Rey Koslowski Professor Political Science University at Albany 202 Milne Hall rkoslowski@albany.edu RPOS 599 Wed 6:00-8:50PM Synchronous Distance Office Hours: Tues. 11:30-1:30 PM & Apt

Global Mobility, Contagious Disease and International Relations

Fall 2020

Preliminary draft syllabus

Unprecedented human mobility across international boundaries at the rate of over 2 billion international travelers per year increased humanity's vulnerability to contagious diseases with security consequences that have major ramifications for International Relations. Air travel that now connects all populations made the rapid worldwide spread of the novel coronavirus possible and renders humanity vulnerable to COVID-19 until a vaccine is given to as much of the world's population as is necessary to contain the disease through global herd immunity. This course examines: the security consequences of human mobility and disease in world history; the role of isolation and quarantine to control disease transmission within a broader discussion of state controls over borders, the relationship between epidemics and national security as well as international political economy; and, finally, international cooperation on global mobility and public health.

Prerequisites: There are no prerequisites for the course.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course, all students should:

- 1. Understand the historical evolution of human mobility and contagious diseases
- Understand how major theories of international relations address (or fail to address) the subjects of disease and mobility
- 3. Understand the implications of global mobility and pandemics for international relations
- 4. Identify key concepts in readings and describe the steps of an argument
- 5. Critically evaluate common readings in discussions with instructor and fellow students
- 6. Ask incisive questions of texts as well as of fellow seminar participants
- 7. Be able to speak and write effectively about course topics in formats appropriate to career goals.

Teaching mode: Fully remote synchronous distance learning using Zoom. This means that even though we all won't be meeting in a physical classroom, we're going to try to create a classroom experience on Zoom that's as close as possible to being in a regular classroom. To help achieve that goal, I would like all students who take this course to do the following when joining via Zoom:

- Situate yourself in a place that's suitable for learning—ideally in a quiet room where you can sit upright in a chair and place your laptop or mobile device on a stable surface for capturing your Zoom video:
- Join the Zoom meeting right at the start of each class and remain in the meeting until the class is dismissed;
- Keep your camera turned on throughout the class and keep your face in the picture;

- Keep your microphone turned off when other people are speaking, but be ready to turn it on when you're asked to speak; and
- Ensure that your Zoom window displays the name you would like me to refer to you by.

*If you think you may have difficulty with any of these items, please don't hesitate to get in touch with me so that we can discuss suitable accommodations.

We may also have guest lecturers join class from remote locations using Zoom. Groups of students should also use Zoom to work together on their team projects. All students will give presentations to the class and use Zoom to do so, simply by using the screen share feature of Zoom to give power point presentations. Students aspiring to professional in political science, public policy and international affairs careers should be able to express themselves and communicate in a range of formats and modes from email exchanges and informal dialogues with co-workers to formal written reports and oral presentations to the leadership of their organizations and the leadership of other organizations with whom they may need to negotiate. While presentations often take place in conference rooms similar in size to a seminar room, they may also be done on conference calls and through videoconferences. Hence, class sessions should be considered opportunities to practice and learn effective communication and presentation skills.

Textbooks:

Required:

(available at the UAlbany Bookstore)

William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1976). (any more recent editions/printings are fine)

John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History* (Penguin, 2005) (any more recent editions/printings are fine)

Mark Zacher and Tania J. Keefe, *The Politics of Global Health Governance: United by Contagion* (Palgrave 2008).

Recommended:

Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989). First published as *Epidemic and Peace: 1918* (Greenwood Press, 1976).

Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe 900-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986). (E-book available through UAlbany library; unlimited license)

Additional required readings: The bulk of the readings not in the above books will be journal articles and policy reports that will be posted on Blackboard. Unless noted, all required articles can also be accessed on-line at a under "e-journals" or through Lexis/Nexis. Readings that are not available in the UAlbany e-journal collection and are marked with an asterisk (*) will be made available on Blackboard. The instructor will assign several additional readings after the course begins – refer to the syllabus posted on Blackboard for all assignments and required for each session.

Knowledge of current events: All students should keep abreast of recent developments with respect to the contemporary coronavirus pandemic and international travel by reading a high quality daily news source with good international coverage (e.g. *New York Times*; *Wall Street Journal*; *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*) supplemented by a weekly newsmagazine, such as the *Economist*. Additional online world news sources include: BBC World News https://www.bbc.com/news/world; Reuters World News https://www.npr.org/sections/world/

Guest speakers: We will have guest speakers join the class throughout the semester via Zoom. We may not be able to arrange for some of them to join during our Wednesday evening classes, given that some guests may be connecting from different time zones or may only be able to join during the day, Students may be asked join sessions with guests outside of class periods and, in order for these visits to be worthwhile, most students will need to commit to out-of-class-times (that will be scheduled at the most convenient times for speakers and students).

Description of requirements

- **1. Class participation:** All students are expected to attend all classes, complete all assigned readings in advance of class and be prepared to discuss them, including cold calls. The base line grade for class participation is a D. Routine attendance with minimal participation will earn a C. Regular contributions to class discussion that are appropriate and draw on readings will earn a B. Students who are consistently well prepared to discuss the assigned readings nearly every class and actively participate in discussions will receive an A for class participation.
- **2. Personal statement:** All students are asked to submit a 250-word statement describing their background, academic interests and research objectives as they relate to this course. These should be posted on the discussion forum on Blackboard. Although mandatory, the assignment will not be graded; its purpose is for students (and the instructor) to get to know one another better.
- **3. Reaction memos:** Students will submit **five** brief memos (of approx. 700-1,000 words) in which students react to required weekly readings of five selected class sessions. Students need not cover each and every reading for the week in these memos. The point is to focus on and analyze what you see as important, interesting issues in the reading. The memo should be analytical, not just a summary. These reaction memos are intended generate informed class discussion, so they must be written and submitted **before** class. Students should email their memos to the instructor (must arrive in the instructor's mailbox before class). Each reaction memo is worth 5% of the course grade. Excellent papers will receive 5 points, good 4 points, failing 3 points. A total of **five reaction memos** must be submitted for full credit. Students may choose which week's readings to review, however, reaction memos chosen **must** be distributed in the following manner:

One on or before 9/9

One on or before 9/30

One on or before 10/14

One on or before 10/28

One on or before 11/18

If students do not hand in the required reaction memo by the date specified above, the overdue memo will be considered a failed assignment. They will **not receive credit for the missing reaction memo**.

- **4. Online discussion:** All students should formulate one thoughtful statement about the required readings for each week of class (aside from the first class, i.e., 12 weeks worth). Each statement should explicitly reference one (possibly more) of the assigned readings. Each statement should be concise and direct, 100 200 words long. Statements can explicitly criticize the position of an author, agree with an author or describe how the reading led you to think about or view matters differently. Students must post the statements on the appropriate class session forum of the Blackboard discussion board by 12:00 noon on the day of class. In addition, all students should comment on at least one of their fellow classmate's statements. Again these comments should be concise and direct (but not hostile). These comments may agree or disagree with the student statement being commented upon and should also reference the reading that was the subject of the statement. Comments should be posted no later than 48 hours after the end of the class session and be around 50 -100 words long but, in any case, no more than 200 words.
- 5. Team Project: TBA

6. Term paper: PhD Students are expected to write a paper of about 6,000 - 7,000 words (doublepaced, 12 pt, one inch margins). PhD student papers should demonstrate a command of the theoretical literature relevant to the topic selected and develop an analytical argument related to debates in that literature. Students may do any one of the following: 1) a paper that is based on secondary sources; 2) a paper based mostly on primary sources or 3) a paper based on the analysis of existing data sets or data that the student has collected. Masters students are expected to write a paper of about 4.000-5.000 words. Masters students may opt to model their papers on policy reports published by think tanks such as the Brookings Institution, the Wilson Center, etc. or articles found policy-oriented journals such as Washington Quarterly, etc. All students are expected to draw on material from the syllabus but students should also incorporate significant additional research on the topic chosen (which would be reflected in a majority of references to material not listed as required reading on the syllabus). All students may select a topic of their own choosing as long as it is within the confines of the course and approved by the instructor. For those students having difficulty selecting a topic, a good approach would be to consider a paper topic that delves into the details of one aspect of one of the session topics. At the very beginning of the course, students should carefully review the entire syllabus and scan readings for possible topics. Students are expected to submit a paper topic by Sept. 16. Students are expected to submit a full paper proposal comprised of a 100-150 word abstract, outline and preliminary bibliography by Sept. 23 then schedule a Zoom meeting with the instructor to discuss their project. Students should submit a rough draft of their paper (at least half the total length) by Oct. 21. If students miss the deadline for the proposal or the rough draft, a half letter grade will be subtracted from the final grade for the paper. Students will give a brief presentation (15 minutes max) of their paper project to the class, which will contribute to the overall grade for the paper. Seminar papers are due on Wed. Dec. 2.

Grading

Reaction memos	about 25%
Team project	about 10%
Online discussion	about 5%
Term paper	about 40%
Class participation	about 20%

Grade Scale:

90 and above Α A-88-89 B+ 85-87 В 80-84 78-79 B-C+ 75-77 С 70-74 C-68-69 D+ 65-67 D 60-64 Ε Below 60

Late assignments will be penalized.

Incomplete grades: A tentative grade given only when the student has nearly completed the course but due to circumstances beyond the student's control the work is not completed on schedule. The date for the completion of the work will not be later than one month before the end of the Fall semester. The grade I is automatically changed to E or U unless work is completed as agreed between the student and the instructor.

References: All papers submitted must have all sources properly referenced. The "Harvard style" with intext references to items in a bibliography at the end of the paper is recommended, see:

http://openjournals.net/files/Ref/HARVARD2009%20Reference%20guide.pdf Alternatively, students may use footnotes following the Chicago manual of style. Papers without proper references are unacceptable and will not be read. Papers should be emailed to the instructor.

Academic integrity: All students are responsible for understanding and following the university's rules on academic integrity (see http://www.albany.edu/eltl/academic_integrity.php.) Students must properly reference http://www.albany.edu/eltl/academic_integrity.php.) Students must properly references, including assigned readings, in all written assignments. References to all sources must be clearly indicated. Direct quotations must be marked with double quotation marks (e.g. "...") and the source cited. Indirect quotations must have sources cited. Sources require citation each time they are referred to.

Class schedule:

8/26 Intro

Required:

William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*, Introduction, pp. 19-32.

*William. H. McNeill, "Human Migration: A Historical Overview," in W. H. McNeill and R. S. Adams eds., Human Migration: Patterns and Policies (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1978), 3-19.

*Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, prologue, pp. 1-7

Laurie Garrett, "The Next Pandemic? Foreign Affairs, July/August 2005

Michael T. Osterholm, "Preparing for the Next Pandemic," Foreign Affairs, July/August 2005.

Zacher and Keefe, The Politics of Global Health Governance, Ch. 1, pp. 1-24.

I. Migration and epidemics in world history

9/2 Plagues and peoples

Required:

McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*, Chs. 1-6, pp. 35-296. Barry, *The Great Influenza*, Part 1, pp. 11-87

Recommended:

"The aliens among us: How viruses shape the world," The Economist, Aug. 20, 2020.

"The viral universe: Viruses have big impacts on ecology and evolution as well as human health," *The Economist*, Aug. 20, 2020.

9/9 Influenza pandemic of 1918-19

Required:

Barry, The Great Influenza, Parts 2-10, pp. 89-448.

II. Border controls and public health

9/16 International migration, travel and border controls Required:

Myron Weiner, "Security, Stability, and International Migration," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter, 1992-1993): 91-126.

*Rey Koslowski, "The International Travel Regime," in Rey Koslowski, ed. *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

- Rey Koslowski, The Evolution of Border Controls as a Mechanism to Prevent Illegal Immigration (Migration Policy Institute and European University Institute, February 2011) posted at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/bordercontrols-koslowski.pdf
- Beth A Simmons, "Border Rules," *International Studies Review*, Vol 21, No 2, June 2019, Pages 256–83 Prof. Beth Simmons & Dean Geoff Garrett Interview, May 1, 2020

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sGI1pwrSXCQ

- UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, Vol .18, No. 4 (July 2020) https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/epdf/10.18111/wtobarometereng.2020.18.1.4
- "International Migration Report 2019," UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/ESA/SER.A/438 (67 pp.)

https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/lnternationalMigration2019_Report.pdf

9/23 Epidemics, public health responses and quarantine Required:

- Brock C. Hampton, "Development of the National Maritime Quarantine System of the United States," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 55, No. 28 (July 12, 1940), pp. 1241-1257.
- Mildred L. McKinnon and Louis C. Remund Smith, "Quarantine Inspection of International Air Travelers: Idlewild Airport, New York *Public Health Reports* Vol. 77, No. 1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 65-69.
- Stephen H., Waterman, Miguel Escobedo, Todd Wilson, Paul J. Edelson, Jeffrey W. Bethel, Daniel B. Fishbein, "A New Paradigm for Quarantine and Public Health Activities at Land Borders: Opportunities and Challenges," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 124 (March–April 2009). https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/003335490912400207
- William B. Karesh and Robert A. Cook, "The Human-Animal Link," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005. Tom Inglesby and Benjamin Haas, "Ready for a Global Pandemic? The Trump Administration May Be Woefully Underprepared, *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), November 21, 2017 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-11-21/ready-global-pandemic
- Michael Greenberger, "Better Prepare Than React: Reordering Public Health Priorities 100 Years After the Spanish Flu Epidemic," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 108, No. 11 (Nov 2018): 1465-1468.

Recommended:

- Laurie Garrett, *Betrayal of Trust, The Collapse of Global Public Heath* (New York: Hyperion, 2000), esp. Chapter 4.
- Emerging Infectious Diseases: Asian SARS Outbreak Challenged International and National Responses.

 United States Government Accountability Office, GAO-04-564. Washington, D.C.: April 28, 2004.
- Institute of Medicine, *Quarantine Stations at Ports of Entry: Protecting the Public's Health* (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2006).

9/30 COVID-19 travel restrictions, quarantine and testing Required:

- Yu Liu and Richard B. Saltman, "Policy Lessons From Early Reactions to the COVID-19 Virus in China, *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 110, No. 8 (Aug 2020), pp. 1145-48.
- Doug Saunders, "Why Travel Bans Fail to Stop Pandemics Hasty Border Closures Invite Chaos—and Can Seed New Outbreaks," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), May 15, 2020.
- Rey Koslowski, "Rethinking Air Travel Security to Address the Coronavirus Pandemic," unpublished manuscript.
- Rey Koslowski, "We can make air travel safer with a TSA Public Health Corps staff," *The Hill*, August 16, 2020 https://thehill.com/opinion/healthcare/512219-we-can-make-air-travel-safer-with-a-tsa-public-health-corps-staff.
- Michael T. Osterholm and Mark Olshaker, "Chronicle of a Pandemic Foretold: Learning From the COVID-19 Failure—Before the Next Outbreak Arrives," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2020.

Rockefeller Foundation, National Covid-19 Testing and Tracing Action Plan at:

https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/national-covid-19-testing-and-tracing-action-plan/

Victor Cha, "Asia's COVID-19 Lessons for the West: Public Goods, Privacy, and Social Tagging," *Washington Quarterly*, 43:2 (Summer 2020), pp. 33–50.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) Travel Restrictions database https://migration.iom.int

III Epidemics and national security

10/7 Armies, epidemics and shifts in the balance of power Required:

- Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, ch. 9, pp. 195-216.
- John R. McNeill, "Ecology, Epidemics and Empires: Environmental Change and the Geopolitics of Tropical America, 1600–1825," *Environment and History*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 1999), 175-84.
- John R. McNeill, *Mosquito empires: ecology and war in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914* (Cambridge University Press 2010), pp. 8-11 (these pages available in Google Books).
- *Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic, ch. 9-10, pp. 145-200.
- Peter C. Perdue, "Empire's Little Helper: Chinese history shows that where soldiers march, plague follows," *Foreign Policy*, Summer 2020, pp. 88-89.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The Pandemic and Political Order: It Takes a State," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2020.
- Barry R. Posen, "Do Pandemics Promote Peace? Why Sickness Slows the March to War," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), April 23, 2020
- Kurt M. Campbell and Rush Doshi, "The Coronavirus Could Reshape Global Order: China Is Maneuvering for International Leadership as the United States Falters," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), March 18, 2020
- Branko Milanovic, "Is the Pandemic China's Sputnik Moment? What a Virus Reveals About Two Systems," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), May 12, 2020.
- Kevin Rudd, "The Coming Post-COVID Anarchy: The Pandemic Bodes III for Both American and Chinese Power—and for the Global Order," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), May 6, 2020.
- Bates Gill, "China's Global Influence: Post-COVID Prospects for Soft Power," Washington Quarterly, 43:2 (Summer 2020), pp. 97-115.

10/14 Biological warfare and bioterrorism Required:

- Gregory Koblentz, "Pathogens as Weapons: The International Security Implications of Biological Warfare," *International Security* Vol. 28, Issue 3 Winter 2003, 84-122.
- Gregory D. Koblentz "Biosecurity Reconsidered: Calibrating Biological Threats and Responses," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Spring 2010): 96–132.
- Alexander D. Langmuir and Justin M. Andrews, "Biological Warfare Defense," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 42 (March 1952), pp. 235-238. https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.42.3.235
- David L. Heymann, "The Evolving Infectious Disease Threat: implications for national and global security," *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2, July 2003, 191-207.
- Susan Peterson, "Epidemic Disease and National Security," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Winter 2002/3): 43-81.

Recommended:

Lincoln Chen and Vasant Narasimhan, "Human Security and Global Health," *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2, July 2003, 181-190.

IV. Epidemics and international political economy

10/21 Economic consequences of epidemics and pandemics

- Robert J. Barro José F. Ursúa Joanna Weng, "The Coronavirus and the Great Influenza Pandemic: Mortality and Economic Activity," National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 26866 http://www.nber.org/papers/w26866
- Sergio Correia, Stephan Luck, and Emil Verner, "Pandemics Depress the Economy, Public Health Interventions Do Not: Evidence from the 1918 Flu," June 5, 2020 Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3561560 or https://ssrn.com/abstract=3561560 or https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3561560
- Douglas A. Irwin, "The pandemic adds momentum to the deglobalization trend," Peterson Institute for International Economics, April 23, 2020 https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economic-issues-watch/pandemic-adds-momentum-deglobalization-trend
- Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, "The Future of Globalization: The pandemic proved, once and for all, that the world can't be flat." *Foreign Policy*, Summer 2020, 40-45.
- Pascale Joassart-Marcelli, "The Pandemic Exposes Dangers of the Informal Economy: And It Is Not Just Developing Countries That Are in Trouble," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), May 18, 2020
- Daniel Yergin, "A Pandemic and a Price War Have Together Brought Energy Markets to a Crisis," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), April 2, 2020.
- Carmen Reinhart and Vincent Reinhart, "The Pandemic Depression: The Global Economy Will Never Be the Same," *Foreign Affairs* September/October 2020

10/28 Epidemics and economic development Required:

- Robert Malley and Richard Malley, "When the Pandemic Hits the Most Vulnerable: Developing Countries Are Hurtling Toward Coronavirus Catastrophe," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), Mar. 31, 2020
- David M. Beasley, "The Looming Hunger Pandemic: Coronavirus Threatens to Push Millions Into Starvation," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), June 16, 2020
- Matthew Fisher and Adnan Mazarei "A Possible IMF Pandemic Support Facility for Emerging- Market Countries," Peterson Institute for International Economics, July 2020 https://www.piie.com/sites/default/files/documents/pb20-11.pdf

V. International cooperation on global mobility and public health

11/4 Global mobility regimes

Required:

- *Rey Koslowski, "Global Mobility Regimes: Re-Conceptualizing International Cooperation on Cross-Border Movements of People" in Rey Koslowski, ed. *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, Final Draft July 13, 2018 (34 pp.) https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180711_final_draft_0.pdf
- Rey Koslowski, "International Travel Security and the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration," *International Migration*, Vol. 57, No. 6 (December 2019), pp. 158-172.
- Lena Kainz, "As COVID-19 Slows Human Mobility, Can the Global Compact for Migration Meet the Test for a Changed Era?" Migration Policy Institute, April 2020 https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/covid19-global-compact-migration-faces-test
- Manolo I. Abella, "Labour Migration Policy Dilemmas in the Wake of COVID 19," *International Migration*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Summer 2020), pp. 255-258.
- Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Kate Hooper, "How is COVID-19 Reshaping Labour Migration? *International Migration*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Summer 2020), pp. 259-262.
- M.N.I. Sorkar, "COVID-19 Pandemic Profoundly Affects Bangladeshi Workers Abroad with Consequences for Origin Communities," Migration Policy Institute, July 9, 2020. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/covid-19-pandemic-profoundly-affects-bangladeshi-workers-abroad-consequences-origin

11/11 WHO international health regulations and emergency response Required:

- Mark Zacher and Tania J. Keefe, *The Politics of Global Health Governance: United by Contagion* (Palgrave 2008), chs. 2-6, pp. 25-142.
- Lincoln C. Čhen, Tim G. Evans and Richard A. Cash, "Health as a Global Public Good," in Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg and Marc A. Stern, *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century*, (Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 284-305.
- Laurie Garrett, "The Challenge of Global Health," Foreign Affairs, July/August 2007
- "Global Health Gets a Checkup: A Conversation With Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017.
- Thomas J. Bollyky and David P. Fidler, "It's Time for an Independent Coronavirus Review The World Health Organization and Its Member States Must Learn From Their Mistakes," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), April 24, 2020.
- Theodore M. Brown and Susan Ladwig, "COVID-19, China, the World Health Organization, and the Limits of International Health Diplomacy," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 110, No. 8 (Aug 2020): 1149-51.
- Donald J. Trump's letter to Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, The White House, May 18, 2020 https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Tedros-Letter.pdf
- Harold Hongju Koh, "Trump's Empty "Withdrawal" from the World Health Organization," *Just Security*, May 30, 2020 https://www.justsecurity.org/70493/trumps-empty-withdrawal-from-the-world-health-organization/

Recommended:

Visit World Health Organization website: https://www.who.int

11/18 International cooperation to combat COVID-19

Required:

- Stewart Patrick, When the System Fails: COVID-19 and the Costs of Global Dysfunction, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2020.
- G. John Ikenberry, The Next Liberal Order: The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2020
- Thomas R. Pickering and Atman M. Trivedi, "The International Order Didn't Fail the Pandemic Alone: The United States and China Are Its Crucial Pillars, *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), May 14, 2020.
- Bruce Jones, "Can Middle Powers Lead the World Out of the Pandemic? Because the United States and China Have Shown They Can't," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot* (online), June 18, 2020
- Thomas J. Bollyky and Chad P. Bown, "The Tragedy of Vaccine Nationalism: Only Cooperation Can End the Pandemic, *Foreign Affairs* September/October 2020.
- Paul Meyer James Kondo Christoph Wolff, "Cross-border travel is confusing after COVID this framework can help borders reopen safely," World Economic Forum, Jul. 10, 2020 https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/07/cross-border-travel-covid-commonpass-borders-reopen-safely