

International Politics

Political Science V1601x
Fall 2014: M,W 2:40-3:55pm
Location: [Altschul 202?]

Prof. Kimberly Marten

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Course Description

How can we explain the patterns of international politics? Why do wars happen? How do culture and religion affect international politics? Has the internet empowered individuals, social movements, and businesses so much that states have become irrelevant? How are countries affected by the global economy, with its ever-increasing levels of international trade and investment, and in turn how does the political economy of individual countries shape international relations? How do alliances between countries function, and what impact do they have on foreign policy? What causes terrorism? Is the proliferation of nuclear weapons a threat to peace, and if so, how should the world respond? Does the United Nations matter?

In this course we will begin to grapple with these issues, using theories developed by current political scientists and by philosophers throughout history, to try to explain and predict the patterns of international politics. We will analyze which theoretical perspectives actually lie behind common historical and current interpretations of international relations, and students will be encouraged to choose or develop their own theories to explain events.

Learning Objectives

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

- Demonstrate broad factual and causal knowledge of important current and historical issues in international relations
- Apply contending theories from the political science literature and the policy world to analyze, compare, and evaluate events and trends in international relations
- Assess the value of competing theories in explaining events
- Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively, through both oral discussions in section and written essay exams

Course Requirements and Procedures

Participation in weekly discussion sections is required. Small-group discussion forms an important part of the course experience, and students should come to discussion section prepared to discuss the assigned readings.

There are **three do-at-home essay exams** [pending Barnard administrative approval] for this course—two midterms and a final. All exams are equally weighted, but improvement throughout the course of the semester will be rewarded when Prof. Marten is determining each student's final course grade. Each exam will be turned in electronically at the specified date and time; **late turn-ins will be significantly penalized**, with 1/3 grade taken off for each day late (e.g., an A- exam turned in after the due date and hour will earn a B+ if it is received within 24 hours of the due time; it will receive a B if its turned in 24-48 hours after the due time; etc.).

Each exam will require students to answer two essay questions, with a total word count for each completed exam of approximately 1,000 words per essay (or 2,000 words total). Essays must rely on currently assigned course readings alone for analysis; these are not research papers, and the major purpose

of the exams is to monitor whether students are doing the assigned readings, and whether they are analytically engaged with the assigned course material. **Honor code:** Students may consult with whomever they like as they are considering the assigned essay questions. (Please note that the TAs will *not* read essay drafts or discuss the essays with individual students; all consultation with TAs must happen in section and in public only, so that all students in the section have an equal advantage.) However, once a student begins outlining and writing the essay, no further consultation is allowed. **In other words, the structure and content of all essays must be the student's alone.** Prof. Marten has served on the Barnard College Honor Board, and takes the issue of academic integrity very seriously. For each exam, all students (whether or not they are Barnard College students) must sign a Barnard College Honor Code pledge upon turn-in, affirming that the structure and content of the written work is completely their own. **Any student found to have violated the Honor Code will receive a failing grade in the course,** and will face the disciplinary rules of his or her home college.

Questions will be emailed to students via Courseworks, and exams will be turned in **as Word or PDF documents only, on the 1601 (i.e., lecture, not section) Courseworks "assignments" page** for this class, which will include an honor code statement, as follows:

Midterm 1 questions: emailed after lecture on Mon. Oct. 1; due **Friday Oct. 10 at 5pm**
Midterm 2 questions: emailed after lecture on Wed. Oct. 22; due **Tuesday Nov. 11 at 5pm**
Final exam questions: emailed after lecture on Mon. Dec. 8; due **Wednesday Dec. 17 at 5pm**

Prof. Marten supervises all grading, sets grading guidelines, and reviews section leader performance. Any student who wishes to challenge the grade given by a Teaching Fellow must discuss the situation with the TF who graded the exam first. If the student remains unsatisfied after this, Prof. Marten will review the work in question; but students should realize that a change in grade is very unlikely, and that Prof. Marten reserves the right to lower a grade as well as raise it. Exams must be turned in when scheduled. Exceptions will be granted only in cases of medical or family emergency, and will be granted only by Prof. Marten, not by the TAs. **If you have an extracurricular event that will interfere with the midterm schedule, you should not take this course.** A passing grade of C- or better must be achieved on each exam and in section for the student to receive a passing grade in the course.

Laptop policy: student use of electronic devices in lecture and discussion section is prohibited. An exception will be made for those who sign the Laptop permissions assignment on the main Courseworks website with their name and UNI. The conditions of use are as follows: (1) Laptops and other electronic devices can be used in lecture only for taking notes, and in discussion section only for taking notes or referring to saved notes or readings. Students affirm that once class has begun, they will not use electronic devices for any other activity, including texting, email, social media, web searches, playing games, etc. (2) Anyone wishing to use a laptop or other electronic device in lecture must sit in the back half of the classroom, so as not to disturb other students. (Any student wishing to have an exception made to the seating rule because of special circumstances should talk to Prof. Marten; most special requests will be granted.)

Grading:

First midterm: 30%

Second midterm: 30%

Final exam: 30%

Section participation: 10%. Students are expected to attend all section meetings. If you must miss a section because of a religious holiday or an illness or family emergency, please notify your section leader (*not* Prof. Marten). The section leader will give you a one-page make-up essay assignment to substitute for class participation that day.

Required Reading List

Please do the readings in the order they are listed on the syllabus; they are listed in the order that will make comprehension easiest. It may be helpful to do the readings **after** the lecture for which they are assigned; the lectures will help students understand what it is about each reading that is important. (Please make an exception for the longer readings from the case-study books: Clark, Dobbs and Marten. It will be good to start those readings early, so as not to fall too far behind.) **A good skill to learn is “strategic skimming”**: learn to extract the important arguments from each piece—how arguments are built and supported, what their strengths and weaknesses are—rather than reading each piece word-for-word. It may be useful to have a dictionary at hand while reading; some readings include difficult vocabulary. All readings are assigned because they are important elements in ongoing debates—not because they present the “truth.” In other words, read each piece critically and with a grain of salt. In discussion section and in your essays, you will be expected to analyze and critique the readings, not merely summarize them.

The books are available at Book Culture (536 West 112th St., between Broadway and Amsterdam), and are also on reserve at both the Barnard College and Butler libraries. You should feel free to buy copies used or on the web at discount rates, or to share purchases with a friend in class. **The assigned articles are every bit as important as the books, and should not be considered optional.** Many of these must be accessed through Columbia University’s eLibrary (library.columbia.edu) in order to avoid a fee. Students must have a Columbia UNI account and password to use these sources. (All registered Barnard and Columbia students are automatically eligible for such accounts. If you have not yet activated your account, you may do so at <http://cuit.columbia.edu/cuit/manage-my-uni>). To access CU eLibrary sources, simply enter the electronic journal title on the Columbia library web “quick search e-resources” page, and then find the correct issue number or article title when the corresponding database opens. (There will be an in-class demonstration of how to do this on the first two days of class.)

Clark, Christopher. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper, 2012).

Dobbs, Michael. *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* (Knopf, 2008).

Marten, Kimberly. *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States* (Cornell, 2012).

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. and David A. Welch. *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 9th ed. (Pearson, 2012). Please note that **earlier editions are not a good substitute**, because they do not contain important material included in this edition.

Course Schedule and Assignments

Sept. 3. Introduction: thinking about international politics.

Nye and Welch: “What Is International Politics?” pp. 1-16. Also note the study tool on p. 63, “Table 2.1. Key Features of Paradigms.”

Columbia eLibrary:

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

Part I: The “Isms”: Realism and Its Critics

Sept. 8. Realism: its roots and why it (still) matters.

Nye and Welch: First read “Key Concepts,” pp. 38-61, and “Realism” pp. 62-4. Then read “The Peloponnesian War,” and “Ethical Questions and International Politics,” pp. 16-34.

Open web:

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, “The Melian Dialogue,” book 5, chapters 84-116;

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Thuc.+5.84&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0200>

John T. Scott and Robert Zaretsky, “Why Machiavelli Still Matters,” *New York Times*, Dec. 9, 2013.

Sept. 10. Realist views on security and the causes of war

Columbia eLibrary:

Robert Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (Jan. 1978): 167-214.

Stephen M. Walt, “Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power,” *International Security* 9, no. 4 (Spring 1985): 3-43.

Open web:

John J. Mearsheimer, “Power and Fear in Great Power Politics,” in G.O. Mazur, ed., *One Hundred Year Commemoration to the Life of Hans Morgenthau (1904-2004)* (New York: Semenenko Foundation, 2004), pp. 184-196, available at: <http://johnmearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0033x2.pdf>

Sept. 15. Liberalism and neo-liberalism: the theory and its evolution.

Nye and Welch: “Liberalism,” pp. 64-69; “Managing Conflict” (pp. 193-200).

Open web:

Michael W. Doyle, “Liberal Internationalism: Peace, War and Democracy,” undated, available at http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/themes/peace/doyle/

Immanuel Kant, “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,” 1795, available at: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

Woodrow Wilson, “Fourteen Points,” 1918, available at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp

Columbia eLibrary:

Michael Mousseau, “The Democratic Peace Unraveled: It’s the Economy,” *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2013): 186-97. (Please note: this gets very technical starting on p. 190; feel free to skip the statistical analysis if you prefer, and concentrate on the argument.)

Sept. 17: Liberalism, realism, and international institutions: the example of NATO.

Columbia eLibrary:

John J. Mearsheimer, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War,” *International Security* 15, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 5-56. Be sure to read footnote #1!

Celeste A. Wallander, “Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War,” *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000), 705–735.

Jeffrey H. Michaels, “NATO after Libya: Alliance Adrift?” *RUSI (Royal United Services Institute) Journal* 156, no. 6 (December 2011): 56–61.

Sept. 22. Constructivism: ideas, culture and power in the international system, for good and bad.
Nye and Welch: “Constructivism,” pp. 69-71, and part of “Power and the Information Revolution,” pp. 286-308).

Columbia eLibrary:

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, “Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics,” *International Social Science Journal* 51, no. 159 (Mar. 1999): 89-101.

Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.

Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy Is What States Make of It,” *International Organization* 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992): 391-425. Note: this article makes challenging reading; it is assigned because it was responsible for introducing constructivist theory to the world of international relations scholarship. Do your best to get the important arguments out of it.

Sept. 24. Levels of analysis: bureaucratic, organizational, and individual actors.

Available on Courseworks:

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, “Decision-Making: The Individual Level,” and “Decision-Making: The Organizational Level,” chapters 5 and 6 in *Causes of War* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 128-185.

Open web:

Kimberly Marten, “A New Explanation for Russian Foreign Policy,” PONARS-Eurasia Policy Memo 274, Sept. 19, 2013, available at <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/new-policy-memo-new-explanation-russian-foreign-policy>.

Part II: 20th Century Examples and Why They (Still) Matter

Sept. 29 and Oct. 1. The Origins of World War I

Nye and Welch: chapter 3, “From Westphalia to World War I,” pp. 78-110.

Clark: Introduction (pp. xxi-xxix), chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 121-241), chapters 10-12 and conclusion (pp. 451-562).

Columbia eLibrary:

Paul A. Papayoanou, “Interdependence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power: Britain, Germany, and World War I,” *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): assigned pages are the introduction on pp. 42-3, and the section on “Applying the Theory: Britain and Germany,” pp. 53-74.

Margaret MacMillan, “1914 and 2014: Should We Be Worried?” *International Affairs* (UK, Wiley) 90, no. 1 (2014): 59-70.

Oct. 6. The Origins of World War II: Appeasement, Desperation, and Bandwagoning

Nye and Welch: chapter 4, “The Failure of Collective Security and World War II,” pp. 112-40.

Columbia eLibrary:

Evan Thomas, “The Mythology of Munich,” *Newsweek*, June 23, 2008.

Oct. 8. No lecture or assigned readings; use this time to complete midterm 1, due by Friday, Oct. 10 at 5pm on Courseworks.

Oct. 13. The Cold War, part 1: Realism vs. Ideology.

Nye and Welch: chapter 5, “The Cold War,” pp. 141-91.

Columbia eLibrary:

X (George F. Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.

Robert Jervis, “Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 36-60.

Open web or Columbia eLibrary: Henry Kissinger, "The Age of Kennan," *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 2011.

Oct. 15 and 20. The Cold War, part 2: The nuclear arms race, the Cuban Missile Crisis, détente, and arms control

Dobbs, entire.

Columbia eLibrary:

Raymond Garthoff, "American-Soviet Relations in Perspective," *Political Science Quarterly* 100, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 541-59.

Robert Legvold, "Managing the New Cold War: What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Last one," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2014): 74-84.

Recommended (not required): *Foreign Affairs* has a special issue (July/Aug. 2014) where well regarded historians give their perspectives on what the documents reveal really happened in four Cold War cases where the US has been accused of interfering with democratic elections or overthrowing elected leaders (Bangladesh, Chile, Congo, and Iran). These readings are not required, but are very interesting, and some of this will be discussed in lecture.

Open web:

Recommended (not required): These sources will give you some of the flavor of how newly released government archives are contributing to our understanding of historical events.

Robert Dallek, "Untold Story of the Bay of Pigs," *Daily Beast*, Aug. 14, 2011.

National Security Archive at George Washington University, "The Able Archer 83 Sourcebook," <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ablearcher/>

Oct. 22. The End of the (first?) Cold War: Realism, Liberalism and Ideas.

Columbia eLibrary:

David Holloway, "Gorbachev's New Thinking," *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 1 (America and the World Issue 1988/9): 66-81.

William C. Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/5): 91-129.

Oct. 27. The UN Security Council, peacekeeping and peace enforcement: the legacy of the 1990s

Available on Courseworks:

Joshua Goldstein, *Winning the War on War*, chapters 4 and 5, pp. 73-135.

Columbia eLibrary:

Kofi Annan, "Two Concepts of Sovereignty," *The Economist*, Sept. 18, 1999.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 2002).

Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no 6 (Nov./Dec. 2011).

Open web or Columbia eLibrary:

Somini Sengupta, "Beleaguered Blue Helmets," *New York Times Sunday Review*, July 12, 2014.

Oct. 29. International trade: the World Trade Organization.

Open Web:

For background information, see the WTO website, "What Is the WTO?"

http://wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm

Columbia eLibrary:

Kristen Hopewell, "Different Paths to Power: The Rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization," *Review of International Political Economy* 2014, published online June 16, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2014.927387>.

Open Web:

Ka Zeng, "China, America and the WTO," *The Diplomat*, Feb. 7, 2013.

Jagdish Bhagwati, "Revisiting the 1930s: A Pandemic of Preferential Trade Agreements Is Undermining Free Trade," (book excerpt) *International Economy*, Winter 2009.

Open Web or Columbia eLibrary:

Annie Lowrey, "An Increase to Barriers in Trade Is Reported," *New York Times*, June 22, 2012.

Richard N. Rosecrance, "Want World Domination? Size Matters," *New York Times Sunday Review*, July 27, 2013.

Nov. 3. Election Day Holiday. No class meeting. If you are eligible, please vote!

Nov. 5. The European Union: a slow death, or the success of "governance"?

Columbia eLibrary:

Simon Hix, "The Study of the European Union II: The 'New Governance' Agenda and Its Rival," *Journal of European Public Policy* 5, no. 1 (March 1998): 38-65.

Sebastian Rosato, "Europe's Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project," *International Security* 35, no. 4 (Spring 2011): 45-86.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe after the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 3 (May/June 2012): 54-68.

Open Web:

Peter A. Hall, "Anatomy of the Euro Crisis: The Political Economy of a Continent at Cross-Purposes," *Harvard Magazine*, July-Aug. 2013, pp. 24-7.

Daniel Altman, "No Quiet on the Western Front," *ForeignPolicy.com*, Dec. 9, 2013.

Nov. 10. No lecture or assigned readings; use the time to complete midterm 2, due by Tuesday Nov. 11 at 5pm on Courseworks.

Part IV. International Security in a New Era

Nov. 12. International oil and gas politics

Open web:

Thomas L. Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," *ForeignPolicy.com*, May 1, 2006.

Columbia eLibrary:

Edward L. Morse, "Welcome to the Revolution: Why Shale Is the Next Shale;" Robert A. Hefner III, "The United States of Gas: Why the Shale Revolution Could Have Happened Only in America;" and Fred Frupp, "Don't Just Drill, Baby—Drill Carefully;" all in *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May/June 2014): 3-20.

Eugene Gholtz and Daryl G. Press, "Protecting the 'Prize': Oil and the U.S. National Interest," *Security Studies* 19, no. 3 (2010): 453-85.

Nov. 17. The rise of China.

Columbia eLibrary:

Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," *International Security* 36, no. 3 (Oct. 2011/12): 41-78.

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, "How China Sees America: The Sum of Beijing's Fears," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 5 (Sept/Oct. 2012): 32-47.

Jonathan Kirshner, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 1 (2012): 53-85.

Open web:

Andrew Erickson and Austin Strange, "Pandora's Sandbox: China's Island-Building Strategy in the South China Sea," *ForeignAffairs.com*, July 13, 2014.

Nov. 19. International terrorism

Columbia eLibrary:

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 49-80.

Wendy Pearlman, "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2008/09): 79-109.

Leah Farrall, "How Al Qaeda Works: What the Organization's Subsidiaries Say about Its Strength," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (March/April 2011): 128-38.

Nov. 24. State Failure and Warlordism

Marten: chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, and conclusion (pp. 1-30, 102-200).

Nov. 26. Wednesday afternoon before Thanksgiving, no lecture.

Dec. 1. Iraq: The US Intervention and Beyond.

Columbia eLibrary:

Brian C. Schmidt and Michael C. Williams, "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives versus Realists," *Security Studies* 17, no. 2 (2008): 191-220.

Nora Bensahel, "Mission not Accomplished: What Went Wrong with Iraqi Reconstruction," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29, no. 3 (June 2006): 453-73.

Kevin Woods, James Lacey, and Williamson Murray, "Saddam's Delusions: The View from the Inside," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 3 (May/June 2006): 2-27.

Open web:

Zachary Laub and Jonathan Masters, "Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria," Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, <http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state-iraq-greater-syria/p14811>

Dec. 3. Palestinian statehood and the Israel/Palestine conflict

Open web (recommended, not required if you are already familiar with this material):

For background historical facts, see Council on Foreign Relations "Crisis Guide: The Israeli Palestinian Conflict," http://www.cfr.org/publication/CGME_transcript.html

For a quick up-to-speed on what provoked the July 2014 crisis, see Zack Beauchamp, "Why the Israel-Palestine Conflict is Spiraling into the Worst Violence in Years," *Vox Conversations*, July 14, 2014, <http://www.vox.com/2014/7/8/5878289/israel-palestine-khdeir-violence-gaza>.

Columbia eLibrary:

Daniel Byman, "How to Handle Hamas: The Perils of Ignoring Gaza's Leadership," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2010): 45-62.

Robert M. Danin, "A Third Way to Palestine: Fayyadism and Its Discontents," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2011): 94-109.

Leila Farsakh, "The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects," *Middle East Journal* 65, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 55-71.

Kimberly Marten, "Reformed or Deformed? Patronage Politics, International Influence, and the Palestinian Authority Security Forces," *International Peacekeeping* 21, no. 2 (June 2014): 181-97.

Dec. 8. Nuclear Proliferation.

Columbia eLibrary:

Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1994): 66-107.

Kenneth Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2012).

Open web:

Shaun Gregory, "The Terrorist Threat to Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons," *Sentinel* (West Point Combating Terrorism Center) 2, no. 7 (July 2009): 1-4, available at <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-terrorist-threat-to-pakistan%E2%80%99s-nuclear-weapons>