

International Politics

Political Science UN1601x
Fall 2015: 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, and how is the present shaped by history? 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 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. A passing grade of C- or better must be achieved in section for the student to receive a passing grade in the course.

There are three do-at-home essay exams for this course—two midterms and a final. Improvement across the semester will be rewarded when Prof. Marten is determining each student's final course grade. Each exam will be turned in via Courseworks 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.). Exceptions will be granted only in cases of medical or family emergency; will be granted only by Prof. Marten, not by the TAs; and will require a supporting email from the student's advising dean. **If you have an extracurricular event that will interfere with the midterm schedule, you should not take this course.**

Each exam has a different essay format; each will require some combination of essays that total 2,000 words. Essays must rely on currently assigned course readings alone for analysis; these are not research papers. The major purposes of the exams are: (1) to monitor whether students are doing the assigned readings and are analytically engaged with the material, and (2) to measure student capability to independently synthesize concepts across sections of the syllabus.

Honor code: Students may consult with whomever they like as they are considering the assigned essay questions. (Please note that the TAs and Prof. Marten will *not* read essay drafts or discuss the exam with individual students; all help with exam questions must occur in lecture or in section, so that no student gains an unequal advantage.) However, once you begin outlining and writing the essays, no further consultation is allowed. **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 submit a Barnard College Honor Code pledge, affirming that the structure and content of the written work is completely their own. **Any student found to have violated the Honor Code on any assignment 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 must 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.

--Midterm 1 questions: will cover material through Sept. 26; due **Friday, Oct. 7 at 5pm.**
--Midterm 2 questions: will cover material through Nov. 9; due **Friday, Nov. 18 at 5pm.**
--Final exam questions: will cover material through the end of the course; due **Wednesday, Dec. 21 at 4pm** (this is the date and time that an in-class exam would have been officially scheduled; Barnard rules require that the take-home final be due at this time.)

Prof. Marten supervises all grading, sets grading guidelines, and reviews section leader performance. Any student who wishes to challenge the grade given by a TA must discuss the situation with the TA 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 unlikely, and that Prof. Marten reserves the right to lower a grade as well as raise it. Exams must be turned in when scheduled.

Electronic devices and laptops: Any student who wishes to use a laptop in lecture **MUST** sit either in the back half of the classroom or on the sides. The center-front of the auditorium is reserved for students who (wisely) choose to avoid the temptations of electronics during lecture, to pay attention to the material distraction-free, and to thereby get some value for their tuition dollar. The use of all other electronic devices (including phones, tablets, watches, glasses, and

anything else they think up next) is strictly prohibited once the lecture begins. Please note that attendance at lecture is not required, so if you'd rather use your electronics, feel free to do so elsewhere.

Grading:

First midterm: 20%

Second midterm: 30%

Final exam: 30%

Section participation: 20%. 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 provide 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. Especially in the first few weeks of the course when theories are being discussed, it may help to do the reading *after* the lecture, since the lecture will highlight what is important from the assigned readings. **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 Butler library. 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 and web readings 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. 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.)

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. 7. 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. 12. Realism: its roots and why it (still) matters.

Sept. 14. Realist views on security and the causes of war

The basics:

Nye and Welch: First read “Key Concepts” through “Realism,” pp. 38-64. Then read “The Peloponnesian War,” and “Ethical Questions and International Politics,” pp. 16-34.

Realism and international law:

Jane Perlez, “Hague Tribunal Rejects Beijing’s Claims in South China Sea,” *New York Times*, July 13, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/13/world/asia/south-china-sea-hague-ruling-philippines.html>

Power and polarity:

Columbia eLibrary:

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “The Once and Future Superpower: Why China Won’t Overtake the United States,” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 91-104.

Offensive realism:

Open web:

John J. Mearsheimer, “Structural Realism,” in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, eds. Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 71-88, available at <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/StructuralRealism.pdf>.

Defensive realism:

Columbia eLibrary:

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

The security dilemma:

Columbia eLibrary:

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

Sept. 19. Liberalism and neo-liberalism: the theory and its evolution.

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

Open web:

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

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

Columbia eLibrary:

Alexander Wolff, “Scorecard: The Powers that Be,” *Sports Illustrated*, May 30, 2016.

[This provides an unusual example of how liberal values and “soft power” may intertwine.]

Sept. 21. Constructivism: ideas, culture, and power in the international system.

The basics:

Nye and Welch: “Constructivism,” pp. 69-71, and part of “The Information Revolution and Transnational Actors,” pp. 286-308.

Examples of how ideas and actors can “construct” international outcomes:

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.

V.P. Gagnon, Jr., “Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia,” *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 130-66.

Séverine Autesserre, “Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention,” *International Organization* 63 (Spring 2009): 249-80.

Sept. 26. Levels of analysis: domestic politics, organizations, 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.

Columbia eLibrary:

Kimberly Marten, “Putin’s Choices: Explaining Russian Foreign Policy and Intervention in Ukraine,” *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 189-204.

Sept. 28. No lecture or additional readings. Prof. Marten will be participating in a conference in Moscow. Use the extra time to finish the heavy reading load of the past week, and to work on the first midterm, due Friday Oct. 7 at 5pm.

Part II: The 20th Century and Why It Matters

Oct. 3. Europe: the Origins of World War I.

[Rosh Hashanah: Prof. Marten will request that the class be video-recorded.]

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

Open web:

Jack S. Levy, William Mulligan, Thomas Otte, and John C. G. Röhl, “Beginning the Great War: A Virtual Roundtable,” *Fifteen Eightyfour: Academic Perspectives from Cambridge University Press*, July 2, 2014, <http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2014/07/beginning-the-great-war/>

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.

Oct. 5. Sovereignty, imperialism, and decolonization

Courseworks:

Robert Jackson, “Sovereigns of Europe and the World,” chapter 3 of *Sovereignty: The Evolution of an Idea* (Malden, Mass.: Polity, 2007), pp. 49-77.

Crawford Young, “The African Colonial State and Its Political Legacy,” in *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*, ed. Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan (Boulder: Westview, 1988), pp. 25-66.

Open web:

James E. Kitchen, “Colonial Empires after the War/Decolonization,” in 1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War (Freie Universität Berlin, et al.), http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/colonial_empires_after_the_wardecolonization

Oct. 10. The Origins of World War II

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. 12. The Cold War, part 1: Overview and causes.

[Yom Kippur: Prof. Marten will request that the lecture be video-recorded.]

Nye and Welch: “Explaining the Cold War,” pp. 141-59, “Moral Issues” to the end of the Cold War chapter, pp. 182-91, and “Marxism,” p. 69.

Columbia eLibrary:

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.

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

- Oct. 17. The Cold War, part 2: Ideological competition and proxy wars in the “Third World”
Nye and Welch: “Containment in Action” and “The Rest of the Cold War,” pp. 159-67.
Open web:
 Fernando Henrique Cardoso, “Dependent Capitalist Development in Latin America,”
New Left Review 74 (July-August 1972): 83-95.
Columbia eLibrary:
 “The Cold War’s Cold Cases,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2014), including
 articles by Ray Takeyh, “What Really Happened in Iran;” Stephen R. Weissman, “What Really
 Happened in Congo;” and Jack Devine, “What Really Happened in Chile.”
- Oct. 19. The Cold War, part 3: The nuclear arms race, détente, and arms control
Nye and Welch: “The Role of Nuclear Weapons,” pp. 172-79.
Columbia eLibrary:
 Raymond Garthoff, “American-Soviet Relations in Perspective,” *Political Science
 Quarterly* 100, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 541-59.
- Oct. 24: The Cold War, part 4: Putting it all together: the Cuban Missile Crisis
Nye and Welch: “The Cuban Missile Crisis,” pp. 179-82.
Dobbs: entire.
- Oct. 26. The End of the (first?) Cold War: Realism, Liberalism and Ideas.
Nye and Welch: “The End of the Cold War,” pp. 167-72.
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. 31. The UN Security Council, peacekeeping, and R2P: the legacy of the 1990s
 Nye and Welch: “The United Nations” and “Intrastate Conflict” (pp. 200-218).
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.
 Roland Paris, “The ‘Responsibility to Protect’ and the Structural Problems of Preventive
 Humanitarian Intervention,” *International Peacekeeping* 21, no.5 (2014): 569-603.
- Nov. 2. International trade: the World Trade Organization.
 Nye and Welch: “Leadership and Institutions in the World Economy,” pp. 269-73. Note
 Figure 7.2, which provides a useful summary of some major international economic institutions.
Open Web (recommended, not required if you are already familiar with this material):
 “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* 22, no. 2 (2015):
 311-38.

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.

Nov. 7. Election Day Holiday, no class meeting.

Nov. 9. The European Union: the success of "governance," or the slow death of an institution?

Columbia eLibrary (basic theoretical understandings):

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.

Open Web (recent and current events):

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,
<http://harvardmagazine.com/2013/07/anatomy-of-the-euro-crisis>.

Council on Foreign Relations, "Europe's Migration Crisis," Sept. 23, 2015,
<http://www.cfr.org/refugees-and-the-displaced/europes-migration-crisis/p32874>

Niraj Chokshi, Daniel Victor and Sewell Chan, "Overwhelmed by 'Brexit'? Here Are the Basics," *New York Times*, June 24, 2016,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/25/world/europe/overwhelmed-by-brexit-here-are-the-basics.html>

Part IV. International Security in a New Era

Nov. 14. Iraq: the US Intervention

Nye and Welch: "Conflict in the Persian Gulf," pp. 230-34.

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.

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.

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

Nov. 16. State Failure and Warlordism: the example of Iraq, AQI, and the rise of the Islamic State.

Marten: chapters 1, 2, 6, and conclusion (pp. 1-30, 139-200).

Friday Nov. 18: Midterm 2 due on Courseworks by 5pm.

Nov. 21: The rise (or restoration) of China.

Nye and Welch: “The South China Sea” and “The Taiwan Strait,” pp. 243-48.

Columbia eLibrary:

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.

Lanxin Xiang, “Xi’s Dream and China’s Future,” *Survival* 58, no. 3 (June-July 2016): 53-62.

Open Web:

John J. Mearsheimer, “Can China Rise Peacefully?” *The National Interest*, Oct. 25, 2014, <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/can-china-rise-peacefully-10204>.

Columbia eLibrary:

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.

(Please also remember the Perlez and Brooks and Wohlforth readings from earlier in the course.)

Nov. 23. Nuclear Proliferation and the Example of Iran.

Nye and Welch: “A Nuclear Iran?” pp. 237-40.

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).

“Iran Nuclear Deal: Key Details,” BBC News, Jan. 16, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-33521655>

Nov. 28 and Nov. 30: No lectures or additional readings. Prof. Marten will be participating in a high-level foreign policy conference in Moscow. Please use this extra time to work on the heavy reading load for this last section of the course (it might be good to read ahead at this point, to get caught up), and to start working on the final exam (exam questions will be emailed to students by Nov. 26.)

Dec. 5. The causes of 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.

Dec. 7. The Israeli/Palestinian Conflict: Sovereignty, Terrorism, Military Intervention, Warlordism.

Background:

Nye and Welch: “Arab-Israeli Conflict,” pp. 222-230.

The recent evolution (please read these in order, and note the dates):

Columbia eLibrary:

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

Zachary Laub, " Hamas," Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, Aug. 1, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968>.

Grant Rumley and Amir Tibon, "The Death and Life of the Two-State Solution," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2015).

Open web:

Jennifer Williams, "Israeli Officials Fear a Looming Disaster: The Collapse of the Palestinian Authority," vox.com, Jan. 4, 2016,

<http://www.vox.com/2016/1/4/10690270/collapse-palestinian-authority>

Columbia eLibrary:

Amos Harel, "Israel's Evolving Military: The IDF Adapts to New Threats," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2016): 43-50.

Warlordism in Palestine:

Columbia eLibrary:

Kimberly Marten, "Reformed or Deformed? Patronage Politics, International Influence, and the Palestinian Authority Security Forces," *International Peacekeeping* 21, no. 2 (June 2014): 181-97. [Please note: this article is very dense; please don't sweat the details. Instead concentrate on its major arguments about external funding, corruption, and warlordism.]

Dec. 12. Cyber-conflict.

Columbia eLibrary:

Adam Liff, "Cyberwar: A New 'Absolute Weapon'? The Proliferation of Cyberwarfare Capabilities and Interstate War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 35, no. 3 (June 2012): 401-28.

Some examples of (allegedly) state-supported cyber attacks:

Open web:

Ralph Langner, "Cracking Stuxnet, a 21st-century Cyber Weapon," TED2011, https://www.ted.com/talks/ralph_langner_cracking_stuxnet_a_21st_century_cyberweapon?

David E. Sanger and Martin Fackler, "N.S.A. Breached North Korean Networks Before Sony Attack, Officials Say," New York Times, Jan. 18, 2015,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/19/world/asia/nsa-tapped-into-north-korean-networks-before-sony-attack-officials-say.html>

John R. Schindler, "Bombed: China's Hack Just Wrecked American Espionage," *Daily Beast*, June 5, 2015, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/06/15/china-s-hack-just-wrecked-american-espionage.html> .

Kim Zetter, "Inside the Cunning, Unprecedented Hack of Ukraine's Power Grid," *Wired*, March 3, 2016, <https://www.wired.com/2016/03/inside-cunning-unprecedented-hack-ukraines-power-grid/> .