#### **International Politics**

Political Science UN1601x
Fall 2020: M,W 10:10-11:25 AM (US East Coast time)
Location: Online via Zoom

All lectures will be recorded and available via Courseworks/Canvas for those who require asynchronous instruction. Students are nonetheless strongly encouraged to attend live lectures if possible, since many lectures will include at least a few minutes of Q&A, as well as student activities like polls and 10-minute/5-student breakout sessions.

#### **Prof. Kimberly Marten**

Contact: <u>km2225@columbia.edu</u>
Follow Prof. Marten on Twitter @KimberlyMarten

Office hours: Tuesdays 10am-12noon US East Coast time <a href="https://columbiauniversity.zoom.us/j/2128545115">https://columbiauniversity.zoom.us/j/2128545115</a> (Full Zoom link invitation on Courseworks announcements) Waiting room enabled; first come/first served.

#### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

How can we explain the patterns and evolution of international politics? Why do wars happen? How do alliances between countries function? How are countries affected by global trade and investment, and in turn how does the political economy of individual countries shape international conflict and cooperation? How do ideas and culture (including both positive ideas like human rights, and negative ideas like racism) affect international politics? Why isn't there more international cooperation in dealing with Covid-19 and climate change, and can new global cooperation emerge? What causes terrorism? Is the proliferation of nuclear weapons a threat to peace, and if so, how should the world respond? Does United Nations peacekeeping work?

In this course we will begin to grapple with these questions. We will use theories developed by philosophers, political scientists and policy analysts, and we will examine the historical roots of today's problems, in order to explain and predict the patterns of international politics and the possibilities for change. Throughout the course, students will be encouraged to choose and 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, through enrollment in the separate but linked UN1611 (non-credit) course. Registration for sections usually opens in late August or early September, and the head TA will work with students as necessary to ensure they find a time slot that works for their schedules. Discussion sections form 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.

**Critical Question Choice:** Each student will choose one key question about global conflict and cooperation, from the five listed below, to follow throughout the semester. The first midterm, as well as one of the two questions on the final exam, will be based on your key question. The readings below are found on the syllabus at various places—but you should be sure to read the ones on your chosen question *before* the first midterm, because your answers there must include references to them. As the semester goes on, you will be expected to follow your question by doing your own research on high-quality news and think-tank sites, and then using that research on the final exam.

### 1. COVID and future pandemics

- --CLIO: Michael T. Osterholm and Mark Olshaker, "Chronicle of a Pandemic Foretold: Learning from the COVID-19 Failure, Before the Next Outbreak Arrives," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2020): 10-24.
- **--CLIO:** Thomas J. Bollyky and Chad P. Bown, "The Tragedy of Vaccine Nationalism: Only Cooperation Can End the Pandemic," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2020).

#### 2. Climate change

- --CLIO: Joshua Busby, "Warming World: Why Climate Change Matters More Than Anything Else," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2018): 49-55.
- --CLIO: Johannes Urpelainen and Thijs van de Graaf, "United States Non-cooperation and the Paris Agreement," *Climate Policy* 18, no. 7 (2018): 839-51.

### 3. The Iran nuclear agreement and proliferation

- --Open web: Zachary Laub and Kali Robinson, "What Is the Status of the Iran Nuclear Agreement?" Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, Jan. 7, 2020, https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-status-iran-nuclear-agreement
- **--Open web:** Raz Zimmt, "Israeli Campaign to Stop Iran's Nuclear Program," Iran Primer, U.S. Institute of Peace, July 15, 2020, <a href="https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2020/jul/15/israeli-campaign-stop-irans-nuclear-program">https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2020/jul/15/israeli-campaign-stop-irans-nuclear-program</a>
- --Open web: Micah Zenko (with Kyle Beardsley, Sarah Kreps, Matthew Kroenig, Annie Tracy Samuel, and Todd S. Sechser), "Ask the Experts: What Would Iran Do With a Bomb?" Council on Foreign Relations Blog, Feb. 21, 2012, <a href="https://www.cfr.org/blog/ask-experts-what-would-iran-do-bomb">https://www.cfr.org/blog/ask-experts-what-would-iran-do-bomb</a>

## 4. The global liberal trading order

- --CLIO: Ana Swanson and Keith Bradsher, "Trade With China, Long a Source of Tension, Emerges as a Point of Stability," *New York Times*, July 26, 2020.
- --CLIO: Jeff D. Colgan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged: Fix It Now or Watch It Wither," *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 3 (May/June 2017): 36-44.
- --CLIO: Chad P. Bown and Douglas A. Irwin, "Trump's Assault on the Global Trading System, And Why Decoupling From China Will Change Everything," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 5 (Sept/Oct. 2019): 125-136.

## **5.** UN peace operations

- --Open web: Håvard Hegre, Lisa Hultman, and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård, "Peacekeeping Works: Evaluating the Effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping Operations," PRIO (Oslo) *Conflict Trends* 2017, no. 6, <a href="https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=1526&type=publicationfile">https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=1526&type=publicationfile</a>
- --CLIO: Séverine Autesserre, "The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2019): 101-116

There are three take-at-home essay exams for this course—two midterms and a final. Each will require some combination of essays that total 2,000 words. All exams will be submitted via Courseworks/Canvas (not by email). They must be turned in as Word or PDF documents on the 1601 (i.e., lecture, not section) Canvas "assignments" page. Questions will be emailed to students and uploaded to the Courseworks/Canvas "files" page at least two weeks in advance of the due-date. Each exam will be turned in via Courseworks/Canvas at the specified date and time. Extensions will be granted only by Prof. Marten (not by the TAs), and only in the case of unforeseen emergency. It is your responsibility to manage your time well—and to take deadlines seriously. Please note that there cannot be any extensions on the final exam due to the grading turnaround time imposed on us by the university, so if you are unable to complete the final exam on time you will need to request an incomplete in the course from your advising dean (and Prof. Marten will be happy to approve it).

There are two major purposes of the exams: (1) to monitor whether the student is doing the assigned readings and is analytically engaged with the material, and (2) to measure the student's capacity (honed in discussion section, and with each passing exam) to independently synthesize concepts across sections of the syllabus and make a coherent, original argument. A separate document specifies grading criteria for both essays and discussion section participation. Prof. Marten supervises all grading, sets grading guidelines, and reviews section leader performance. Any student who wishes to challenge a grade given by a TA must discuss the situation with the TA who graded it 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. Improvement across the semester will be rewarded when Prof. Marten is determining each student's final course grade.

#### **Grading:**

First midterm (due Sun. Oct. 11 at 5pm): 20% Second midterm (due Sun. Nov. 22 at 5pm): 30% Final exam (date TBA by university): 30%

**Section participation:** 20%. Students are expected to attend all section meetings. If you must miss a section because of a religious holiday, illness, or family emergency, please notify your section leader (*not* Prof. Marten). The section leader will provide a one-page essay make-up assignment to substitute for class participation that day. If you have time-zone or internet connectivity issues that prevent you from attending section regularly, please email *both* your TA and Prof. Marten as soon as possible, and together we will work out an alternative equivalent form of asynchronous participation.

### PLEASE READ This Entire Section: Honor Code and Plagiarism

All assignments in this class are to be completed in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code, whether or not the student is a Barnard student. **Courseworks will utilize Turnitin.com to check all essays for plagiarism.** "Plagiarism" is the use of someone else's words or ideas without full and proper attribution. It is, at its core, the act of falsely implying or claiming credit for intellectual work that someone else did—and it is a violation of the Honor Code.

A paper is not "written" by cutting and pasting phrases from the work of others. Even if a cite is included to say where the cutting and pasting came from, and even if a word is changed here and there to make what some might call a "paraphrase," that's still plagiarism. One plagiarized phrase or sentence is plagiarism, even if the rest of the paper is original.

A paper is written by reading the work of others with an open and critical mind, taking notes in your own words on that writing, thinking about the issues independently and deeply, and then using your own words to analyze issues, while citing (*not* quoting) the contributions of others to your thinking. You should only be using word-for-word quotations from a published source when the exact words matter greatly. Such quotations should be brief, rare, and placed in quotation marks. All students receive in-depth briefings on plagiarism and proper citation techniques as part of their introductory days at Barnard and Columbia, and the definition here is standard not merely in the United States but globally (for example, at Sciences Po in Paris); it should not come as a surprise to anyone. Any student who nonetheless 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 a fair extension.

Any essay which contains cut-and-pasted or "paraphrased" phrases or sentences where the source is correctly cited, but without quotation marks, will earn the lowest passing grade of 70. Any essay which contains similar phrases and sentences that are NOT properly cited will earn a zero. Any student who violates the Honor Code on any assignment, including through plagiarism, will face dean's discipline at their home college. 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 allowed to consult with anyone they like as they begin thinking about their exam essays and research papers, but no further collaboration is allowed once they begin outlining and writing. In other words, both the argumentative structure and the wording of all essays must be completely the student's own work.

All students may use the Barnard and Columbia Writing Centers with no restrictions. If you know that you have problems with your writing—and especially if you get comments on an assignment indicating that there are problems with your writing—you are strongly encouraged to use the Writing Centers. Please note that appointments there fill up fast, so you need to be proactive in scheduling them [hint: you know the due-dates of assignments already...].

#### **Accessibility and Disability Services Statement**

In order to receive disability-related academic accommodations for this course, students must first be registered with their school Disability Services (DS) office. Detailed information is available online for both the <u>Columbia</u> and <u>Barnard</u> registration processes. Refer to the appropriate website for information regarding deadlines, disability documentation requirements, and <u>drop-in hours</u> (Columbia)/<u>intake session</u> (Barnard). (Please note that all written assignments in this class are take-at-home essays, and that time-and-a-half disability accommodations do not apply to take-at-home assignments.)

#### **Barnard Wellness Statement**

It is important for students to recognize and identify the different pressures, burdens, and stressors they 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 websites:

- <a href="http://barnard.edu/primarycare">http://barnard.edu/primarycare</a>
- <a href="http://barnard.edu/counseling">http://barnard.edu/counseling</a>
- <a href="http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about">http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about</a>
- Stressbusters Support Network

### **Required Readings (and Podcasts)**

All required readings (and podcasts) are online; there are no textbooks to purchase. If you use the Courseworks/Canvas modules, you can link directly. **If you find a broken link on a module, please let Prof. Marten know right away.** (All worked as of early August.) Some readings are available on the open web; some are uploaded on the Courseworks/Canvas "files" page for this course; and most are on CLIO (Columbia's online library), using your Columbia UNI and password. [Note that if you don't go through CLIO on these, you will be asked to pay an exorbitant amount to get through the paywall.]

Please do the readings (and podcasts) in the order they are listed on the syllabus; they are listed in the order that will make comprehension easiest. 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 necessarily 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.

**Special source note, ForeignPolicy.com:** please remember to access this source *only* through CLIO. If you click on a link directly on the open web, there is a strict limit on the number of articles per month you can read, and you will need to clear your browser history to get access via CLIO again.

<u>COURSE SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS</u> (NOTE: READINGS ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE BASED ON CURRENT EVENTS)

# Sept. 9. Introduction: using theories to think about international politics. CLIO:

Stephen M. Walt, "One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998): 29-46. While this source is old and the policy issues it talks about are no longer current, it does a great job of describing theoretical debates that we will be using all semester. Please pay special attention to the chart on p. 38.

# Part I: The Paradigms: Realism and Its Critics, and Testing the Models with Case Studies

Sept. 14. Realism: building blocks and evolution.

Sept. 16. Realism part 2: analyzing power politics and war.

**Assignments for** *both* **lectures:** 

CLIO:

Stephen M. Walt, "The World Wants You to Think Like a Realist," ForeignPolicy.com, May 30, 2018.

#### Open web:

Podcast: Sean Lynn-Jones and Michael Beckley, "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters," *International Security Author Chats*, Feb. 15, 2019, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ip-i\_m8aqEQ&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ip-i\_m8aqEQ&feature=youtu.be</a>

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, "The Melian Dialogue," book 5, sections 84-116; <a href="http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Thuc.+5.84&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0200">http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Thuc.+5.84&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0200</a> (Pay special attention to section 89.)

Thomas Hobbes, "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning Their Felicity and Misery," chap. XIII of *The Leviathan*, https://www.bartleby.com/34/5/13.html

[Do note the racism in Hobbes section 10. Perhaps one of the best answers to it is Neta Crawford's article for our next class.]

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, sections I-III, <a href="http://classics.mit.edu/Tzu/artwar.html">http://classics.mit.edu/Tzu/artwar.html</a> (Pay special attention to III(2).)

Stephen M. Walt, "Realism and Security," in *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, Mar. 2010,

 $\underline{\text{https://oxfordre.com/international studies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-286}$ 

Steven E. Lobell, "Structural Realism/Offensive and Defensive Realism," in *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, Mar. 2010,

 $\underline{\text{https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-304}$ 

#### Sept. 21. Liberalism: building blocks and evolution.

#### Open web:

Michael W. Doyle, "Liberal Internationalism: Peace, War and Democracy," undated, available at <a href="http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\_prizes/themes/peace/doyle/">http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\_prizes/themes/peace/doyle/</a>

Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," Section II, https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm

[Do note that the second article in Section II repeats the racist statements of Hobbes. A question some scholars are wrestling with today is: are realism and liberalism as theories made illegitimate because the European theorists who founded them in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were racist about European superiority? **Recommended, not required:** the article that launched this current debate is available on CLIO: Errol A. Henderson,

"Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, No. 1 (2013): 71–92.]

#### CLIO:

Neta Crawford, "A Security Regime among Democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois Nations," *World Politics* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1994): 345-85 (only pp. 345-7 are required).

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

Jeff D. Colgan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged: Fix It Now or Watch It Wither," *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 3 (May/June 2017): 36-44.

# Sept. 23. Case study: Is NATO a realist alliance or a liberal institution? Open web:

From the NATO website: "A Short History of NATO,"

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified\_139339.htm, and the text of the NATO treaty: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 17120.htm

#### CLIO:

Celeste A. Wallander, "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War," *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 705-35. (Note: this article is written at a graduate level, and it's hard. Try to plow through anyway, paying special attention to the key argument and the history.)

Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 575-607 (only pp. 575-77 required).

Celeste A. Wallander, "NATO's Enemies Within," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2018): 70-81.

# Sept. 28. Levels of analysis: domestic, bureaucratic, & organizational politics, and the psychology of decision-making.

# **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:**

Podcast: Amy Zegart, "Spying Blind: The FBI, CIA, and 9/11: Why Organizational Weaknesses Matter," Stanford University CISAC *Security Matters*, Mar. 6, 2015, <a href="https://youtu.be/wClCLJA-G7M">https://youtu.be/wClCLJA-G7M</a>

#### CLIO.

Anonymous, "I Am Part of the Resistance Inside the Trump Administration," *New York Times*, Sept. 5, 2018.

### **Open Web:**

Aubrey Immelman, "The Leadership Style of U.S. President Donald J. Trump," Working Paper (Release 1.2), Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics, Jan. 20, 2017,

https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1109&context=psychology\_pubs [Note: this professor and his undergraduate students have done a large number of personality inventories of various US politicians (including Biden, Warren and Sanders) and world leaders (including Putin, Xi, and Kim). The website is here: http://personality-politics.org/]

# Sept. 30. Constructivism: norms and ideas (neutral, good, and bad ones).

Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 171-200 (only pp. 171-81 are required).

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.

Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Race in the Modern World: The Problem of the Color Line," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 2015): 1-8.

Sheri Berman, "Populism Is Not Fascism (But It Could Be a Harbinger)," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 2016): 39-44.

### Oct. 5. Case study: Systemic racism and US foreign policy institutions

Note: for today's class we will be joined by guest speaker Chris Richardson, COO of BDV Solutions, LLC. Several of his opinion articles are on our reading list for today.

#### CLIO:

Christopher Richardson, "Closed Doors at the State Department," *New York Times*, June 23, 2020.

Christopher Richardson, "A Birth Tourism Crackdown that Gets around the Law; Making Consular Officers into a Pregnancy Patrol Is a Terrible Idea," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 6, 2020.

Christopher Richardson, "We Must Abolish the 'Public Charge' Rule," *Washington Post*, Aug. 15, 2019.

Christopher Richardson, "Trump's Social Media Visa Policy Isn't New. We've Been Doing It for Years," *Washington Post*, June 10, 2019.

## **Open Web:**

Jennifer Koons, "When Feeling American Requires Leaving America," *The Atlantic*, July 22, 2020, <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/07/us-black-diplomats-america/614452/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/07/us-black-diplomats-america/614452/</a>

Tianna Spears, "What Do I Want from White People? (An Illustration on Being Black in America)," *What's Up with Tianna* blog, May 30, 2020, <a href="https://whatsupwithtianna.com/2020/05/30/whatdo-i-want-from-white-people-an-illustration-on-being-black-in-america/">https://whatsupwithtianna.com/2020/05/30/whatdo-i-want-from-white-people-an-illustration-on-being-black-in-america/</a>

#### CLIO:

Helene Cooper, "Black Troops Fight at the Front, But Rarely Get Jobs at the Top," *New York Times*, May 25, 2020.

Bishop Garrison and Jon Wolfsthal, "An Appeal to the National Security Community to Fight Racial Injustice," ForeignPolicy.com, June 2, 2020

### Oct. 7. Case study: The rise of China.

#### CLIO

Avery Goldstein, "China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance," *International Security* 45, no. 1 (Summer 2020): 164-201.

### **Open Web:**

Erin Baggott Carter, "Diversionary Aggression in Chinese Foreign Policy," Brookings Institution, Jan. 22, 2019, <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/articles/diversionary-aggression-in-chinese-foreign-policy/">https://www.brookings.edu/articles/diversionary-aggression-in-chinese-foreign-policy/</a> "Hong Kong Security Law: What Is It and Is It Worrying?," BBC News, June 30, 2020, <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-52765838">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-52765838</a>

#### CLIO:

Suisheng Zhao, "China's Belt-Road Initiative as the Signature of President Xi Jinping Diplomacy: Easier Said than Done," *Journal of Contemporary China* 29, no. 123 (2020) 319-35. Celine Sui, "China's Racism Is Wrecking Its Success in Africa," ForeignPolicy.com, Apr. 15, 2020.

Ana Swanson and Keith Bradsher, "Trade With China, Long a Source of Tension, Emerges as a Point of Stability," *New York Times*, July 26, 2020.

Jeffrey Gettleman, "Caught Between Indian and Chinese Troops, at 15,000 Feet," *New York Times*, July 11, 2020.

**Recommended, not required:** Broadcast, "China: Power and Prosperity," PBS NewsHour, July 8, 2020, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gF\_frOsTrgw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gF\_frOsTrgw</a>

## Sunday, Oct. 11, 5pm: First midterm due on Courseworks.

### Oct. 12. Case study: The European Union.

# 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, <a href="http://harvardmagazine.com/2013/07/anatomy-of-the-euro-crisis">http://harvardmagazine.com/2013/07/anatomy-of-the-euro-crisis</a>.

Kelly M. Greenhill, "Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis," European Law Journal 22, no. 3 (2016): 317-32, <a href="https://as.tufts.edu/politicalscience/sites/all/themes/asbase/assets/documents/newsEvents/2016mayEurope">https://as.tufts.edu/politicalscience/sites/all/themes/asbase/assets/documents/newsEvents/2016mayEurope</a> an Migrant Crisis, pdf

# **Courseworks files:**

R. Daniel Kelemen, "The E.U. Is Supposed to Promote Democracy. So Why Do Anti-Democratic Politicians Thrive within It?," *Washington Post Monkey Cage Blog*, Dec. 2, 2019.

#### CLIO:

Monika Pronczuk, "E.U. Punishes Polish Towns That Say They're 'L.G.B.T.-Free," *New York Times*, July 31, 2020.

### Open web:

Scott Neuman, "EU Agrees To \$858 Billion In Grants, Loans To Bail Out Pandemic-Battered Economies," NPR, July 21, 2020, <a href="https://www.npr.org/sections/coronavirus-live-updates/2020/07/21/893408948/eu-agrees-to-858-billion-in-grants-loans-to-bailout-pandemic-battered-economies">https://www.npr.org/sections/coronavirus-live-updates/2020/07/21/893408948/eu-agrees-to-858-billion-in-grants-loans-to-bailout-pandemic-battered-economies</a>

## Recommended, not required:

Podcast: Richard Coffin, "The Greek Debt Crisis: 5-Minute History Lesson," The Plain Bagel, Aug. 23, 2019, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g\_yiQBe8yiQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g\_yiQBe8yiQ</a>

# Oct 14. Case study: Russia, NATO enlargement, and the seizure of Crimea CLIO:

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2014; and the response, Michael McFaul; Stephen Sestanovich; John J. Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2014.

Daniel Treisman, "Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 47-54.

## **Courseworks files:**

Kimberly Marten, "NATO Enlargement: Evaluating its Consequences in Russia," *International Politics* 57, no. 3 (June 2020): 401-26.

# Part II: Selected Twentieth-Century History and Why It Matters Today

### Oct. 19. A brief history of sovereignty, imperialism and decolonization.

## Courseworks:

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.

## CLIO:

Tilden J. Le Melle, "Race in International Relations," *International Studies Perspectives* 10, No. 1 (February 2009): 77-83.

Antonio Weiss and Brad Setser, "America's Forgotten Colony: Ending Puerto Rico's Perpetual Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2019): 158-68.

Oct. 21. No class meeting (university Fall A intensive term finals). Students should use the extra time this week to delve into their chosen critical question, doing independent research from high-quality webbased news and analytical sources. Try to become an expert on your chosen question.

# Oct. 26. The international system and the origins of World War II Open web:

Russell S. Sobel, "The League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter: An Analysis of Two International Constitutions," *Constitutional Political Economy* 5, no. 2 (1994); only pp. 176-186 are required (the sections on League history); feel free to skip the formal diagrams: http://faculty.citadel.edu/sobel/All%20Pubs%20PDF/The%20League%20of%20Nations.pdf

Norrin M. Ripsman and Jack S. Levy, "Wishful Thinking or Buying Time? The Logic of British Appeasement in the 1930s," *International Security* 33, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 148-81, <a href="http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/levy/articles/2008%20Wishful%20Thinking%20or%20Buying%20Time.pdf">http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/levy/articles/2008%20Wishful%20Thinking%20or%20Buying%20Time.pdf</a>

#### CLIO:

Scott Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, No. 4 (Spring 1988): 893-922.

# Open web:

Erez Manela, "Woodrow Wilson and 'the Ugliest of Treacheries," New York Times, March 9, 2019.

Video: "President Wilson Authorizes Segregation Within Federal Government," On This Day, Apr. 11, 1913, Equal Justice Initiative, <a href="https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/apr/11">https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/apr/11</a>

# Oct. 28. Whatever happened to Bretton Woods? The World Trade Organization and Trump's trade wars.

#### **Open Web:**

Nitsan Chorev and Sarah Babb, "The Crisis of Neoliberalism and the Future of International Institutions: A Comparison of the IMF and the WTO," *Theory and Society* 38 (2009): 459-84, <a href="http://www.ir.rochelleterman.com/sites/default/files/Chorev1999.pdf">http://www.ir.rochelleterman.com/sites/default/files/Chorev1999.pdf</a>

#### CLIO:

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.

Chad P. Bown and Douglas A. Irwin, "Trump's Assault on the Global Trading System, and Why Decoupling From China Will Change Everything," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 5 (Sept/Oct. 2019): 125-136.

### **Open Web:**

Chad P. Bown and Soumaya Keynes, "Why Did Trump End the WTO's Appellate Body? Tariffs," Petersen Institute for International Economics Policy Watch, Mar. 4, 2020, <a href="https://www.piie.com/blogs/trade-and-investment-policy-watch/why-did-trump-end-wtos-appellate-body-tariffs">https://www.piie.com/blogs/trade-and-investment-policy-watch/why-did-trump-end-wtos-appellate-body-tariffs</a>

**Nov. 2. No class meeting: Election Day holiday.** If you are eligible, please register and please vote. This is the most important U.S. election of my 56-year lifetime—please be heard!

# Nov. 4. The Cold War, part I: Origins, power, and the arms race CLIO:

Robert Jervis, "Identity and the Cold War," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, **vol. 2** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 2, pp. 22-43.

William I. Hitchcock, "The Marshall Plan and the Creation of the West," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, **vol. 1** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 8, pp. 154-174.

William Burr and David Alan Rosenberg, "Nuclear Competition in an Era of Stalemate, 1963–1975," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, **vol. 2** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 5, 88-111.

#### Open web:

"U.S.-Russia Nuclear Arms Control, 1949 – 2019," CFR Timeline, https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-russia-nuclear-arms-control

# Nov. 9 The Cold War, part II: Ideological competition and proxy wars in the "Third World." CLIO:

Michael E. Latham, "The Cold War in the Third World, 1963–1975," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 2 ((New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 13, pp. 258-80.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "Dependent Capitalist Development in Latin America," *New Left Review* 74 (July-August 1972): 83-95.

Zakia Shiraz, "Review: CIA Intervention in Chile and the Fall of the Allende Government in 1973," *Journal of American Studies* 45, no. 3 (August 2011): 603-13

### Nov. 11. A cold war example: The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)

Note: today's class will feature a guest presentation by James Goldgeier, professor and former Dean of the School of International Service at American University and Robert Bosch Senior Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution Center on the United States and Europe.

#### CLIO:

Arthur I. Cyr, "The Cuban Missile Crisis after Fifty Years," *Orbis*, 57, no. 4 (Autumn 2013): 5-19.

Richard M. Pious, "The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (Spring, 2001): 81-105.

Sergei Radchenko, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: Assessment of New, and Old, Russian Sources," *International Relations* (London) 26, no. 3 (2012): 327-43.

#### Open web:

David Wright, "Six Close Calls During the Cuban Missile Crisis," Union of Concerned Scientists Blog, Oct. 30, 2015, <a href="https://blog.ucsusa.org/david-wright/six-close-calls-during-the-cuban-missile-crisis-941">https://blog.ucsusa.org/david-wright/six-close-calls-during-the-cuban-missile-crisis-941</a>

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

https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB355/NewsweekMagazine.2011.08.22 26-28.pdf

And [recommended, not required], to show how the "definitive history" keeps on evolving: Sean D. Naylor, "Operation Cobra: The Untold Story of How a CIA Officer Trained a Network of Agents Who Found the Soviet Missiles in Cuba," *Yahoo News* [yes, seriously!], Jan. 23, 2019, <a href="https://news.yahoo.com/operation-cobra-untold-story-cia-officer-trained-network-agents-found-soviet-missiles-cuba-100005794.html">https://news.yahoo.com/operation-cobra-untold-story-cia-officer-trained-network-agents-found-soviet-missiles-cuba-100005794.html</a>

# Nov. 16. Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War: realism, ideas, and personalities.

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

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 25, no. 3 (Winter 2000/2001): 5-53.

Robert D. English, "Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth," *International Security* 26, no. 4 (Spring, 2002): 70-92.

### Part III: Recent and Current Global Issues

# Nov. 18. The UN Security Council, the evolution of peace operations, and R2P. Open web:

Håvard Hegre, Lisa Hultman, and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård, "Peacekeeping Works: Evaluating the Effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping Operations," PRIO (Oslo) *Conflict Trends* 2017, no. 6, https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=1526&type=publicationfile

#### CLIO:

Séverine Autesserre, "The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2019): 101-116.

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.

## Open web:

Jelani Cobb, "An American Spring of Reckoning," New Yorker.com, June 14, 2020.

## Sunday Nov. 22, 5pm: Second midterm due on Courseworks. [Comprehensive through Nov. 16.]

#### Nov. 23. Terrorism

#### CLIO:

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

Bernard Haykel, "ISIS and al Qaeda—What Are They Thinking? Understanding the Adversary," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 668, no. 1 (2016): 71–81.

### Open web:

Stanford University Mapping Militant Organizations project, "Al Qaeda" profile, <a href="http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/21">http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/21</a>, and "Islamic State" profile, <a href="https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-state#highlight\_text\_12400">https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-state#highlight\_text\_12400</a> Please explore this interactive tool to get the factual background on the groups Haykel is analyzing.

Seth G. Jones, Catrina Doxsee, and Nicholas Harrington, "The Escalating Terrorism Problem in the United States," Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Briefs, June 2020, <a href="https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/200612">https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/200612</a> Jones DomesticTerrorism v6.pdf

# Nov. 25: No class meeting, Thanksgiving holiday.

# Nov. 30. International intervention: the example of the US invasion of Iraq, 2003 CLIO:

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.

# Dec. 2. International intervention: the complex examples of civil war in Syria and Libya. Open web:

Zachary Laub, "Syria's Civil War: The Descent into Horror," Council on Foreign Relations, Feb. 19, 2020, https://www.cfr.org/article/syrias-civil-war

Armenak Tokmajyan, "How Southern Syria Has Been Transformed into a Regional Powder Keg," Carnegie Endowment Middle East Center Working Paper, July 2020, https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Tokmajyan\_Syria2.pdf

#### CLIO

Alan J. Kuperman, "Obama's Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 2015): 66-77.

### Open web:

Tarek Megerisi, "Libya's Global Civil War," European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief, June 2019, <a href="https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/libyas\_global\_civil\_war1.pdf">https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/libyas\_global\_civil\_war1.pdf</a>

## **Recommended**, not required:

Dexter Filkins, "The Moral Logic of Humanitarian Intervention," *The New Yorker*, Sept. 16, 2019, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/09/16/the-moral-logic-of-humanitarian-Intervention

### Dec. 7. Nuclear proliferation and Iran.

#### CLIO:

Nina Tannenwald, "Justice and Fairness in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Ethics and International Affairs* 27, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 299-317.

### Open web:

Zachary Laub and Kali Robinson, "What Is the Status of the Iran Nuclear Agreement?" Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, Jan. 7, 2020,

https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-status-iran-nuclear-agreement

Raz Zimmt, "Israeli Campaign to Stop Iran's Nuclear Program," Iran Primer, U.S. Institute of Peace, July 15, 2020, <a href="https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2020/jul/15/israeli-campaign-stop-irans-nuclear-program">https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2020/jul/15/israeli-campaign-stop-irans-nuclear-program</a>

Micah Zenko (with Kyle Beardsley, Sarah Kreps, Matthew Kroenig, Annie Tracy Samuel, and Todd S. Sechser), "Ask the Experts: What Would Iran Do With a Bomb?" Council on Foreign Relations Blog, Feb. 21, 2012, <a href="https://www.cfr.org/blog/ask-experts-what-would-iran-do-bomb">https://www.cfr.org/blog/ask-experts-what-would-iran-do-bomb</a>

#### CLIO:

Wyn Bowen and Matthew Moran, "Living with Nuclear Hedging: the Implications of Iran's Nuclear Strategy," *International Affairs* (London) 91, no. 4 (July 2015): 687-707.

# Dec. 9. COVID and potential future pandemics.

#### CLIO:

Michael T. Osterholm and Mark Olshaker, "Chronicle of a Pandemic Foretold: Learning from the COVID-19 Failure, Before the Next Outbreak Arrives," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2020): 10-24.

Stewart Patrick, "When the System Fails: COVID-19 and the Costs of Global Dysfunction," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2020): 40-50.

Thomas J. Bollyky and Chad P. Bown, "The Tragedy of Vaccine Nationalism: Only Cooperation Can End the Pandemic," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2020):

### Open web:

Podcast: Shannon O'Neill, "The Instability of Global Supply Chains in a Pandemic," The President's Inbox (CFR), Apr. 1, 2020, <a href="https://www.cfr.org/podcasts/instability-global-supply-chains-pandemic-shannon-k-oneil">https://www.cfr.org/podcasts/instability-global-supply-chains-pandemic-shannon-k-oneil</a>

# Dec. 14. Climate change: state action and its alternatives.

#### CLIO:

Joshua Busby, "Warming World: Why Climate Change Matters More than Anything Else," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2018): 49-55.

William Nordhaus, "Climate Club: How to Fix a Failing Global Effort," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 3 (May/June 2020): 10-17.

Johannes Urpelainen and Thijs van de Graaf, "United States Non-cooperation and the Paris Agreement," *Climate Policy* 18, no. 7 (2018): 839-51.

Jonathan W. Kuyper, Björn-Ola Linnér, and Heike Schroeder, "Non-state actors in hybrid global climate governance: justice, legitimacy, and effectiveness in a post-Paris era," *Wiley's Interdisciplinary Reviews Climate Change* 9 (Jan./Feb. 2018).