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Fall 9-1-2010

### PSC 230X.01: International Relations

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## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Fall 2010

Professor Paul Haber                                      Phone: 243-4862                      Email: paul.haber@umontana.edu  
Political Science Department, course #230                                      Tuesday and Thursday 9:40 – 11:00  
Office Hours in LA 355. Tuesday and Thursday 12:30 - 2:00 and by appointment

### Teaching Assistants

Nic Feeney Email: [nf142566@umconnect.umt.edu](mailto:nf142566@umconnect.umt.edu) Office hours: MW 2:00-3:30  
Kimberly Sharpe. Email: [ks140742@umconnect.umt.edu](mailto:ks140742@umconnect.umt.edu) Office hours: TR 11:30-1:00

Office hours held in Corbin Hall 347.

Required text (available at the UC Bookstore):

Manfred Steger. (2009). *Globalisms: The Great Ideological Struggle of the Twenty-First Century*. Roman and Littlefield. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition.

**\*\*In addition, a large number of articles listed below have been placed on Blackboard and more articles may be added over the course of the semester. It is a requirement of this class to learn how to access blackboard.**

*Once you have learned how to ask questions - relevant and appropriate and substantial questions - you have learned how to learn and no one can keep you from learning whatever you want or need to know.*

Neil Postman

This course is designed to introduce students to the serious study of global politics. Students are required to read all assigned readings **carefully and before the class period for which they are assigned.** We will discuss and debate questions raised by the readings in class. It will be near to impossible to follow – let alone participate – in these discussions if you have not already read the material. The TAs are available to discuss the reading and lectures with individuals and groups. Students are strongly encouraged to make use of this opportunity, especially if you are having difficulty understanding the material. Start early and go often. Do not wait until you are in a crisis situation because it is often too late at that point to improve as much as would have been possible if you had addressed your confusions earlier.

Students are also **required** to follow current international events with attention to detail. There are a number of ways to do this. Perhaps the best and easiest is to read international news coverage in one of the major newspapers (New York Times, LA Times, Miami Herald, Chicago Tribune. Another good way to do this is to subscribe to The Washington Post national weekly edition. **Reading the Missoulian does not get the job done.** One can supplement reading either the New York Times or the Post with other publications that focus on international affairs. Some suggestions include Harper's, Atlantic Monthly, New York Review of Books, Foreign Affairs, and Foreign Policy. All of these and more are available free on line. Listening to National Public Radio is also helpful.

Your grade will be based on three exams (each exam is worth 1/4 of total grade), and quizzes and homework assignments (together worth 1/4 of total grade). Exams and quizzes/homework assignments will be based on assigned readings, lectures, class discussions, films, and guest speakers. There will be no make-ups for quizzes except in cases of emergencies – medical emergencies will require a doctor's note. Make-up quizzes will be given orally by one of the TAs within three days of the missed quiz unless other arrangements are made (in advance!). If you are not in class on a quiz day you will receive a zero. Sometimes the dates for quizzes will be announced in class, other times they will not. Your lowest two grades on quizzes and homework assignments will not count toward your grade. Make-up exams will be allowed, but only with a doctor's note, or for non-medical emergencies, with a typed statement addressed to the professor. Quizzes, homework assignments and exams will not be handed back in class, it takes too much time. However, students are

welcome to pick them up from the TAs during their office hours. Students should not make a habit of missing class: your grade will likely suffer.

If you miss a lecture, you are responsible to meet with a TA and find out what you missed. If you miss a film showing, you are responsible for locating a copy of the film and watching it on your own. If you miss a guest speaker, you are responsible for finding out what was discussed. If you are going to miss an exam due to illness or emergency, you must contact the professor **before the exam** date and arrange a makeup. If you do not, you will not be able to make up the exam and will receive an F grade for that exam.

It may become necessary, over the course of the class, to rearrange assignments or alter the schedule. Any changes in scheduling will be announced in class. If you miss class, you are responsible for checking with another student or TA for lecture notes and any announcements that may have been made regarding scheduling or assignments. I do not post nor do I lend out copies of my lecture notes.

## **Section I: Historical Overview**

### **Week 1**

Aug. 31: Introduction and discussion of class. In class video: *Home*

Sept. 2: General overview and History. In class video: *Home*

- Frieden, Lake, and Schultz, *World Politics*, Chapter 1, pp. 4-23.

### **Week 2**

Sept. 7: Overview continued

- Frieden, Lake, and Shultz, finish Chapter 1, pp. 23-38.

This reading provides an historical overview. The first reading covers the period from the mercantilism of the 1500s to World War II. The second reading is from the Cold War to the present.

### ***Supplemental readings:***

- Jim Hansen, "The Threat to the Planet." New York Review of Books, July 2006.

## **Section II: The Roots of Globalization**

Sept. 9: In class video: *Commanding Heights*, Part 1 "The Battle of Ideas"

- Manfred Steger, *Globalisms*, Chapter 1, "The Roots of Market Globalism," pp. 1-21.

The video talks about the differing currents of thought between folks like Keynes and von Hayek and how their influence has shifted global economic thought and policy. The video is about 2 hours long. We will begin today and finish next class.

### ***Supplemental readings:***

- Theodore Levitt, "The Globalization of Markets," in Steger, *Globalization: The Greatest Hits*, pp. 16-32.
- Roland Robertson and Kathleen White, "What is Globalization," in George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 54-64.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The west has won: Radical Islam can't beat democracy and capitalism. We're still at the end of history," *Guardian*, October 11, 2001.

### **Week 3**

Sept. 14:

- Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” in Henry Nau, pp. 316-332.
- 4 Theories of International Relations

The Fukuyama article is a classic and lends insight into the intellectual basis of neoconservatism. The other readings introduce students to four of the major international relations theories.

Sept. 16:

- Bruce R. Scott, “The Great Divide in the Global Village,” in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, pp. 290-302.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, “Why Multinationals Help Reduce Poverty,” *World Economy*, Vol. 30, Iss. 2, (2007), pp. 211-228.

These two readings provide differing views of how globalization is affecting global society, the poor specifically. Bhagwati emphasizes the positive effects of Multinational Corporations and Foreign Direct Investment while Scott highlights the growing inequality between and within nations as they open their economies.

## **Section III: What is Globalization?**

### **Week 4**

Sept. 21:

- Steger, *Globalisms*, Chapter 2, “The Academic Debate Over Globalization,” pp. 21-50.

#### ***Supplemental readings:***

- John Tomlinson, “Cultural Globalization,” in George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 352-366.
- Pankaj Ghemawat, “Why The World Isn’t Flat,” in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., pp. 319-324.
- William H. McNeill, “Globalization: Long Term Process or New Era in Human Affairs?” in Steger, *Globalization: The Greatest Hits*, p. 294-303.

Sept. 23:

- Ziauddin Sardar, “Cultural Homicide, Ayoh!” in Eitzen and Baca Zinn, *Globalization: The Transformation of Social Worlds*, pp. 166-170.
- Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in Steger, *Globalization: The Greatest Hits*, pp. 33-45.

These two articles present different views on the cultural implications of globalization. Sardar is representative of the school of thought that argues that globalization essentially means Americanization or Westernization. Appadurai has a very different position. He argues that different cultures remain different even as they integrate themselves into the globalized world.

## Week 5

Sept. 28:

- Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, “Globalization: A Necessary Myth?” in Steger, *Globalization: The Greatest Hits*, pp. 71-84.
- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, “Preface to *Empire*,” in Steger, *Globalization: The Greatest Hits*, pp. 85-89.

These two articles speak to each other as Hirst and Thompson argue that globalization is not really global as it is mainly occurring in the US, W. Europe, and parts of Asia. Hardt and Negri, on the other hand, claim we are in a completely new epoch where globalization is not only global, but influences all spheres of life. Reading the two together can make for an interesting debate.

Sept. 30:

- **Test 1 review session**

## Week 6

Oct. 5:

- **Test 1**

## Section IV: Globalization’s Changing Face

Oct. 7:

- Steger, Chapter 3, “From Market Globalism to Imperial Globalism,” pp. 51-97.

### ***Supplemental Readings (not posted on blackboard but not hard to locate electronically):***

- Henry Luce, “The American Century,” originally from *Life* magazine 1941, reprinted in *Society*, Vol. 31, Iss. 5, (1994), pp. 4-11.
- Project for the New American Century, “Statement of Principles,” June 3, 1997, at <http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm>
- David Dollar and Aat Kraay, “Spreading the Wealth,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, Iss. 1, (2002), pp. 120-133.
- Andrew Bacevich, “Prophets and Poseurs: Niebuhr and Our Times,” *World Affairs*, Vol. 170, Iss. 3, (2008), pp. 24-37.

## Week 7

Oct. 12:

- Martin Wolf, “The ‘Magic’ of the Market,” in Henry Nau, pp. 471-489.

Wolf provides an interesting counterpoint to Steger.

Oct. 14:

- Joseph Stiglitz, “The Future of Global Governance,” in Serra and Stiglitz, *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered*, pp. 309-324.

Joe Stiglitz is a Nobel Prize Winner (in economics) who has held important governmental posts in the US government and at the World Bank. He is quite critical of the status quo. He argues that political globalization has not kept up with the economic side. He lays out multiple problems and then in the second part of the article provides specific steps to take to fix them. Pretty much an article version of his widely read and cited book, *Making Globalization Work*.

## Week 8

Oct. 19:

- Thomas L. Friedman, "Manifesto for the Fast World," *New York Times Magazine*, March 28, 1999.
- Robert D. Kaplan, "Supremacy by Stealth," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 292, Issue. 1, (2003).

Both of these authors argue in defense of globalization and in support of US leadership in the world. Both raise the issue of the use of force by the United States.

## **Section V: The Left's Challenge to Globalization**

Oct. 21:

- Steger, Chapter 4, "Challenges From the Political Left: Justice Globalism," pp. 97-131.

### ***Supplemental Readings:***

- Amartya Sen, "Capitalism Beyond the Crisis," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 56, No. 5, (2009).
- Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16:4, (1974), pp. 87-107.
- James Petras, "Who Rules the World?" in D. Stanley Eitzen and Maxine Baca Zinn, eds., *Globalization: The Transformation of Social Worlds*, (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006).
- Robert J. Antonio, "The Cultural Construction of Neoliberal Globalization," in George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 67-83.
- Richard Kahn and Douglas Kellner, "Resisting Globalization," in George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, pp. 662-674.

## Week 9

Oct. 26:

- Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "Dependent Capitalist Development in Latin America," in Henry Nau, pp. 628-637.
- Dani Rodrik, "Trading in Illusions," in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., pp. 325-332.
- Leo Panitch, "Thoroughly Modern Marx: Lights. Camera. Action. Das Kapital. Now." In Henry Nau, pp. 79-83.

These articles add to the Steger chapter by providing explanations for the motivations of the alter-globalization movements. While Steger certainly touches on these causes most of the chapter is spent on describing the history of the World Social Forum. The Cardoso and Rodrik articles point out the causes of the leftist challenge; the Panitch article highlights the continued relevance of Marx with particular reference to the current economic crisis.

Oct. 28:

Development Day 1. The required reading for today is pp. 1-38 of the readings posted on blackboard entitled "Development Readings." The second half of these articles, pp. 39-74, will be read later in the semester.

### ***Supplemental Readings:***

- "The Global Economic Crisis and Developing Countries: Effects, Responses, and Options for Sustainable Recovery," *Poverty & Public Policy: Vol. 2: Iss. 2, Article 8*.
- Obama MDG Strategy
- Nancy Birdsall, "A Letter to Clinton, Jones, and Summers
- A couple of short articles (that can be found on blackboard)

## **Week 10**

Nov. 2:

- No Class. Election Day.

Nov. 4:

- **Test 2 review session**

## **Week 11**

Nov. 9:

- **Test 2**

Nov. 11:

- No Class. Veterans Day.

## **Section VI: The Right's Challenge to Globalization**

### **Week 12**

Nov. 16:

- Steger, Chapter 5, "Challenges from the Political Right: National Populism and Jihadist Globalism," pp. 131-158.

### ***Supplemental Readings:***

Andrew Bacevich, "The War We Can't Win," *Harper's*, November 2009.

Nov. 18:

- Roxanne Lynn Doty, "Why is people's movement restricted?" In *Global Politics: An Introduction*, pp. 170-191.

### **Week 13**

Nov. 23:

- Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" in Henry Nau, pp. 332-346.
- Alissa J. Rubin, "How Baida Wanted to Die," in Henry Nau, pp. 397-406.

The Huntington and Rubin readings are quite different. The Huntington piece is a classic. The Rubin article is an interesting focus on one individual woman who was a suicide bomber that got arrested before she could go through with it. She presents a variety of causes for why she wants to be a suicide bomber and thereby may provide insight into the wider jihadi movement.

Nov. 25:

- No Class. Thanksgiving Holiday.

## **Section VII: Global Governance**

### **Week 14**

Nov. 30:

Conway W. Henderson, "The Rise of International Law," Chapter 1 in *Understanding International Law*, pp. 3-24.

Rhoda E. Howard and Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights in World Politics," in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., pp. 504-516.

The first reading is a general overview of international law. Some would argue that Henderson overemphasizes how powerful and binding international law actually is. In contrast, the second article talks about the difficulties in creating and enforcing international law, specifically around human rights. Note that this second article was published in 1987 and thus has a Cold War bent to it.

Dec. 2:

Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, "The Challenges of Global Governance," in Henry Nau, pp. 699-715.

This article is a pretty straightforward description of global actors and institutions (IGOs, NGOs, MNCs, civil society, etc.), how they interact with each other, and the difficulties in creating a global governance regime. Doesn't go into detail about globalization, but does state that the need for global governance is obviously more acute because of growing interconnectedness and interdependence.

## **Week 15**

Dec. 7:

- Development Day 2. The required reading for today is pp. 39-74 of the readings posted on blackboard entitled "Development Readings." Supplemental readings are listed under Development Day 1.

Dec. 9:

- **Test 3 review session**

## **Week 16**

Finals Week:

- **Test 3**