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Spring 2019

## DIPL 3116/7116 The Washington Seminar on Global Policy Challenges

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**The Washington Seminar on  
Global Policy Challenges  
Old Order, New Order, No Order?  
DIPL 3116/7116**

**Seton Hall University School of Diplomacy  
and International Affairs  
Washington Program**

**Spring 2019  
Friday, 1:00 -3:30 PM  
Professor Catharin Dalpino**

The second half of this decade has seen an unusual number of challenges to the international order<sup>1</sup>, including a political shift to the right in parts of the Western world; the rise of the Islamic State and other new radical groups; the growing military and economic power of China; a resurgent Russia; increasing trade protectionism; and stronger anti-immigration attitudes and policies.

This seminar examines the causes, consequences and possible solutions to these global policy challenges of the 21st century, with an emphasis on their treatment in US foreign policy. Adopting a multi-disciplinary approach, the course will cover such issues as global trends in governance and politics; terrorism; the challenges posed by failing or rogue states; human rights; surging human migration; and a changing world economy.

The course will examine these and other issues from both substantive and practical approaches, and consider the possibilities and limitations to affect their outcome through US foreign policy. Readings, lectures and seminar discussion will be supplemented with meetings with practitioners from Washington-based institutions that currently address these global policy challenges. Given the current fluidity in the international community you should be prepared to receive additional required readings.

### **Course Objectives**

This course is intended to help students:

- o Analyze shifts in the international community that give rise to new threats and issues;

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<sup>1</sup> Which has been variously (and inadequately) defined as (1) the post-Cold War order; (2) the liberal order; (3) the Lone Remaining Superpower order, etc.

- o Understand the current US foreign policy apparatus and the workings of key international organizations intended to address these challenges;
- o Explore and assess the roles of non-governmental actors in these forward-looking issues;
- o Be able to produce analyses of these issues from multiple perspectives, and to formulate policy recommendations.
- o Strengthen verbal presentation and policy debate skills, in class discussion, student presentations, and interchange with guest speakers.

### **Course Requirements, Readings and Grading**

Students are expected to attend all classes and to complete the readings and assignments on time. Readings will be available online and/or distributed in class. Because this is a Washington-based course, and intended to examine that policy environment, a variety of resources will be utilized: government documents, think tank policy briefs, and advocacy briefs, as well as more academic materials. Supplemental readings will be distributed throughout the semester.

Beyond assigned readings, students are encouraged to keep abreast of current events that pertain to global issues. A broad range of information, in print or online, on global policy issues can be found in internationally-oriented newspapers and weeklies (*New York Times*; *Financial Times*; *The Economist*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, etc); the websites of think tanks (Council on Foreign Relations; Brookings Institution; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Heritage Foundation, as well as institutions that specialize in regions or functional issues); journals that specialize in foreign policy (*Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy* and a wide range of others) and blogs that cover foreign affairs (such as *The Cable*, operated by *Foreign Policy* magazine). Since the issues covered by the course are often the subject of heated debate, random internet findings should be treated with caution and possible partisan views should be taken into account. The instructor is happy to consult with students on resources at any time. The remarks of guest speakers should be considered resources and may be cited in class papers and other exercises, unless the speaker specifies that some or all of his or her remarks are off the record.

The course is structured around a variety of exercises designed to strengthen student analytical, writing and verbal presentation abilities. Class participation is critical and is three-pronged: attendance, ability to discuss assigned readings, and ability to integrate current international events into the discussion.

### Course Exercises

Formal course exercises are as follows:

- o A short (2-3 pages) paper analyzing the impact of a current global policy issue, following a template provided by the instructor. 15% of grade.
- o An in-class, open-book midterm examination, to test students' ability to

- analyze a variety of global policy issues and their impact on the international community. 30% of final grade.
- o A final paper and in-class presentation, in which students will track a single global policy issue through the US foreign policy process (which includes relevant international organization), illuminating various institutional perspectives and culminating in a set of policy recommendations. Students will make in-class presentations based on their papers. Guidelines for this exercise will be provided, and students should clear their topics with the instructor. The paper will count for 30 of the final grade and the presentation will count for 10%.
- o 15% of the final grade will be based on the student's class participation.

The short paper and final paper are due in class on the day specified, or by midnight on that day, emailed to the instructor at [profdalpino@earthlink.net](mailto:profdalpino@earthlink.net). If you choose to email your paper as an email attachment, please be sure to put your name on the paper itself - not just on the email!

### **And Now A Word From South Orange (University Policy)**

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here:

[<https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>](https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf)

[<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>](http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm)

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at [\(973\) 313-6003](tel:9733136003) or by e-mail at [DSS@shu.edu](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard page.

## **CLASS READINGS AND SCHEDULE**

### **1. January 18: Introduction to the Course**

### **2. January 25: Globalization and Its Discontents**

Although many analysts view globalization as a late 20th century phenomenon, a case can be made that it dates back to the beginning of human history. Changes in world order can be driven by major external events (e.g., the collapse of the Soviet Union) or by less sweeping or concrete trends, such as growing economic inequality. This class will take an aerial view of the current state of globalization.

- Zaki Laidi, "Is Multilateralism Finished?" Project Syndicate, May 18, 2018, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/is-multilateralism-finished-by-zaki-laidi-2018-05>

- Stewart Patrick, "The World Order Is Starting to Crack," *Foreign Policy*, July 25, 2018, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/25/the-world-order-is-starting-to-crack>

### **3. February 1: Terrorism and Counter-terrorism after September 11**

When does a "boots on the ground" approach work and when should it be avoided? Is it possible to win a war against terrorism? How do recent extremist groups depart from the post-September 11 Al Qaeda model?

- Central Intelligence Agency, *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, 2003* February 2003, <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/>

- Daniel Byman and Jennifer R. Williams, "ISIS vs. Al Qaeda: Jihadism's Global Civil War," Brookings Online, The Brookings Institution, February 24, 2015 <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/isis-vs-al-qaeda-jihadisms-global-civil-war/>

### **4. February 8: Fragile States, Failing States and Societies in Conflict**

Unstable states can be a danger not only to themselves but also to their neighbors and, ultimately the international community. However, the international community has often applied a "fire engine" approach to such states, addressing them only when they have reached (or gone beyond) a dangerous tipping point. Are more preventive policies possible?

- Foreign Policy, "The 2018 Fragile States Index," *Fragile States Index*, Washington, DC, 2018

- Robert I. Rotberg, "Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators," Woodrow Wilson Center Project on Leadership and Building State Capacity,

available at  
[http://www.brookings.edu/press/books/chapter\\_1/statefailureandstateweaknessinatimeofterror.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/press/books/chapter_1/statefailureandstateweaknessinatimeofterror.pdf)

## 5. February 15: Political Instability, Democracy and Human Rights

At the end of the Cold War, the United States and other Western nations adopted stronger policies to promote democracy and human rights. The results have been mixed at best, and there have been episodic rifts between the advanced democracies and “soft authoritarian” states on the cultural bases of rights and the advantages and disadvantages of democracy. However, authoritarianism appears to be making a comeback.

- Fareed Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6, (Nov/Dec 1997), <http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~lebel/FZakariaIlliberalDemocracy1997.pdf>
- Mark P. Lagon, “Promoting Human Rights: Is U.S. Consistency Desirable or Possible?” Council on Foreign Relations, October 2011, <http://www.cfr.org/human-rights-us-consistency-desirable-possible/p26228>
- Choose two country reports in the State Department’s most recent Annual Human Report, available at [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov). They should be from two different regions; one should be an advanced economy and the other should be a middle-income or least-developed economy. What differences in the protection of rights do you note in these two countries? Be prepared to discuss the two cases in class.

## 6. February 22: Migration and Immigration Issues

**(Short impact papers due)**

Because of the strong connection between international and domestic dynamics, as well as the economic and security crises that create refugee and other migration flows, immigration issues have taken a front row seat in many Western countries.

- International Organization of Migration (IOM), *World Migration Report 2018*, <https://www.iom.int/wmr/world-migration-report-2018>
  - o Chapter 1: “Making Sense of Migration in an Increasingly Inter-connected World”
  - o Chapter 2: “Migration and Migrants: A Global Overview”
- “Five Myths About the Refugee Crisis,” *The Guardian*, June 5, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jun/05/five-myths-about-the-refugee-crisis>
- Sarah Pierce and Andrew Selee, “Immigration Under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election,” Migration Policy Institute, December 2017, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TrumpatOne-final.pdf>

**7. March 1: Midterm examination (In class and open book)**

**8. March 8: The Response of National Governments to Global Issues**

Is the proliferating portfolio of global threats and issues a serious mismatch for the continued system of the nation-state? How do national governments assess global issues? What are their strengths and weaknesses in addressing them?

- Daniel R. Coates, *Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community*, (Statement for the Record), February 13, 2018,

<https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/2018-ATA---Unclassified-SSCI.pdf>

**(Note: By this time the 2019 Threat Assessment may have been delivered to Congress; if so, we will read an updated version)**

- Martin Wolf, "Will the Nation-State Survive Globalization?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (Jan/Feb 2001), <http://srliebel.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/wolf-fa-2001.pdf>

**(NO CLASS MARCH 15 - SPRING BREAK)**

**9. March 22: Is The International Financial System Passé?**

Is the Bretton Woods system dead? Has Washington abdicated its role as the financial helmsman of the world, or will it soon? Which rising powers are likely to shape a new international financial system?

- Jonathan Masters, "The International Monetary Fund," Background Paper, Council on Foreign Relations, October 9, 2013,

<http://www.cfr.org/europe/international-monetary-fund/p25303>

- Adam Davidson, "How the Dollar Stays Dominant," *The New Yorker*. September 4, 2017, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/09/04/how-the-dollar-stays-dominant>

**10. March 29: Global Civil Society: Can It Ever Counter-Balance Governments?**

International NGO's are increasingly active in global affairs. But are they effective? And are they always an unalloyed good?

- Ronald Deibert and Rafal Rohozinski, "Good for Liberty, Bad for Security? Global Civil Society and the Securitization of the Internet," in Deibert, Palfrey, Rohoziski, Zittrain (eds), *Access Denied*, MIT, 2007, <http://access-opennet-net/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/accessdenied-chapter-6.pdf>
- Jessica Matthews, "Power Shift: The Age of Nonstate Actors," *Foreign Affairs*, 76:1 (January-February, 1997)
- Kenneth Roth, "The Great Civil Society Choke-Out," *Foreign Policy*, January 27, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/27/the-great-civil-society-choke-out-human-rights-democracy-india-russia-china-kenya/>

**11. April 5: Old Media, New Media and the Digitalization of Global Affairs**

New forms of media may aid policymakers but they also put unprecedented pressure on them.

- Clay Shirkey, "The Political Power of Social Media," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (January-February 2011)
- Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen, "The Digital Disruption: Connectivity and the Diffusion of Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 6 (November-December 2010)

**12. April 12: Global Political Fault Lines**

Is a global elite emerging that will dominate governance, or are national populations retrenching into nationalist and even isolationism? Is there a discernible movement to the right among governments? What, if anything, needs to be revised or reinvented in governance to adjust to the realities of globalization, both positive and negative?

- Chrystia Freeland, "The Rise of the New Global Elite," *The Atlantic*, January, 2011, [www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archives/2011/01/the-rise-of-the-new-global-elite/308343](http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archives/2011/01/the-rise-of-the-new-global-elite/308343)

- Glimpse from the Globe, "Correspondents Weigh In: Global Shift to Nationalism and the Far Right," Glimpse from the Globe, November 27, 2018,

<http://www.glimpsefromtheglobe.com/features/weigh-in-series/correspondents-weigh-in-global-shift-to-nationalism-and-the-far-right>

- Max Fisher, "The Weakness in Liberal Democracy That May Be Pulling It Apart," *New York Times*, November 1, 2018,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/01/world/americas/democracy-brazil-populism.html>

**13. May 3: Student Project Presentations**

**14. May 10: The Changing World Order: The View in 2019**

**(FINAL PAPERS DUE BY 11:59 PM)**