# **Case Studies on Transnational Issues and International Cooperation**

Spring Semester 2020

This syllabus is not yet finalized and may change until the beginning of the semester. To account for the shortened semester due to the Coronavirus, the length of the required essay assignments will be adjusted upwards compared to the initial version of this syllabus.

Class Hours: Thursday, 9:30-12:30

**Location:** Bldg. 140-2, Rm. 202

**Instructor:** Max Nurnus

Email: MNurnus@gmail.com

Office hours based on appointment

# **Course Description**

This course offers an exploration of contemporary transnational relations. It stands in contrast to the canon of International Relations theory with its focus on state-to-state interactions. Instead, this course looks at a number of other actors, forces and themes in global affairs. Among the topics it deals with are the past and future of nation states, nationalism and cosmopolitanism, the role of cities and transnational elites in international affairs, and prominent arguments such as the Clash of Civilizations and the End of History.

The goal of this course is to equip students with concepts and perspectives to critically examine and interpret currents events on the international stage. The approach of this course, thus, is broad and global in scope. It does not deal with any of its topics in an extensive and in-depth manner but rather aims to provide a variety of perspectives and to illuminate the connections between them. There are no prerequisites for enrollment, although some prior experience with International Relations theory is helpful.

# **Assignments & Grading**

Beyond class attendance and active, critical participation, students are expected to fulfill several writing assignments over the course of the semester.

- Two essays due on May 6<sup>th</sup> and June 18<sup>th</sup> at 11:59pm. The goal of these essays is to develop and present an argument based on the course contents of the preceding weeks. The topics of the essays and further details regarding length, style, expectations and grading will be provided two weeks in advance.
- Weekly response papers of one to two pages that must be sent in via email the day before every session by 6pm. These response papers are meant to showcase a critical and creative

engagement with the required reading materials and serve as the foundation for in-class discussions. They do not have to adhere to any specific structure or style and are not meant to summarize the reading materials. Instead, they can raise questions about the reading materials, compare them with each other as well as other course contents, express criticism, link the reading materials to current events, etc. Further details regarding the grading of the response papers will be provided during the first session of the course.

Grading considers three elements: class participation (40%), the two essays (30%), and the weekly response papers (30%). In addition, adherence to the course policies can be reflected in grading.

Depending on the number of students enrolled, the assignments and their relative importance for grading as well as the course policies may be adjusted at the beginning of the semester.

## **Course Policies**

Students are expected to be on time, to not miss more than two sessions of the course, and to prepare for class with the reading materials. Please refrain from using laptops, tablets and phones during the class if they interfere with your attention and participation in the class. Violations of these policies will be reflected in grading. Plagiarism will not be tolerated and results in a fail.

# **Schedule and Reading Materials**

## #1 – March 19<sup>th</sup>: Course Introduction

#### Recommended Readings

Nye, Joseph S., and Robert O. Keohane. 1971. "Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction." International Organization 25 (3): 329–49.

Risse, Thomas. 2007. "Transnational Actors and World Politics." In *Corporate Ethics and Corporate Governance*, edited by Walther Ch. Zimmerli, Klaus Richter, and Markus Holzinger, 251–86. Berlin: Springer.

Jönsson, Christer. "States Only? The Evolution of Diplomacy." In *The Transformation of Foreign Policy: Drawing and Managing Boundaries from Antiquity to the Present*, edited by Gunther Hellmann, Andreas Fahrmeir, and Milo Vec, 242–62. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

# #2 – March 26<sup>th</sup>: The State

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge, MA and Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Chapters 1 and 3.

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In Bringing the State Back In, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Recommended Readings

Desch, Michael C. 1996. "War and Strong States, Peace and Weak States?" International Organization 50 (2): 237–68.

Leander, Anna. 2004. "Wars and the Un-Making of States: Taking Tilly Seriously in the Contemporary World." In *Contemporary Security Analysis and Copenhagen Peace Research*, edited by Stefano Guzzini and Dietrich Jung, 69–80. London: Routledge.

# #3 – April 2<sup>nd</sup>: Nationalism

Özkirimli, Umut. 2005. Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 2.

Özkirimli, Umut. Theories of Nationalism - A Critical Introduction. Houndmills and New York: Macmillan, 2000. Chapter 2.

Greenfeld, Liah. "The World Nationalism Made." American Affairs 2, no. 4 (2018): 145-59.

# Recommended Readings

Billig, Michael. Banal Nationalism. London: SAGE, 1995. Introduction, Chapter 3

Calhoun, Craig. "The Rhetoric of Nationalism." In Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism, edited by Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich, 17–30. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2010. "Charles Tilly as a Theorist of Nationalism." *The American Sociologist* 41 (4): 375–381.

# #4 – April 9th: Cosmopolitanism

Vertovec, Steven, and Robin Cohen. "Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism." In Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice, edited by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, 1–22. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Beck, Ulrich. 2011. "Cosmpolitanism as Imagined Communities of Global Risk." American Behavioral Scientist 55 (10): 1346–61.

Skovgaard-Smith, Irene, and Flemming Poulfelt. "Imagining 'Non-Nationality': Cosmopolitanism as a Source of Identity and Belonging." Human Relations 71, no. 2 (2008): 129–54.

#### Recommended Readings

Roudometof, Victor. 2005. "Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and Glocalization." Current Sociology 53 (1): 113–35.

Schlenker, Andrea, and Joachim Blatter. 2014. "Conceptualizing and Evaluating (New) Forms of Citizenship between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism." Democratization 21 (6): 1091–1116.

Beck, Ulrich. 2002. "The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies." Theory, Culture & Society 19 (1–2): 17–44.

# #5 – April 16<sup>th</sup>: The World State

Campbell, Craig. 2008. "The Resurgent Idea of World Government." Ethics & International Affairs 22 (2): 133–42.

Wendt, Alexander. "Why a World State Is Democratically Necessary." Hiram College, February 28, 2014. http://wgresearch.org/why-a-world-state-is-democratically-necessary/.

Burns, Timothy. "What's Wrong with a World State." Hiram College, February 28, 2014. http://wgresearch.org/what-s-wrong-with-a-world-state/.

#### Recommended Readings

Walzer, Michael. 2010. "Governing the Globe: What Is the Best We Can Do?" In *World Governance: Do We Need It, Is It Possible, What Could It (All) Mean?*, edited by Jovan Babic and Petar Bojanic, 47–60. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Wendt, Alexander. 2003. "Why a World State Is Inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (4): 491–542.

Dufek, Pavel. "Why Strong Moral Cosmopolitanism Requires a World-State." International Theory 5, no. 2 (2013): 177–212.

Ulaş, Luke. "Cosmopolitanism, Self-Interest and World Government." Political Studies 64, no. IS (2016): 105–20.

## #6 – April 23<sup>rd</sup>: The Global City

Sassen, Saskia. 2005. "The Global City: Introducing a Concept." Brown Journal of World Affairs XI (2): 27–43.

Curtis, Simon. 2010. "Global Cities and the Transformation of the International System." Review of International Studies 37 (4): 1923–47.

Badger, Emily. "What Happens When the Richest U.S. Cities Turn to the World?" The New York Times, December 22, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/22/upshot/the-great-disconnect-megacities-go-global-but-lose-local-links.html.

Longworth, Richard C. "Cities Fighting to Lead." The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, n.d. https://digital.thechicagocouncil.org/American-Urban-Rural-Divide/essay-6-9836-17252S.html?

#### Recommended Readings

Sassen, Saskia. 1991. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1 and 10.

Warf, Barney. "Global Cities, Cosmopolitanism, and Geographies of Tolerance." Urban Geography 36, no. 6 (2015): 927–946.

Coman, Julian. "How the Megacities of Europe Stole a Continent's Wealth." The Guardian, November 10, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/nov/10/how-europes-cities-stole-continents-wealth.

# April 30th: Buddha's Birthday – no class

#7 – First Response Essay - Deadline: May 6th, 11:59pm

## #8 – May 7<sup>th</sup>: Transnational Elites

Robinson, William I. 2017. "Debate on the New Global Capitalism: Transnational Capitalist Class, Transnational State Apparatuses, and Global Crisis." *International Critical Thought* 7 (2): 171–89.

Colic-Peisker, Val. "Free Floating in the Cosmopolis? Exploring the Identity-Belonging of Transnational Knowledge Workers." Global Networks 10, no. 4 (2010): 467–88.

Calhoun, Craig. "Brexit Is a Mutiny Against the Cosmopolitan Elite." Huffington Post, n.d. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/craig-calhoun/brexit-mutiny-elites b 10690654.html.

## Recommended Readings

Robinson, William I., and Jerry Harris. "Towards a Global Ruling Class? Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class." Science & Society 64, no. 1 (2000): 11–54.

Helbling, Marc, and Celine Teney. "The Cosmopolitan Elite in Germany: Transnationalism and Post-materialism." Global Networks 15, no. 4 (2015): 446–68.

# #9 – May 14<sup>th</sup>: The Internet

Soffer, Oren. "The Internet and National Solidarity: A Theoretical Analysis." Communication Theory 23, no. 1 (2013): 48–66.

Szulc, Lukasz. "Banal Nationalism in the Internet Age: Rethinking the Relationship Between Nations, Nationalisms and the Media." In Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism, edited by Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich, 53–74. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

O'Hara, Kieron, and Wendy Hall. "Four Internets: The Geopolitics of Digital Governance." CIGI Papers. Center for International Governance Innovation, December 2018.

## Recommended Readings

Frost, Catherine. "Internet Galaxy Meets Postnational Constellation: Prospects for Political Solidarity After the Internet." The Information Society 22, no. 1 (2006): 45–49.

Malcomson, Scott. Splinternet: How Geopolitics and Commerce Are Fragmenting the World Wide Web. New York and London: OR Books, 2016. Chapter 3.

# #10 – May 21st: Populism

Cleen, Benjamin de. "Populism and Nationalism." In The Oxford Handbook of Populism, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, 342–62. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Ingram, James D. "Populism and Cosmopolitanism." In The Oxford Handbook of Populism, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, 644–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Moffitt, Benjamin. "Transnational Populism? Representative Claims, Media and the Difficulty of Constructing a Transnational 'People." Javnost - The Public 24, no. 4 (2017): 409–25.

## Recommended Readings

Baker, Peter C. "We the People': The Battle to Define Populism." The Guardian, January 10, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/jan/10/we-the-people-the-battle-to-define-populism.

Panayotu, Panos. "Towards a Transnational Populism: A Chance for European Democracy (?) The Case of DiEM25." POPULISMUS Working Paper #5. Thessaloniki, 2017.

Vickers, Edward. "All Quiet on the Eastern Front?: Populism, Nationalism, and Democracy in East Asia." Georgetown Journal of International Affairs 18, no. 2 (2017): 59–68.

# #11 – May 28th: The Clash of Civilizations

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations." Foreign Affairs 72 (3): 22–49.

Bettiza, Gregorio, and Fabio Petito. 2018. "Why (Clash of) Civilizations Discourses Just Won't Go Away? Understanding the Civilizational Politics of Our Times." In *The "Clash of Civilizations" 25 Years On: A Multidisciplinary Appraisal*, edited by Davide Orsi, 37–51. Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (8): 1191–1226.

## Recommended Readings

O'Hagan, Jacinta. "Discourse of Civilizational Identity." In Civilizational Identity: The Production and Reproduction of "Civilizations" in International Relations, edited by Martin Hall and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, 15–31. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus. "Civilizations as Actors: A Transactional Account." In Civilizational Identity: The Production and Reproduction of "Civilizations" in International Relations, edited by Martin Hall and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, 33–49. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Nossal, Kim Richard. 63-75. "The Kin-Country Thesis Revisited." In *The "Clash of Civilizations"* 25 Years On: A Multidisciplinary Appraisal, edited by David Orsi. Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing.

# #12 – June 4<sup>th</sup>: The End of History

Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" The National Interest, Summer 1989.

Kagan, Robert. 2008. "The End of the End of History." The New Republic, April 2008.

Zhang, Weiwei. 2011. The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State. Hackensack, NJ: World Century Publishing. Chapter 6.

#### Recommended Readings

Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History and the Last Man. New York: The Free Press, 1992. Part V.

Mueller, John. "Did History End? Assessing the Fukuyama Thesis." Political Science Quarterly 129, no. 1 (2014): 35–54.

Schmitter, Philippe C. "Crisis and Transition, But Not Decline." Journal of Democracy 26, no. 1 (2015): 32–44.

# #13 – June 11th: The Retreat of Doomsday

Mueller, John. Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War. New York: Basic Books, 1989. Introduction, Chapter 10 and 11.

Fettweis, Christopher J. "A Revolution in International Relation Theory: Or, What If Mueller Is Right?" International Studies Review 8 (2006): 677–97.

## Recommended Readings

Mann, Michael. "Have Wars and Violence Declined?" Theory and Society 47, no. 1 (2018): 37-60.

Mueller, John. "Embracing Threatlessness: US Military Spending, Newt Gingrich, and the Costa Rica Option." Washington, D.C.: CATO Institute, 2016.

Fettweis, Christopher J. "Threatlessness and US Grand Strategy." Survival: Global Politics and Strategy 56, no. 5 (2014): 43–68.

#14 – Second Response Essay - Deadline: June 18th, 11:59pm