Agarwal, “China and India’s Participation in global climate negotiations.” International Environmental Negotiations. 2011, pgs 261-273 **Blackboard**

### **Part 6: The Global South as Negotiation Group: Pooling Power or Reshaping Institutions?**

28: The Global South at Uruguay—Framing the World Trade Organization Intellectual Property Rights and Global Health

J. P Singh, “The evolution of National Interests: New Issues and North-South Negotiations in the Uruguay Round.” In Negotiating Trade: Developing Countries in the WTO and NAFTA Edited by John S Odell, 2006, pgs 41-84 **Blackboard**

John S Odell and Susan K Sell, “Reframing the Issue: The WTO coalition on Intellectual Property and Public Health, 2001. In Negotiating Trade: Developing Countries in the WTO and NAFTA Edited by John S Odell, 2006, pgs 85-114 **Blackboard**



- 30: The WTO's Dispute Settlement Board: Great Equalizer for the Global South or Reinforcing Northern Power?
- Christina L. Davis. "Do WTO rules create a level playing field? Lessons from the Experiences of Peru and Vietnam" In Negotiating Trade: Developing Countries in the WTO and NAFTA Edited by John S Odell, 2006, pgs 219-256 **Blackboard**
- James McCall Smith. "Compliance Bargaining in the WTO: Ecuador and the Bananas Dispute." In Negotiating Trade: Developing Countries in the WTO and NAFTA Edited by John S Odell, 2006, pgs 257-288 **Blackboard**

### **Part 7: Historical Memory and Colonization: the Politics of Identity in the Developing World**

- April 4: Southeast Asia: Colonization and Conflict
- Viet Thanh Nguyen, Nothing Ever Dies: Vietnam and the Memory of War. Harvard University Press, 2016, pgs 23-46, 71-100 **Blackboard**
- 6: East Asia and Gender: The Korean Comfort Women Memory
- C. Sarah Soh, "The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan." Pgs 145-225 **Blackboard**
- 11: Conflicted Memory: Catastrophe and Colonization or Settlers on the Frontier: The Nakba and the Aaliyah
- Anaheed Al-Harden, Palestinians in Syria, Pgs 26-49, 155-183 **Blackboard**
- Suleiman A Mourad "Too Big to be Owned: Reflections on Jerusalem in Islamic History" Review of Middle East Studies, 2019, pgs 20-33 **Blackboard**
- Liora R. Halperin The Oldest Guard: Forging the Zionist Settler Past Introduction **Blackboard**
- 13: Islamic Memory: The Battle of Karbala and the Crusades
- Syed Akbar Hyder, "Reliving Karbala" pgs 13-60 **Blackboard**
- Daniel Beben, "Remembering Saladin: The Crusades and the Politics of Heresy in Persian Historiography" **Blackboard**
- Carole Hillenbrand "Saladin's Spin Doctors" **Blackboard**

### **Part 8: The BRICS forum and the Potential for Cooperation**

- 18: The Creation of the BRICS forum
- Roberts, Armijo and Katada, Part 1 and 2
- Papers Due**
- 20: The BRICS Collective Financial Statecraft: Four Cases
- Roberts, Armijo, and Katada, Part 3

25: Breaking Down the Foreign Policies from 5 Capitals  
Roberts, Armijo, and Katada, Part 4

27: The BRICS and the Potential for Multilateralism  
Roberts, Armijo and Katada, Part 5

May 2: Voluntary Review Session for Final

**FINAL EXAM: Thursday May 4, 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/>*

Tab 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](http://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](http://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](http://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](mailto:ability@usc.edu)