

# **IR 382 Order and Disorder in Global Affairs**

Spring 2024

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Tuesdays and Thursdays 8:00 – 9:20 DMC 152

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 10:00 – 11:00 DMC 307

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES**

What is international order? In this class, international order refers to the patterns how international relations is organized, and what are the explicit and implicit rules, institutions, and norms that govern state actors' behaviors. The main topics covered in this class include: how an international system made of sovereign states as its basic units emerged and how it has been taken for granted; anarchy as the nature of the international system and an alternative concept of hierarchy; the multiple forms of polarity, which describes how power is distributed among states, and the number of states power is concentrated on in the international system; international orders in different regions and issue areas. The course concludes by discussing the prospects of the current international order led by America as the hegemon, and what could be the challenges to the existing international order.

Over the course of the semester you will find that the content of this class covers not just the empirical experiences in the Western world that most of you are familiar with. International relations has been criticized as a Euro-centric discipline, as most, if not all, of the theories and concepts in IR have been based on the history of how countries in Europe and the West interacted with each other. In this class, traditions, ideas, and empirics from various regions around the world will be introduced to you. The feature of my teaching is that, instead of only covering mainstream theories and concepts deriving from the empirical experiences of the West, I incorporate traditions and history of other regions in my classes to help my students broaden their horizons, and to prevent them from developing a worldview that is too narrow. This is where I connect my expertise with my teaching.

By the end of the course, students will learn the various forms of international order and how international relations has been organized differently across times, regions, and issue areas. Students will also be able to better understand the world outside of the country and region that they are from or most familiar with. Lastly, I encourage students to make use of the knowledge that they have accumulated in this class to analyze and make sense of real world events.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING**

Thought piece 10%

Reflection papers 40% (2 papers, 20% each)

Term paper 35% (content of paper 30%, presentation 5%)

Participation 15%

## **GENERAL CLASS POLICIES**

Students are expected to attend each lecture and participate regularly in class. Both attendance and participation in discussions in class are the elements to be considered in a student's participation grade for this class. The grade for students' participation will be evaluated on the quality rather than simply the quantity of the students' performances.

If you have a documented medical issue, the sooner you talk to the Professor the better. Extensions for any graded item in this class will only be given to students with documented illness that are brought to the attention of the Professor with documentation provided before the assignment due date or date of exam. Retroactive extensions will not be given. There will be no makeup assignments or exams, no re-grading of assignments or exams, and no allowance for missed assignments or exams.

If you are athletes representing the school in competitions or with other similar duties, the schedule of assignments and exams can be found on the syllabus, so you know when you might have a conflict of schedule. You will want to address those conflicts now.

For last minute medical emergencies, please provide documentation as soon as possible.

The Professor will not accept any communication from your parents or coaches or other people.

To repeat: there will be no re-grading of any assignment for any reason whatsoever.

Policies for late submission: Assignments and exams in this class have specific due dates that are clearly listed on the syllabus and announced in class and on blackboard. Any late submission of

any assignment will not be taken or graded. Students who miss any assignment or exam should not expect to be allowed any makeup. Only those students who convey their legitimate reasons for missing any assignment or exam to the Professor and TAs before an assignment is due or an exam, with the approval granted by the Professor along with documentation submitted, would have their requests for extension considered. Students missing any assignment or exam without prior notice to the Professor and without documentation submitted will not be allowed any makeup. Those who only submit documentation for illness or any other reason after the assignment due dates or exams with their extension requests granted should be aware of the penalty of one grade down (e.g. B to be downgraded to C) from the moment an assignment is late, and then one further grade down each day.

## **CONDUCT OF THE CLASS**

**Lectures:** The expectation is that students will attend lectures and participate in the discussions in class. Students have to complete the assigned readings before the lectures.

**Discussions:** We will attempt to create an atmosphere of tolerance and open discussion in our class. We ask you to recognize every individual's right to have an opinion that might not be yours. However, we need to recognize that even tolerance has its limits. Make sure you base your arguments on credible sources and facts.

**Readings:** The textbooks are available for purchase in the bookstore or elsewhere. All other readings not from the designated textbooks can be found on blackboard.

**Ethical behavior:** We do not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty. Any violation of the USC rules as articulated in SCampus will result in an F for the class. The use of generative AI to complete parts or the entirety of students' assignments or exams is not allowed and will be reported as violation of academic integrity.

**The use of electronic devices:** These can only be used in this class for taking notes.

### **USC Statement on Academic Integrity**

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one's own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another's work as one's own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these

principles. Scampus, the Student Guidebook, contains the Student Conduct Code in Section 11.00, while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A:

<http://www.usc.edu/dept/publications/SCAMPUS/gov/>

Students suspected of academic dishonesty will be referred to the Office of Student Judicial Affairs and Community Standards. The inquiry process is explained at:

<http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/>

### USC Statement for Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with the office of student accessibility services (OSAS). A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from OSAS. Please be sure the letter is delivered to the Professor and your TA as early in the semester as possible. OSAS is located in GFS 120 and is open 8:30 am - 5:00 pm, Monday through Friday. The phone number is (213) 740-0776.

### Support system at USC

[studenthealth.usc.edu/counseling](http://studenthealth.usc.edu/counseling)

counseling and mental health (213) 740-9355

e-mail: [studenthealth@usc.edu](mailto:studenthealth@usc.edu)

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

### **TEXTBOOKS**

Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mauil, Hanns W. ed. 2018. *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The textbooks are available on-line on USC library, and to access the content, students need to log in their USC accounts and then connect to the library's website.

Required readings not in the textbooks will be uploaded on blackboard.

### **COURSE SCHEDULE**

1/16 class 1: introduction and overview of the course

## **1. Conceptualizing international order**

1/18 class 2: what is international order?

Readings:

*After Victory*, chapter 1

Mazarr, Michael J. et. al. 2016. *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation. pages 7 to 29. you can skip the part on the post-WWII liberal international order

1/23 class 3: how do we conceptualize disorder in IR?

Reading:

McKeil, Aaron. 2021. "On the Concept of International Disorder." *International Relations* 35(2): 197-215.

1/25 class 4: how are international orders created?

Readings:

*After Victory*, chapter 3

Mazarr, Michael J. et. al. 2016. *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation. pages 31 to 42

Thought piece due 2/1 by end of the day

## **2. The sovereign state system**

1/30 class 5: sovereignty and the Peace of Westphalia

Reading:

Philpott, Daniel. 2001. *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. chapter 5

2/1 class 6: how the sovereign state prevailed as the dominant unit of IR

Reading:

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. chapter 8

2/6 class 7: critiques of the Westphalian sovereignty

Readings:

Croxton, Derek. 1999. The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty. *The International History Review* 21(3): 569-591.

Osiander, Andreas. 2001. "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth." *International Organization* 55(2): 251-287. you can skip the first 10 pages on the history of the Thirty Years' War

### **3. Nature of the international system: anarchy versus hierarchy**

2/8 class 8: on anarchy

Readings:

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theories of International Politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley. chapters 5 and 6 from page 88

2/13 class 9: on hierarchy

Readings:

Lake, David. 2009. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. chapters 2 and 3

2/15 class 10: on asymmetry

Reading:

Womack, Brantly. 2016. *Asymmetry and International Relationships*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. chapter 1

2/20 class 11: critiques of anarchy, and various possible forms of anarchy

Readings:

Milner, Helen. 1991. "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." *Review of International Studies* 17(1): 67-85.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

Reflection paper 1 due 2/27 by end of the day

#### **4. Structure of the international system: polarity**

2/22 class 12: on unipolarity

Readings:

Wohlforth, William C. 1999. "The Stability of a Unipolar World." *International Security* 24(1): 5-41.

Monteiro, Nuno. 2014. *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. chapter 6

2/27 class 13: on bipolarity

Readings:

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theories of International Politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley. chapter 8

Copeland, Dale. 1996. "Neorealism and the Myth of Bipolar Stability: Toward a New Dynamic Realist Theory of Major War." *Security Studies* 5(3): 29-89.

2/29 class 14: on multipolarity

Readings:

Deutsch, Karl W. and J. David Singer. 1964. "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability." *World Politics* 16(3): 390-406.

Christensen, Thomas J. and Jack Snyder. 1990. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44(2): 137-168.

Reflection paper 2 due 3/7 by end of the day

3/5 class 15: term paper workshop

3/7 3/12 3/14: spring break

## **5. International orders in different regions**

3/19 class 16: international order of historical East Asia

Readings:

Fairbank, John K. ed. 1968. *The Chinese World Order*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. chapters 1 and 2

Kang, David. 2010. *East Asia before the West*. New York: Columbia University Press. chapter 2

Ringmar, Erik. 2012. "Performing International Systems: Two East-Asian Alternatives to the Westphalian Order." *International Organization* 66(1): 1-25.

3/21 class 17: the regional order of contemporary East Asia

Readings:

Goh, Evelyn. 2013. *The Struggle for Power: Hegemony, Hierarchy, and Transition in Post-Cold War East Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. chapter 4 and pages 208 to 222

3/26 class 18: regional order of the Middle East

Readings:

Lustick, Ian S. 1997. "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective." *International Organization* 51(4): 653-683.

*The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, chapter 7



3/28 class 19: regional order of Africa

Readings:

Herbst, Jeffrey. 1989. "The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa." *International Organization* 43(4): 673-692.

Hongoh, Joseph. 2016. "The Asian-African Conference (Bandung) and Pan-Africanism: the Challenge of Reconciling Continental Solidarity with National Sovereignty." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70(4): 374-390.

4/2 class 20: European integration

Readings:

McNamara, Kathleen R. 2015. *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. chapter 1

McNamara, Kathleen R. 2018. "Authority Under Construction: The European Union in Comparative Political Perspective." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1510-1525.

## **6. International orders in different issue areas**

4/4 class 21: order in diplomacy

Readings:

Pouliot, Vincent. 2016. *International Pecking Orders: The Politics and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. chapters 3 and 4

4/9 class 22: order in security

Reading:

*The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, chapter 11

4/11 class 23: international regimes governing climate change and health

Readings:

*The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, chapters 2 and 3

## 7. Wrapping up: the prospects of and challenges to the current international order

4/16 class 24: the future of American hegemony and the liberal international order

Readings:

*After Victory*, pages 270 to 273

*The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, chapter 10

Nye, Joseph S. 2019. "The Rise and Fall of American Hegemony from Wilson to Trump." *International Affairs* 95(1): 63-80.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca and Ayşe Zarakol. 2021. "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents." *International Organization* 75(2): 611-634.

4/18 class 25: would China seek to build a new international order?

Readings:

*The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*, chapter 12 and the part on the United States and China as ordering powers in the conclusion

Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Jeremy L. Wallace. 2021. "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 635-664.

4/23 class 26: student presentations of term papers

4/25 class 27: student presentations of term papers

Term paper due by 5/2 by end of the day