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## Political Science 122A: WORLD ORDER

Winter 2001  
 TR 4-5:50 (1209B Bunche)

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:** This course examines the ways in which states have attempted to establish order in the anarchical international system. The course is divided into five parts: theory, tools, history, issues, and alternatives. We will examine the theory of world order, the tools available to states to maintain order, historical cases, and the various issues that challenge the order in the post-Cold War international system. Finally, we will conclude with an exploration of whether the state system can be reformed or are there alternative world orders for the future.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:** three required texts and two exams (midterm and final).

**Texts and Readings:** Assigned readings for each topic should be completed prior to the class session for which they are assigned. Having the reading completed prior to the lecture will make for a more lively and interesting discussion.

There are **three** required books for the course available for purchase at the ASUCLA Bookstore (they are also on reserve in College Library).

Hedley Bull. 1995. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. 2nd edition. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George. 1995. *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of our Time*. 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Maryann Cusimano, ed. 2000. *Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda*. Boston/New York: Bedford/St. Martin's Press.

The topics we will cover include historical and contemporary issues. I will regularly pass out articles from newspapers, magazines, and so forth that address these various issues. For a better understanding of international relations in general, and world order specifically, I encourage you to read a daily newspaper (*Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*), listen to the radio (National Public Radio, 89.3 and 89.9 FM), and read weekly news magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *US News and World Report*, *The Economist*) and academic journals (*Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Security*, *Security Studies*).

**Exams:** There is a **midterm** and a **final** exam. Examination questions will be drawn from the readings and the lectures. Both exams consist of identification and short answer essays. The midterm will be held on **February 8**. The final exam will be two hours in length and is scheduled for Thursday, **March 22 (3-5 pm)**. The final exam is not cumulative. Early examinations are not permitted. Anyone who cannot take the exams at the scheduled time and place should not enroll in the course.

**Grading:** The midterm is worth 35% of your final grade, and the final exam, 65%. You are graded on the content of your answer as related to the question(s). After receiving the midterm exam, if you think that your midterm score was too low (after having looked over your lecture notes and the readings, as well as the reader's comments), you are required to type up a written response for each question demonstrating that your answer deserved additional points. It is your responsibility to point out any errors within two weeks after the midterm has been handed back to the class. In terms of incomplete grades, University regulations (Academic Senate Regulation A-309 (A)) stipulate that "the grade 'I' may be assigned when a student's work is of passing quality, but is incomplete. The grade 'I' shall only be assigned when the student establishes to the instructor's satisfaction that his work is incomplete for good cause." Thus, any possible consideration of an "I" will occur only if a student has received a passing grade on the midterm.

**Study questions:** On this syllabus I have included questions from the readings for each topic we will cover that will help you to focus on the authors' main arguments and prepare for the examinations. There are no study questions from the lectures.

### TOPICS AND ASSIGNED READINGS

January 9: *What is World Order? Why do we care?*

Cusimano, "Beyond Sovereignty: the Rise of Transsovereign Problems" (ch. 1)

1. What is meant by transsovereign issues and how do they affect the 'security dilemma' in the post-Cold War period?
2. How is sovereignty being challenged today?
3. What are the four waves of democratization and how does the fourth wave differ from previous ones?

**NATURE OF WORLD ORDER: Theory**

January 11: *The Study of World Order in an Anarchical World*

- Bull: “The Concept of Order in World Politics” (ch. 1)  
 “Does Order Exist in World Politics?” (ch. 2)

1. Compare and contrast the elements of the various types of international society in history (Christian, European, and World societies).
2. What are the weaknesses of the argument that anarchy prevents international order and society?

January 16: *Order in the International System*

- Bull: “How is Order Maintained in World Politics?” (ch. 3)  
 “Order versus Justice in World Politics” (ch. 4)

1. How do primitive and international societies differ?
2. How do the various institutions of international order conflict with the principles of international justice?

**MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL ORDER: Tools**

January 18: *Balance of Power*

- Bull: “The Balance of Power and International Order” (ch. 5)  
 Craig and George: “Deterrence” (ch. 14)

1. How does the balance of power fulfill the three functions of international order?
2. How can deterrence be used to maintain international order? What evidence supports this argument? How can deterrence fail?

January 23: *The Great Powers: Crisis Management and Spheres of Influence*

- Bull: “The Great Powers and International Order” (ch. 9)  
 Craig and George: “Crisis Management” (ch. 16); “Détente” (ch. 18)

1. Does Bull’s argument and evidence regarding China, the US, and the Soviet Union as great powers, still hold today?
2. How has crisis management changed, given the historical evidence?

January 25: *International Law*

- Bull: “International Law and International Order” (ch. 6)

1. How has international law changed in the contemporary world?

January 30: *Diplomacy and Negotiation*

- Bull: “Diplomacy and International Order” (ch. 7)  
 Craig and George: “Negotiation” (ch. 13); “Coercive Diplomacy”(ch. 15)

1. What are the distinctions about diplomacy and how have they changed today? Is diplomacy relevant today?
2. When does coercive diplomacy succeed; when does it fail?

February 1: *War and the Use of Force*

- Bull: “War and International Order” (ch. 8)  
 Craig and George: “War Termination” (ch. 17)  
 “The Role of Force in Diplomacy” (ch. 19)  
 “Problems of Ethical and Moral Restraints on the Use of Force in Foreign Policy” (ch. 20)

1. Historically states have gone to war for three objectives. Do these still matter today?
2. How has the debate between the “never again” and “limited war” schools affected US foreign policy in the 1990s?

February 6: *International Organizations and Regimes*

- Tafe, “Intergovernmental Organizations” (ch. 9)  
 Cusimano, “The Challenge to Institutions” (ch. 11)

1. What is meant by the post-Cold War period of transition is one of change and continuity?
2. How have IGOs responded to failed states in the past and how do failed states challenge the post-Cold War order?

3. What is the argument regarding open societies, open markets and open technologies as they affect the post-Cold War period?
4. What are the obstacles to institutional change in the post-Cold War period?
5. “Why are existing institutions modified more frequently than new institutions created”? What is necessary for institutions to change in order to meet the changing circumstances of the post-Cold War period?

## February 8: MIDTERM

### ORDER IN HISTORY: 1815-1998

#### February 13: *Balance of Power in History: 1815-1914*

- Craig and George: “The Emergence of the Great Powers” (ch. 1)  
 “Eighteenth-Century Diplomacy” (ch. 2)  
 “Balance of Power, 1815-1914: Three Experiments” (ch. 3)

1. In light of the evidence of conflict between the great powers during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was there a general consensus (community of states)? If so, what were the areas of general agreement?
2. How did the three variants of the 19<sup>th</sup> century European balance of power differ? How were they similar?

#### February 15: *World War I and the Interwar Period*

- Craig and George: “System-Building, 1919-1939” (ch. 4)  
 “Public Opinion and Foreign Policy” (ch. 5)  
 “Economics and Foreign Policy” (ch. 6)  
 “Totalitarian and Democratic Diplomacy, 1919-1939” (ch. 7)

1. What factors explain the failure to build an effective international system after WWI?
2. How did public opinion and economics affect the foreign policies of the major powers in the interwar period?

#### February 20: *World War II and the Cold War*

- Craig and George: “A Postwar System of Security: Great Power Directorate or United Nations?” (ch. 8)  
 “The Cold War as International System” (ch. 9)  
 “From Détente to the End of the Cold War” (ch. 10)

1. What lessons did FDR learn from the failure of the post-WWI peace settlement? What options were available to FDR to accomplish the two critical tasks he faced? Which option did he think was most viable and why?
2. What were the four components of Nixon/Kissinger’s détente policy? Why did détente fail?

## February 22: NO CLASS

#### February 27: *The Post-Cold War World*

- Craig and George: “The Evolving International System” (ch. 11); Epilogue

1. How do the challenges of international order in the post-Cold War period differ from the past? How should the US establish international order in the post-Cold War period?
2. What was the diplomatic revolution? What were its factors?
3. How has the growth of interdependence challenged realist assumptions? How does interdependence affect international order in dealing with issues and managing relations among states in the future?

### ISSUES CHALLENGING WORLD ORDER: Security, Economics, and Social

#### March 1: *Security: UN Peacekeeping Operations*

- Godson and Williams, “Strengthening Cooperation against Transsovereign Crime: A New Security Imperative,” (ch. 5)  
 Kane, “Leaving Home: the Flow of Refugees” (ch. 6)  
 Lee and Ford, “Nuclear Smuggling,” (ch. 3)  
 Long, “Countering Terrorism beyond Sovereignty” (ch. 4)

1. How does transsovereign crime threaten “governability, state sovereignty, and international security”?
2. What role can the private sector play in dealing with transsovereign crime?
3. How does the “income gap” contribute to migration?
4. What are Kane’s recommendations for dealing with the issue of refugees?
5. What are the proximate causes of nuclear smuggling?
6. What responses do Lee and Ford recommend for dealing with nuclear smuggling?

7. What are the five characteristics of terrorism?
8. What are Long's recommendations for combating terrorism?

March 6: *Economics*

Cusimano, Hensman and Rodrigues, "Private-Sector Transsovereign Actors--MNCs and NGOs" (ch. 10)

1. How do NGOs promote open societies?
2. How do MNCs "promote the spread of technology"?
3. What are the arguments for and against "debt-for-nature swaps"?

March 8: *Social: human rights, environment, population*

Flynn, "The Global Drug Trade versus the Nation-State: Why the Thugs are Winning" (ch. 2)

Pirages and Runci, "Ecological Interdependence and the Spread of Infectious Disease" (ch. 7)

Wirth, "Globalizing the Environment" (ch. 8)

1. "Why is the war on drugs going so badly"?
2. What are the costs of pursuing supply-side policies?
3. What is the link between "migration, urbanization, and disease" in terms of ecological interdependence?
4. How have the "nascent responses to emerging disease threats...raise[d] questions about the future of sovereignty in an increasingly global system"?
5. What is meant by "sustainable development"?
6. What is Wirth's argument regarding "democratization of the development process" as a means to deal with environmental problems?

**FUTURE OF ORDER: Reform or alternatives?**

March 13: *Is the States System Obsolete? Are there alternatives? World Order*

Bull: "Alternatives to the Contemporary States System" (ch. 10)

"The Decline of the States System" (ch. 11)

"The Obsolescence of the States System" (ch. 12)

"The Reform of the States System" (ch. 13)

1. What are the five criticisms of the argument that the states system is in decline?
2. How does the state system relate to the difficulties of social and economic justice?
3. How can the states system be reformed so as to promote a more effective world order?
4. Bull outlines four possible structures for the current states system. What are the arguments for and against each structure?
5. What are the pros and cons of the five alternatives to states structure?

March 15: *Wrap-up and Review*

Bull: "Conclusion" (ch. 14)

Cusimano, "Sovereignty's Future: The Ship of Theseus and Other Conclusions" (ch. 12)

1. What is the "third way" that Cusimano argues for "fighting transsovereign problems"?
2. How is sovereignty changing?

**MARCH 22: FINAL EXAM Thursday, March 22 (3-5 pm)**