

**Colloquium on
Problems in International Security**

Political Science BC 3118

Fall 2018

Tuesdays 2:10-4:00pm, location TBA

Prof. Kimberly Marten

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Course Description and Objectives

This course focuses on the military and security-related actions and relationships of powerful states in the international system. It examines how states use tools, including alliances, economic sanctions, nuclear weapons, cyber weapons, and the natural resource of water, to attempt to preserve or enhance their own power and security, and what the (sometimes unintended) effects of their actions are. While we cannot cover the full gamut of relevant topics in the time available, this colloquium begins to approach these issues by analyzing selected current and recent events, using theories drawn from social science and the policy world. The course's primary goals are to use examples of current international security issues to develop students' ability to analyze and critique competing cause-and-effect arguments, and to pose their own causal arguments based on independent research of the existing secondary-source literature.

Student Learning Outcomes

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of key social science and policy debates about analytic and logical issues in international security.
- Demonstrate factual knowledge of selected historical and current cases where these debates are reflected in real-world events.
- Read critically to assess the explanatory value of competing perspectives and theories.
- Apply contending theories from the social science literature to analyze, compare, and evaluate selected historical and current events, in class discussions and written assignments.
- Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and written assignments.
- Independently design, research, and write a substantial paper of 25-30 pages that explores, and takes a stance on, a significant debate in the social science literature on states and international security.

Assignments and Expectations

Students are **required to attend all course meetings**, to participate regularly in class discussions, and to demonstrate through this participation that they have completed the assigned readings before class is held. Readings have been chosen because they are written by subject-matter experts who make significant arguments in ongoing policy debates. One objective of the course is to encourage **students to develop habits of constructive criticism** as a basis for building their own convincing independent arguments.

If a student is not able to attend a particular course meeting, Prof. Marten must be notified in advance if at all possible. An **alternate assignment** (a one-page written summary and discussion of selected assigned readings) must be completed to receive credit for discussion participation for that day. **All students are allowed to miss one course session for any reason without penalty.**

All written assignments will be submitted on the "Assignments" page on Courseworks. All uploaded files must be in either Word or PDF format. **Twice** during the semester, each student will write a **short (3-to 5-page) argumentative essay** on some aspect of the assigned weekly readings, due before the start of class that week so that the paper is not influenced by our class discussion. Students will choose the

sessions for their essays after the first day of class. (You may choose to discuss all of the readings for a given week, or to focus on just one or two significant readings.) These papers should summarize the relevant points from the selected reading (with page citations) to demonstrate that you have read and understood it thoroughly; and should then make a **cohesive and well-supported independent argument**. Your argument might involve critiquing aspects of the reading itself (remembering that a good critique points out strengths as well as weaknesses); comparing an argument in one reading to another (which might include something discussed earlier in the semester or even in another class); explaining what the reading suggests about solutions to some current policy problem; etc. Prof. Marten will distribute discussion questions before the class meeting, and you are welcome to use one of her questions for your paper if you like. As long as the paper both makes a strong and well-supported argument, and demonstrates that the assigned reading has been done in depth, you have creative license to approach this assignment however you like. A major purpose of these assignments is to allow Prof. Marten to assess the quality of your writing and analysis before the major paper is due, to suggest ways to improve. **Late argumentative essays will not be accepted at all**, because they are not to be influenced by class discussion. Therefore if you must miss a deadline for a critique paper, you will need to sign up to do a different, later critique paper instead.

On days when they submit their argumentative essays, **students will begin our class discussion** after Prof. Marten's opening remarks by briefly summarizing for the class the major argument of the paper they turned in for that day, and posing one discussion question to the class that is drawn from their paper. (That question can be one of those Prof. Marten suggested, or one the student comes up with independently.) This student role in leading discussion will be factored into the course participation grade.

Students will also write a **longer research paper** of 25-30 double-spaced pages on a topic chosen in consultation with Prof. Marten, due by **noon on Tuesday, December 4**, our last class session. Most research papers will use qualitative methods (i.e., not statistics) to examine one or several cases in depth. The goal of most papers will be three-fold: (1) to provide a thorough review of a well-chosen literature, where there is a debate about some causal question related to states and international security; (2) to collect in-depth research about one or more cases, in order to test which of the competing theories explains outcomes best; and (3) to reach an independent conclusion about the causal debate, based on the case(s), and discuss the significance of that conclusion. (Given constraints in timing and skill-levels, there is no expectation that students do primary-source research, unless they wish to do so.)

The process of writing this research paper—not merely the final result—is the heart of the course, and students should plan to spend significant time throughout the semester conceptualizing and rethinking the topic and research strategy as the semester progresses. The frustrations of rigorous research are part of the learning experience of the course. Students will turn in a carefully written and preliminary **research topic statement** (2-3 paragraphs) by **9am on Monday, Oct. 1** (we will discuss them in class on Oct. 2); and a substantial **research proposal** (of at least 3 pages, including a revised topic statement if necessary) with an **annotated draft bibliography** of at least 15 high-quality sources by **5pm on Friday, Nov. 2**. Separate handouts will describe the expectations of each of these assignments.

Senior Capstone Requirement

In addition to the above requirements, all seniors who have designated this colloquium to fulfill their Senior Capstone requirement will be assigned peer partners, with whom they are expected to consult throughout the semester about their major paper assignment. Capstone seniors will hold additional meetings in Prof. Marten's office (mutually convenient times TBA) where peer partners will discuss and provide constructive mentoring and feedback on the research proposal, and the mechanics of the **final poster** required by the department (department due date TBA).

Capstone seniors will present their final research papers in class on the last day of class. The quality of this presentation will be factored into the student's course participation grade. The poster will be displayed at the Barnard major's senior end-of-year party (May 7, 2019). The poster itself will not be graded, but the completion of a poster is required to receive a "Pass" for the senior requirement.

Evaluation

Participation: 20%

Two short papers: 10% each (20% total)

Initial topic statement for longer paper: 5%

Research proposal (and revised topic statement, if necessary): 10%

Annotated bibliography: 5%

Barnard Honor Code

All assignments in this class are to be completed in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code, with expectations outlined in the following paragraph. Any student who violates the Honor Code will face dean's discipline at her or his home college, and will earn a failing grade in the course.

Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources and unpublished sources (such as prior student papers), used in their writing. Students are encouraged to consult with each other to get feedback as they are writing their major research papers and the intermediary assignments associated with the research papers, but no collaboration is allowed when writing the short papers on the assigned readings. All students may use the Barnard Writing Center with no restrictions.

"Plagiarism" is the use of someone else's words or ideas without proper attribution. It is, at its core, the act of falsely implying or claiming credit for intellectual work that someone else did. All students receive in-depth briefings on plagiarism and proper citation techniques as part of their introductory days at Barnard and Columbia; any student who has any remaining questions about proper citation technique or about how to avoid plagiarism should discuss these questions and concerns with Prof. Marten before turning in the assignment in question. Plagiarism is often committed as an act of desperation under pressure. **If you ever feel so pressured on an assignment that you are tempted to plagiarize, please contact Prof. Marten instead.** Together we can work out (for example) a fair extension on a deadline, to ease your panic.

The use of laptops in class is heavily discouraged, except on the research discussion day (Sept. 25) and by Capstone students making their presentations on the last day of class. There may be times when it is necessary to look up a point in the assigned readings, but this should be the exception: students are expected to give their full, undistracted attention to class discussion.

Academic Accommodations Statement

If you are a student with a documented disability and require academic accommodations in this course, you must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS) for assistance. Students requesting accommodations will need to first meet with an ODS staff member. Once registered, students are required to request accommodation letters each semester to notify faculty. Accommodations are not retroactive, so it is best to contact ODS early each semester to access your accommodations. If you are registered with ODS, please see me to schedule a meeting outside of class in which you can bring me your faculty notification letter and we can discuss your accommodations for this course. Students are not eligible to use their accommodations in this course until they have met with me. ODS is located in Milbank Hall, Room 009/008.

Barnard Wellness Statement

It is important for undergraduates to recognize and identify the different pressures, burdens, and stressors you may be facing, whether personal, emotional, physical, financial, mental, or academic. We as a community urge you to make yourself—your own health, sanity, and wellness—your priority throughout this term and your career here. Sleep, exercise, and eating well can all be a part of a healthy regimen to cope with stress. Resources exist to support you in several sectors of your life, and we encourage you to make use of them. Should you have any questions about navigating these resources, please visit these sites:

- <http://barnard.edu/primarycare>
- <http://barnard.edu/counseling>
- <http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about>
- [Stressbusters Support Network](#)

COURSE SCHEDULE

Note: brief news reports will be added to the required reading list as events unfold, and substitutions in more substantive readings may occur as new work is published.

Sept. 4. How do political scientists think about states, security, and war?

Please note: students should read these pieces before our first class. While the examples they use

are dated, the perspectives and theories included here are still used today to explain international security issues, and we will be returning to them throughout the semester. Our discussion today will focus on alternative explanations for events, different levels of analysis, and cause-and-effect arguments.

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998): 29-46.

Available on Courseworks Files:

--Jack S. Levy, "Theories of Interstate and Intrastate War: A Levels of Analysis Approach," in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001), pp. 2-37.

Sept. 11. The decline of America's role in the world: causes and implications.

Available on the open web:

--G. John Ikenberry, "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (January 2018): 7-23,

https://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/gji3/files/inta94_1_2_241_ikenberry.pdf

—Paul Staniland, "Misreading the 'Liberal Order': Why We Need New Thinking in American Foreign Policy," *Lawfare Blog*, July 29, 2018,

<https://www.lawfareblog.com/misreading-liberal-order-why-we-need-new-thinking-american-foreign-policy>

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Revolt: American Populism and the Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 2017): 2-7.

--Keren Yarhi-Milo, "After Credibility: American Foreign Policy in the Trump Era," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2018): 68-77.

Sept. 18. The logic of rising powers: the example of China.

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Elizabeth C. Economy, "China's New Revolution: The Reign of Xi Jinping," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 3 (May/June 2018): 60-74.

--Leszek Buszynski, "The South China Sea: Oil, Maritime Claims, and U.S.–China Strategic Rivalry," *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 139-156.

--Feng Zhang, "Chinese Thinking on the South China Sea and the Future of Regional Security," *Political Science Quarterly* 132, no. 3 (2017): 435-66.

Available on the open web:

--Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" theatlantic.com, Sept. 24, 2015,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/>

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--David C. Kang & Xinru Ma, "Power Transitions: Thucydides Didn't Live in East Asia," *The Washington Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 137-154.

--Recommended, not required (skim for content if interested): Ernesto Londoño, "From a Space Station in Argentina, China Expands its Reach in Latin America," *New York Times*, July 29, 2018.

Sept. 25: The logic of status: the example of Russia.

Available on Columbia Library Web:

--Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, "Russia Says No: Power, Status, and Emotions in Foreign Policy," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47 (2014): 269-79.

--Fyodor Lukyanov, "Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 30-37.

--Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO Expansion: A Counterfactual Analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security* 3, no. 2 (June 2018): 135-161

Monday, Oct. 1: Initial topic statements due on Courseworks by 9am.

Oct. 2: Research discussion day. At the start of class, Prof. Marten will give an introduction to resources available through Columbia Library Web, based on the topics students turn in the day before. Then each student will give a very brief summary of their proposed research topic, followed by a supportive critique by Prof. Marten. The goal is to push each student to define terms clearly and think about causal, as opposed to descriptive or prescriptive, research questions—with the knowledge that everyone in the class is facing the same challenges, and hearing critiques of each other's ideas will make everyone's own ideas more solid.

Oct. 9. The logic of international sanctions: the example of Iran.

Note: while there are a lot of different sources listed today, most of them are short.

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Daniel W. Drezner, "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice," *International Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (Mar. 2011): 96-108.

--Rick Gladstone and Stephen Castle, "Global Network Expels as Many as 30 of Iran's Banks in Move to Isolate Its Economy," *New York Times*, Mar. 15, 2012.

Available on the open web:

--Toni Johnson interview of Hassan Hakimian, "How Sanctions Affect Iran's Economy," May 22, 2012, <https://www.cfr.org/interview/how-sanctions-affect-irans-economy>

--Joy Gordon, "The Human Costs of the Iran Sanctions," The Middle East Channel blog, Oct. 18, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/10/18/the-human-costs-of-the-iran-sanctions/>

--Zachary Laub, "International Sanctions on Iran," Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, July 15, 2015, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/international-sanctions-iran>. (Note the "Resources" list at the end of this article, which provides links to a great deal more factual information for any who are interested.)

--Richard Nephew and Ilan Goldenberg, "Here's What to Expect Now That Trump Has Withdrawn From the Iran Nuclear Deal," ForeignPolicy.com, May 9, 2018, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/05/09/heres-what-to-expect-now-that-trump-has-withdrawn-from-the-iran-nuclear-deal/>. Note: please concentrate NOT on the last two sections, on what Iran will do now (that is an entirely different debate), but instead on the sections detailing the history of the sanctions and what the re-imposition of US sanctions will mean now.

--Natasha Turak, "Europe, Russia and China join forces with a new mechanism to dodge Iran sanctions," cbc.com, Sept. 25, 2018, <https://www.cbc.com/2018/09/25/eu-russia-and-china-join-forces-to-dodge-iran-sanctions.html>

Oct. 16: The logic of nuclear deterrence and coercion: the example of India and Pakistan.

Available on Columbia Library Web:

--Lawrence Freedman, "Framing Strategic Deterrence: Old Certainties, New Ambiguities," *RUSI Journal* (Royal United Services Institute) 154, no. 4 (2009): 46-50.

Available on Courseworks Files:

--Thomas C. Schelling, "The Manipulation of Risk," in *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 92-125.

--Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 3-21, 147-61.

Available on Columbia Library Web:

--Evan Braden Montgomery and Eric S. Edelman, "Rethinking Stability in South Asia: India, Pakistan, and the Competition for Escalation Dominance," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, no. 1-2 (2015): 159-182.

--Karthika Sasikumar, "After Nuclear Midnight: The Impact of a Nuclear War on India and Pakistan," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist* 73, no. 4 (2017): 226-232.

Oct. 23: The logic of nuclear proliferation and deterrence: the example of North Korea.

Available on the open web:

--Eleanor Albert, "North Korea's Military Capabilities," Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, June 6, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/north-koreas-military-capabilities>

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Nicholas D. Anderson, "Explaining North Korea's Nuclear Ambitions: Power and Position on the Korean Peninsula," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 71, no. 6 (2017): 621-641.

--Lani Kim, "South Korea's Nuclear Hedging?" *The Washington Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 115-133.

--Robert Jervis and Mira Rapp-Hooper, "Perception and Misperception on the Korean Peninsula: How Unwanted Wars Begin," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 3 (May/June 2018): 103-117.

Oct. 30. The logic of alliances and extended deterrence: the example of NATO.

Available through Columbia Library Web:

Start with this clear definition of defensive alliances and their logic: "Alliance Commitments," pp. 94-5 of Keren Yarhi-Milo, Alexander Lanoszka, and Zack Cooper, "To Arm or to Ally?: The Patron's Dilemma and the Strategic Logic of Arms Transfers and Alliances," *International Security* 41, no. 2 (Fall 2016).

Available on the open web:

--David A. Shlapak and Michael W. Johnson, "Outnumbered, Outraged, and Outgunned: How Russia Defeats NATO," War on the Rocks, April 21, 2016,

<https://warontherocks.com/2016/04/outnumbered-outraged-and-outgunned-how-russia-defeats-nato/>

--Kimberly Marten, *Reducing Tensions Between Russia and NATO*, Special Report 79, Council on Foreign Relations, March 2017 (pp. 3-42), https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2017/03/CSR_79_Marten_RussiaNATO.pdf

--Michael Rubin, "It's Time for Turkey and NATO to Go Their Separate Ways," *Washington Post Democracy Post* Blog, Aug. 16, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/08/16/its-time-for-turkey-and-nato-to-go-their-separate-ways/?utm_term=.ae36b92e9ca7

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Celeste A. Wallander, "NATO's Enemies Within: How Democratic Decline Could Destroy the Alliance," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2018): 70-81.

Friday, Nov. 2: Research proposal (3 pages) and annotated bibliography (15 sources) due by 5pm on Courseworks.

Nov. 6: Election day holiday, no class meeting. Please vote if you are eligible to do so!

Nov. 13. The logic of cyber conflict between states.

Available through Columbia Library Web:

--Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace," *International Security* 41, no. 3 (Winter 2016/2017): 44-71.

--Erica D. Borghard & Shawn W. Lonergan, "The Logic of Coercion in Cyberspace," *Security Studies* 26, no. 3 (2017): 452-481.

--Jason Healey, "The Spectrum of National Responsibility for Cyberattacks," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 18, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2011): 57-70.

Available on the open web:

--Andy Greenberg, "The Untold Story of NotPetya, the Most Devastating Cyber Attack in History," Wired.com, Aug. 22, 2018, <https://www.wired.com/story/notpetya-cyberattack-ukraine-russia-code-crashed-the-world/>

--Josephine Wolff, "Trump's Reckless Cybersecurity Strategy," New York Times, Oct. 2,

2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/02/opinion/trumps-reckless-cybersecurity-strategy.html>
--Page O. Stoutland and Samantha Pitts-Kiefer, *Nuclear Weapons in the New Cyber Age*,
Nuclear Threat Initiative Report, 2018, pp. 7-29,
https://www.nti.org/media/documents/Cyber_report_finalsmall.pdf

Nov. 20: The logic of climate change: water wars or cooperation in Central Asia and the Middle East?

Available on Columbia Library Web:

--Thomas Bernauer and Tobias Siegfried, "Climate Change and International Water Conflict in Central Asia," *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 227–239.

Available on the open web:

--Zhang Hongzhou, "Can China Solve Central Asia's Impending Water Crisis?" The National Interest Buzz blog, Feb. 2, 2017, <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/can-china-solve-central-asias-impending-water-crisis-19289>

--Christiane J. Fröhlich, "Water: Reason for Conflict or Catalyst for Peace ? The Case of the Middle East," *L'Europe en Formation* 2012/3 (n° 365), pp. 139-16,
<https://www.cairn.info/revue-l-europe-en-formation-2012-3-page-139.htm>

Nov. 27: Required small-group sessions. Students will meet with Prof. Marten in her office during our class time in small groups, to get feedback on their paper progress before next week's due date. Students are highly encouraged to bring in outlines of their papers to discuss.

Dec. 4: Capstone presentations.