

## 2402308 Development of the International System (DEV INTL SYS)

1/2025, Monday 13.00-16.00 hrs<sup>1</sup>

*Course instructor and coordinator: Associate Professor Dr. Kasira Cheeppensook  
(kasira.c@chula.ac.th)*

*Course instructors: Assistant Professor Dr. Teewin Suputtikun (teewin.s@chula.ac.th);  
Assistant Professor Dr. Pongphisoot Busbarat (pongphisoot.b@chula.ac.th)*

*Guest lecturer: Dr. Phacharaphorn Phanomvan na Ayudhya (phacharaphorn.p@chula.ac.th)*

Office hours by appointment via e-mail

### Course description

This course aims to build an understanding of the making of the modern international system. It explores transitions and transformations of sovereignty and relationships between states from the collapse of late antiquity to the establishment of the "Westphalian System" in the early modern period, and the subsequent post-World War order. Students will critically explore historical phenomena that impact the contemporary world order through conflicts and cooperations.

### Learning outcomes

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- Describe and explain the development of the international system;
- Discuss historical contexts shaping contemporary international order with special reference to current issues;
- Critically analyse issues and phenomena related to international politics based on historical perspective;
- Engage in well-informed academic debates on relevant actors' behaviours in the international system
- Assess the trajectory of ongoing international politics;
- Evaluate Thailand's role within the changing international dynamics

### Learning and teaching methods

The course (3 hours per week) is lecture based. However, students are highly encouraged to participate actively in class. Reading materials are mostly available online or will be distributed via myCourseVille platform. Students are also able to make an appointment with lecturers for further discussions and clarifications.

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<sup>1</sup> Except indicated otherwise. See teaching calendar.

## Teaching Calendar

Class	Date	Topic	Instructor
1	4 Aug	Introduction to the course	Kasira, Teewin, Pongphisoot
		Transition and Transformation 250-900	Phacha
	11 Aug	No class (national holiday)	
2	13 Aug	The Medieval World 900-1300	Phacha
3	18 Aug	Renaissance, Recovery, Reform 1450-1650	Phacha
4	25 Aug	Beginning of the Great Divergence	Phacha
5	1 Sep	Europe in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century (1)	Teewin
6	8 Sep	Europe in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century (2)	Teewin
7	15 Sep	Europe in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century (3)	Teewin
	22 Sep	Midterm exam	
	29 Sep	No class (graduation ceremony)	
8	6 Oct	The Road to the Great War	Kasira
9	8 Oct	Post-War Order (League of Nations)	Kasira
	13 Oct	No class (national holiday)	
11	20 Oct	Contemporary International System after WWII (1)	Pongphisoot
12	27 Oct	Contemporary International System after WWII (2)	Pongphisoot
10	29 Oct	Post-War Order (United Nations)	Kasira
13	3 Nov	Contemporary International System after WWII (3)	Pongphisoot
14	10 Nov	Contemporary International System after WWII (4)	Pongphisoot
15	17 Nov	Contemporary International System after WWII (5)	Pongphisoot
	24 Nov	Final exam	

### Week 1: Transition and Transformation 250-900 (Phacharaphorn)

This week we discuss the legacy of the late antiquity which laid the foundations for modern states and the international systems. We will explore the different historical thoughts embedded in our approaches towards the past and present, and the limits of narratives and historical analysis.

#### Essential Readings

- Wickham, C. (2009). *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*. United Kingdom: Viking.

- Burbank, J., & COOPER, F. (2010). *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1g248v9>

#### Additional Readings

- Di Cosmo, N., & Maas, M. (Eds.). (2018). *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250–750*. Cambridge University Press. \*\*\* (highly recommended)

- Belich, J., Darwin, J., Frenz, M. and Wickham, C. eds., 2016. *The prospect of global history*. Oxford University Press. Read the Introduction Chapter

- Iver B. Neumann, *The Steppe Tradition in International Relations: Russians, Turks and European State Building 4000 BCE–2017 CE*

## **Week 2: The Medieval World 900-1300 (Phacharaphorn)<sup>2</sup>**

This week we will be looking at the dynamics of the ‘high’ medieval world, a period of transition. Global empires, while Europe constructs a pan-Christendom identity. The Eurasian-African world developed advanced economic and cultural centers that eventually would nurture 17<sup>th</sup> century European thinkers. We will explore the dynamics of ‘feudalism’ as a concept, and its Eurocentric origins; as well as explore the different forms of power and emergence of civil identity.

### **Essential Readings**

- Holmes, Catherine, and Naomi Standen. "Introduction: Towards a global Middle Ages." *Past & Present* 238.suppl\_13 (2018): 1-44.
- Sen, Tansen. *Buddhism, diplomacy, and trade: the realignment of Sino-Indian relations, 600-1400*. University of Hawaii Press, 2003. (Introduction)
- Bisson, Thomas. *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship and the Origins of European Government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- West, Charles. *Reframing the feudal revolution: political and social transformation between Marne and Moselle, c. 800–c. 1100*. Vol. 90. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Bisson, Thomas. “The Feudal Revolution.” *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6-42.
- Wickham, Chris. “Debate: the ‘Feudal Revolution’ IV.” *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 197-208.

### **Additional Readings**

- Gomez, Michael. *African Dominion: a new history of empire in early and medieval West Africa*. Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Goldberg, Jessica. *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: the Geniza Merchants and their Business World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Nora Berend, ed. *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarch. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus', c. 900-1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

## **Week 3: Renaissance, Recovery, Reform 1450-1650 (Phacha)**

This period is marked by a reduction in population and agricultural production had been sharply reduced by the plague; it saw both rises to new levels. At the same time, the development of cross-European trade began the process of economic specialisation. Explorers, adventurers and merchants were opening up the New World of America, Africa and Asia, laying the basis of a future world economy. Expansion of the material world was matched by enlargement of intellectual and cultural horizons. Rising mercantilism, sovereign debt and conflict marked this period in European history. Subsequently, this led to a new breakthrough in international systems, orthodoxly defined by the Peace of Westphalia. In this unit, we will discuss the idea of 'early modern Europe' particularly problems and challenges that emerged with the 1950s and 1960s thinkers which heavily influenced modern scholarship and policymakers. We will be focussing on the consequences of 'Westphalia' myth and historiographical traditions surrounding early modernism.

### **Essential Readings**

- Mathieu, X., 2020. Sovereign myths in international relations: Sovereignty as equality and the reproduction of Eurocentric blindness. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 16(3), pp.339-360.

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<sup>2</sup> For week 2-4, the instructor may announce updates on readings via MyCourseVille

- Wilson, Peter H. *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Grafe, Regina and Maria Alejandra Irigoin. "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation State and Empire Building." *Oxford Economic and Social History Working Papers*, no. 065. University of Oxford, Department of Economics, 2006
- Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Pamuk, Şevket. "The Black Death and the origins of the 'Great Divergence' across Europe, 1300–1600." *European Review of Economic History* 11, no. 3 (2007): 289-317.

### **Additional Readings**

- de Vries, Jan. *European Urbanization, 1500–1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984.
- Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Geevers, L. and Gustafsson, H., 2023. 1. Building Dynasties, Shaping States: Dynasty and State Formation in Early Modern Europe. *Dynasties and State Formation in Early Modern Europe*, p.7.
- Christman, Victoria. *Pragmatic toleration: the politics of religious heterodoxy in early Reformation Antwerp, 1515-1555*. Vol. 17. Boydell & Brewer, 2015.

## **Week 4: Beginning of the Great Divergence (Phacha)**

### **Essential Readings**

- Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*. London: Penguin, 1994.
- Williamson, J.G., 1996. Globalization, convergence, and history. *The Journal of Economic History*, 56(2), pp.277-306.
- Court, Victor. "A reassessment of the Great Divergence debate: towards a reconciliation of apparently distinct determinants." *European Review of Economic History* 24.4 (2020): 633-674.
- (Look at chapter 1, and conclusion chapter to the origin of this debate in): Pomeranz, K., *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*
- Engerman, S.L. and Sokoloff, K.L., 2002. Factor endowments, inequality, and paths of development among new world economics (No. w9259). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Brandt, L., Ma, D. and Rawski, T.G., 2014. From divergence to convergence: reevaluating the history behind China's economic boom. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 52(1), pp.45-123.

### **Additional Reading**

- Allen, R.C., 2011. *Global economic history: a very short introduction* (Vol. 282). Oxford University Press.

## **Week 5-7: Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: The Concert of Europe (Teewin)**

Toward the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the international order of Europe was shaken by political transformation in France. The French Revolution had multiple implications to relations among European states. As the product of Enlightenment, it spread liberal value across nations and challenged the status quo of monarchy. Europe's international politics in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century was another interesting and eventful episode worth devoting our time and intellect to examine. This is because it was the wellspring of many precedents that became parts of today's international institutions. Shaken by the turmoil of French Revolution and the subsequent French Empire, the

European great powers sought ways to ensure that such a threat to their sovereignty would not recur. They thus formed a system that marked an early attempt of “collective security.” The so-called Concert of Europe was to counter the incessant tide of liberalism and nationalism that swept across Europe since the French Revolution and threatened the monarchic regimes as well as the territorial status quo. It was born out of the consensus that cooperation was needed to deal with this common threat. Despite inherent challenges, the system arguably maintained stability of Europe well unto the early 20th Century. We will take a look at the motive and rationale behind the order and explore how the system persisted, how it crumbled, and what it contributed to the creation of today’s international relations.

### Readings

- Sherman, Dennis and Joyce Salisbury. *The West in the World: Volume II from 1600*, Chapter 16, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 2008.
- Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*, Chapter 4-5. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.
- Watson, Adam. *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis*, Chapter 21. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Buzan, Barry and George Lawson, “The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations.” *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2013): 620-634.

### Week 8-10: Post-World Wars Orders (Kasira)

This bloc will explore the peacebuilding efforts in the forms of two international organizations: the League of Nations and the United Nations: the second great international effort to establish the lasting peace in the world. We will look at the events leading to the founding of the League, and pay particular attention to the key functions the League was aimed to be responsible for, as well as the succeeding series of inactions contributing to its demise. The Period of Total War and Reorganization (1939-1946), in a way a search of a new international system, preceded another attempt at international organization creation lasting till today. From the League to the UN, what are the lessons to be learned? What are the legacies from the collapsed peace-building efforts? We will explore the road to UN as well as the Charter key principles and organs. The UN political functions and operational functions will be studied to understand peacebuilding project in the contemporary world.

### Week 8 “The Road to the Great War” Readings

- Caron, David D. “War and International Adjudication: Reflections on the 1899 Peace Conference.” *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 94, no. 1, 2000, pp. 4–30.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Michelle Jurkovich. “Getting a Seat at the Table: The Origins of Universal Participation and Modern Multilateral Conferences.” *Global Governance*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2014, pp. 361–373.
- Howland, Douglas. “An Alternative Mode of International Order: The International Administrative Union in the Nineteenth Century.” *Review of International Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2015, pp. 161–183., doi:10.1017/S0260210514000114.
- Mombauer, Annika. “Guilt or Responsibility? The Hundred-Year Debate on the Origins of World War I.” *Central European History* 48, no. 4 (2015): 541-64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43965205>.

### Week 9 “Post-war order (1): League of Nations” Readings

- Bennett, A. Leroy and James K. Oliver. “A Great Experiment: The League of Nations.” In *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2002.

- Steiner, Zara. "7. The Geneva Dream: The League of Nations and Post-War Internationalism." In *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Webster, Andrew. "The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism." *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2016, pp. 139–169.

### **Week 10 "Post-war order (2): United Nations" Readings**

- Bennett, A. Leroy and James K. Oliver. *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2002. [Chapter 3-5]
- Karns, Margaret P. and Karen A. Mingst. "The United Nations: Centerpiece of Global Governance." In *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2015
- Kratochwil, Friedrich and Edward D. Mansfield, eds. *International Organization and Global Governance: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Pearson Inc., 2006. [Chapter 4]

### **Weeks 11-15: Contemporary International System after WWII – Cold War, Post-Cold War Order, the Rise of China, and the Current Major Power Competition (Pongphisoot)**

The final section of the course will examine the evolution of the contemporary international system in the aftermath of World War II. While Europe has traditionally been regarded as the core of the international order, this part of the course will also highlight East Asia as an increasingly pivotal region in global politics. Particular attention will be given to the rise of China, which marks a significant turning point in the global order and signals a renewed era of great power rivalry. This development invites students to critically consider the trajectory of the international system and reflect on the open-ended question: in which direction is the international order heading? The key discussion will focus on the following issues:

- The strategic dynamics among major powers during the final phase of World War II;
- The emergence of the Cold War, with emphasis on the rivalry between the Free World and the Communist bloc;
- The global implications of the Cold War, particularly its influence on the security architecture, political developments, and economic transformation of East Asia;
- The post-Cold War international system, focusing on the role of the United States and the shifting regional order in East Asia;
- The rise of China, including an analysis of its foreign policy objectives, strategic behavior, and impact on contemporary global politics; and
- The intensifying strategic competition between the United States and China, with attention to emerging areas of rivalry such as military modernization, artificial intelligence, climate change governance, and broader geopolitical influence.

### **Readings**

- Yahuda, Michael. *The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 2011. (Chapter 1-3)
- Öniş, Ziya. "Review: The Logic of the Developmental State." *Comparative Politics* 24, no. 1 (Oct 1991): 109-126.
- Buzan, Barry. "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3, no.1 (2010): 5–36.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3 (2010).

- Zhao, Suisheng. "A Revisionist Stakeholder: China and the Post-World War II World Order." *Journal of Contemporary China* 27, no. 113 (2018): 643-658.
- Goh, Evelyn. "Southeast Asia's Evolving Security Relations and Strategies," in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations of Asia*, edited by Saadia M. Pekkanen, 462-480. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Ikenberry, G John. "Three Worlds: the West, East and South and the competition to shape global order", *International Affairs*, vol.100, no. 1 (2024): 121–138.
- Mokry Sabine, Julia Gurol. "Competing ambitions regarding the global governance of artificial intelligence: China, the US, and the EU". *Global Policy*, vol.15, no.5 (2024): 955-968.

### Course evaluation

Class attendance	20%
Midterm exam	40%
Final exam	40%

Rubric will be available later for relevant parts via myCourseVille platform.

### AI Policy

The use of generative AI tools (e.g. ChatGPT, Dall-e, etc.) is permitted in this course for the following activities:

- Brainstorming and refining your ideas;
- Drafting an outline to organize your thoughts; and
- Checking grammar and style – including citation form. The purpose is to format your citation for consistency, not for the program to generate the source.

Source for policy reference: Center for the Advancement of Teaching, Temple University