

POLITICAL SCIENCE 1003.10
INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
Department of Political Science
The George Washington University

Spring 2015

Time: Tues/Thurs., 12.45 – 1.35pm

Room: 1957 E St. NW, #113

Office Hours: MW, 10.45am – 12.00pm, or by appt.

Professor: Alexander B. Downes

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COURSE DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

This course is an introduction to the causes, character, and consequences of conflict and cooperation among states in security and economic affairs. The course is not purely theoretical, historical, or about current events. Rather, the approach taken here is that theory is necessary to make sense of historical and contemporary events, but also that theory is not very useful in the absence of knowledge of the past and present. Therefore, the course begins with an introduction to international relations theory, but proceeds in a chronological fashion, providing the historical background necessary for understanding international relations and highlighting how different theories help explain the historical cases.

After providing an overview of IR theory and levels of analysis in the first part of the course, the second section turns to great power politics in Europe from the French Revolution to World War I. This part of the course examines the transformation in warfare wrought by the French Revolution; the Concert of Europe that helped keep the peace after the fall of Napoleon; the first period of globalization; and the causes of the First World War. The third section of the course takes us from world war to world war, looking at the nature of the post-World War I settlement; the causes and conduct of World War II; and the opening moves of U.S.-Soviet competition. Section IV studies the international politics of the Cold War, including international political and economic institutions; the effect of nuclear weapons on Cold War crises; competition in the Third World and the Middle East; the economic crises of the 1970s; and the end of the Cold War. The final section of the course focuses on the post-Cold War world, beginning with the debate over globalization and proceeding through issues such as economic sanctions; the international politics of the environment; and contemporary security issues like terrorism, nuclear proliferation, humanitarian intervention, and the rise of China.

No introductory course can adequately cover an entire field, and this one makes no pretense about being comprehensive. Nor do the readings on any given subject in the course constitute the last word on that topic. The goals of the course, rather, are to:

- Provide students with the necessary theoretical tools to analyze questions in international relations from multiple perspectives
- Enable students to compare and evaluate the explanatory power of competing theories
- Assist students in gaining the historical background needed to understand contemporary international events

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS

PSC 1003 consists of two weekly lecture sessions (MW) and one discussion section led by a Teaching Assistant (T, R, or F). This is a challenging course, with an above-average workload. Do not make the mistake of equating “introduction” with “easy.” The course is fast-moving and covers a lot of ground, including a lot of history with which you may be unfamiliar. The general requirements for the course are as follows:

- **Attend Lecture.** Lectures take place from 12.45 to 1.35pm on MW. The lectures will reinforce and supplement the readings, but much of the material in lecture will not be contained in the readings.

- **Complete the Readings.** Put simply, *you must be willing to read to succeed in this course*. Often there are one hundred or more pages of reading per lecture. Doing the reading will also make it easier to follow the lectures (and, of course, the lectures will help you pick out the most important points in the readings). Common myths about the reading include: (1) believing that it is possible to catch up on the readings by cramming prior to an exam; (2) focusing on trivial details rather than the big ideas of each reading; and (3) thinking that it is not worth reading any of the assignments if you cannot read all of them. Be careful not to succumb to these myths. Commit yourself to keep up with the readings; take careful notes; and distill the key arguments made by the authors. Questions to keep in mind while doing the readings are provided in the syllabus for each lecture.
- **Attend (and Participate in) Discussion Section.** All students must attend and actively participate in their discussion section each week. Sections are not another lecture period; they are intended as a time for students to engage with the readings and the ideas contained therein. This is impossible if you have not read the material. Use the questions provided for each lecture as a guide to possible topics for discussion. Your TA may also provide additional questions or ask students to come up with some to guide discussion. A list of the times and locations of all discussion sections is provided below.

ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION

There are four main components to the final semester grade.

- **Participation (15%):** Students are expected to attend every lecture and section meeting as well as do all of the required reading beforehand. Participation grades will be based on:
 - Attendance (5%)
 - Participation in Discussion (10%)
- **Three Response Papers (15%):** due in hard copy in lecture on **February 4, March 25, and April 15**. These short (2 double-spaced pages maximum) papers will respond to specific questions distributed by the teaching staff.
- **Midterm Take-Home Examination I (30%):** 8 double-spaced pages maximum, **due March 4 at 12.45pm** in hard copy in lecture and electronically on SafeAssign. The essay question will be distributed via Blackboard on February 25.
- **Final Examination (40%): Monday, May 4, 12.40 – 2.40pm.** Cumulative, closed-book final exam, consisting of short answer questions and essays.

Instructions will be circulated on how to submit your essay to SafeAssign. Note that your paper must be submitted to SafeAssign before class begins, and that your paper is not considered “turned in” until you have provided both a hard copy and an electronic copy.

BOOKS

The following books are required reading and are available for purchase at The George Washington University Bookstore and many online outlets.

Jeffrey A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Norton, 2006).

John Lamberton Harper, *The Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

All of the journal articles and book chapters listed below in the required reading are available online on E-Reserve. These texts are easily obtained through the Blackboard site that has been established for the class. Click on “Blackboard” from the “My GW” page (<http://my.gwu.edu>), log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “E-Reserves.” There are folders for each lecture; inside the folders, readings are listed by the author’s last name.

ONLINE COURSE TOOLS

Students will need to purchase access to *Top Hat*, an online course tool that will be used to take attendance and ask questions in lecture. Top Hat costs \$20 per semester or \$38 for a 5-year subscription. Visit <https://tophat.com/> for more information. Please wait for further instructions prior to purchasing your account.

POLICIES AND RESOURCES

- **Class Policies**

- **Papers:** All papers for this course are expected to be double-spaced, written in 12-point font, have margins of at least 1 inch on all sides, and be stapled. Deviations from this standard are easy to detect and will affect your grade.
- **Late Papers and Extensions:** Late papers will be accepted up to 24 hours after the deadline, but one letter grade will be deducted. Papers that are more than 24 hours late will not be accepted and will be given a grade of zero. Exceptions will be made only in cases of incapacitating illness or extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor and your TA as soon as possible to discuss an extension. Extensions involving illness require documentation from a physician. If you must turn in a paper late it is *your responsibility* to make arrangements to get both an electronic copy and a hard copy to your TA by the deadline.
- **Religious Holidays:** Although students are expected to attend every lecture and discussion section, exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday need to notify the instructor during the first week of the semester. The list of approved holidays is available here: <http://students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays>.
- **Exams:** Students must take the final exam at the time and date assigned by the Academic Scheduling Office. Students who have three final exams on one day may petition for one of them to be rescheduled. Note that this must be done at least three weeks prior to the last day of classes: see <http://registrar.gwu.edu/final-exam-schedule>.
- **Technology:** You will need an electronic device (cell phone, laptop, iPad) to access *Top Hat*, but otherwise these devices are to be used for note-taking purposes only, not for texting, checking e-mail, Facebook, surfing the web or online shopping. Note that the use of laptops is a privilege that can be taken away if it is abused! If your cell phone rings during lecture, I will answer it for you.
- **Email:** Email facilitates certain behaviors that students should avoid. First, always check the syllabus or ask a classmate before emailing the instructor or your TA with a procedural question; often, the answer has already been provided for you. Do not expect to receive a response to a question like “when is the midterm due?” Second, students should communicate professionally with the teaching staff, avoiding informal salutations, casual language, and sloppy punctuation and spelling. We will not respond to disrespectful or inappropriate emails. Third, please keep your communications brief. Complicated questions or issues are best discussed in person in office hours or by appointment.
- **Study Groups:** Students may form study groups to help them better understand the material. However, study groups should not be used as a “division of labor” device whereby students read

only some of the assignments while relying on others to summarize the remaining articles or chapters for them. Use the reading questions and key terms to help guide you through the readings. These questions and terms are not comprehensive, however, and are meant only to help you prepare for sections and exams.

- **Grade Appeals:** Grades in this course are not negotiable, but if you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may appeal. The appeals process is as follows:
 - You must wait 24 hours before you may appeal.
 - Submit your appeal in writing to your TA along with the graded assignment. Your TA will respond in writing.
 - If you still believe your work has been mis-graded, you may appeal to the professor. Submit your graded assignment, your original appeal, and your TA's response.
 - Appeals may result in a higher grade, no change, or a lower grade.
 - Behave in a respectful manner throughout the process. The teaching staff recognizes the importance of grades to students, but losing your cool will not help your case.
- **Ideological Perspectives:** I do not care *what* you think, I care *that* you think. My mission is to get you to think critically about important issues in international relations, not convince you that my view is right. There are no right or wrong views, only better or worse arguments. Good arguments require sound logic, solid evidence, and a consideration of alternative explanations.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Integrity.** According to the university's Code of Academic Integrity, "Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." For the rest of the code, see <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. All work you submit for this course must be your own; you must properly cite your sources in any written assignment no matter where you find them – that includes on the internet. *I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty.* If you are found to have cheated on any assignment, the likely minimum punishment is a failing grade for that assignment. The case may also be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity at the instructor's discretion, depending on the severity of the offense. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor or your TA.
- **Disabilities.** GW's Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Additional information is available at <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>.
- **Counseling.** The University Counseling Center (UCC, 202.994.5300) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include crisis and emergency mental health consultations, confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals (see <http://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/about>).
- **Security.** If we experience an emergency during class time, we will try to stay at this location until we hear that we can move about safely. If we have to leave the classroom, we will meet in Rawlins Park (across E Street from the Elliott School) in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University's operating status: <http://campusadvisories.gwu.edu/>.

COURSE CALENDAR

Part I. Introduction and IR Theory

1. January 12 (M) Course Introduction
2. January 14 (W) Overview of IR Theory and Levels of Analysis
- January 19 (M) NO CLASS: Martin Luther King Day
3. January 21 (W) Realist Theories
4. January 26 (M) Liberal Theories
5. January 28 (W) Constructivist Theories

Part II. From the French Revolution to World War I

6. February 2 (M) The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1789-1815
7. February 4 (W) The Concert of Europe and Bismarckian Realpolitik
Response Paper #1 Due
8. February 9 (M) The Expansion of World Trade in the 19th Century
9. February 11 (W) The Rise of Germany and the Path to World War I
- February 16 (M) NO CLASS: President's Day
- February 18 (W) NO CLASS: International Studies Association Conference
10. *February 20* *Downes Make-Up Lecture: IR Theory and the Causes of World War I*

Part III. From World War I to World War II

11. February 23 (M) The Interwar Period: Collective Security and the Great Depression
12. February 25 (W) The Origins of World War II
Take-home Midterm Distributed
13. March 2 (M) The Conduct of World War II
14. March 4 (W) The End of World War II and the Origins of the Cold War
Take-home Midterm Due
- March 9 NO CLASS: Spring Break
- March 11 NO CLASS: Spring Break

Part IV. The Cold War

15. March 16 (M) Postwar Political and Economic Institutions: UN and Bretton Woods
16. March 18 (W) The Nuclear Revolution and Early Cold War Crises
17. March 23 (M) Dominoes and the Third World: Korea and Vietnam
18. March 25 (W) The Middle East: Three Crises
Response Paper #2 Due
19. March 30 (M) Economic Crises of the 1970s
20. April 1 (W) The End of the Cold War and Its Consequences

Part V. The Post-Cold War World

21. April 6 (M) Globalization
22. April 8 (W) Globalization and Its Discontents
23. April 13 (M) Economic Sanctions
24. April 15 (W) The Environment and Climate Change
Response Paper #3 Due
25. April 20 (M) Is the World Still Dangerous? Terrorism
26. April 22 (W) Is the World Still Dangerous? Nuclear Proliferation
27. April 27 (M) An Age of Permanent Crisis? The EU and the Arab Spring
28. April 28 (T) Make up Day: The End of Unipolarity? The Rise of China
29. April 29 (W) Designated Monday: Course Wrap-up and Review

TEACHING ASSISTANTS

Chana Solomon-Schwartz (cmss@gwmail.gwu.edu)

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Seokjoon Kim (kim_sj@gwmail.gwu.edu)

DISCUSSION SECTIONS

Tuesday (Evers)

- PSC 1003.30, 8.00 – 8.50am, 1957 E St. NW, 308
- PSC 1003.31, 9.35 – 10.25am, 1957 E St. NW, 308
- PSC 1003.34, 11.10am – 12.00pm, 1957 E St. NW, 309

Thursday (Solomon-Schwartz)

- PSC 1003.35, 8.00 – 8.50am, 1957 E St. NW, 308
- PSC 1003.33, 9.35 – 10.25am, PHIL 416
- PSC 1003.32, 11.10am – 12.00pm, DUQUES 359

Friday (Kim)

- PSC 1003.36, 8.00 – 8.50am, 1957 E St. NW, 310
- PSC 1003.37, 9.35 – 10.25am, 1957 E St. NW, 310
- PSC 1003.38, 11.10am – 12.00pm, BELL 106

DETAILED COURSE SCHEDULE

Part I. Introduction

1. Course Introduction January 12
 - No readings assigned.

2. An Overview of IR Theory: Two Issues, Three Paradigms, Three Levels of Analysis January 14
 - Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 1-13.
 - Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, no. 145 (November/December 2004): 52-62.
 - Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 1-15.
 - James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 379-390 only.

Reading Questions

- What is a theory and why do we need theories?
- What factors do realist, liberal, and constructivist theories of IR emphasize?
- Why are liberal and constructivist theories more optimistic regarding the possibility of international cooperation and change?
- What distinguishes the three "levels of analysis" or "images" from each other?
- What is a rationalist explanation for war?
- What are Fearon's three rationalist explanations for war?
- What is the key insight for the causes of war that Fearon derives from his bargaining framework?

Key Terms

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| • Theory | • Economic Interdependence |
| • Law | • Neoliberal Institutionalism |
| • Correlation | • Three images |
| • Inductivist illusion | • Polarity |
| • Anarchy | • Commitment problem |
| • Realism | • Private information |
| • Liberalism | • Issue indivisibility |
| • Democratic Peace Theory | • Bargaining range |

No Class: Martin Luther King Day January 19

3. Realist Theories January 21
 - Charles L. Glaser, "Realism," in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 13-27.
 - Robert Gilpin, "The Theory of Hegemonic War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 591-613.
 - Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (New York: Penguin, 1954), 400-408 ("The Melian Dialogue").
 - James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 390-410 only.

Reading Questions

- What are the different versions of realism, and how do they differ from one another?
- Which of the realist theories do you find most appealing and/or persuasive?
- Why was the Peloponnesian War a hegemonic war? What other examples of hegemonic wars does Gilpin discuss?
- Has the advent of nuclear weapons rendered hegemonic war obsolete?
- What reasons do the Athenians give to explain why they must subjugate Melos? Why is the Melian Dialogue thought to be a classic exposition of realism?
- Why does Fearon discount issue indivisibility as a rationalist explanation for war? Do you agree with him?
- Do Fearon's rationalist explanations for war have implications for the duration and severity of wars? For example, would a war caused by private information and incentives to misrepresent that information be shorter or longer than a war caused by commitment problems?

Key Terms

- Defensive Realism
- Offensive Realism
- Security dilemma
- Offense-defense balance
- Commitment problem
- Private information
- Issue indivisibility
- Bargaining range
- Incentives to misrepresent
- Spiral model
- Preemptive war
- Preventive war
- Hegemonic war
- Athens
- Sparta
- Peloponnesian War

4. Liberal Theories

January 26

- Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" *Foreign Policy* no. 110 (Spring 1998): 82-96.
- Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), 18-27.
- Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 24-42.

Reading Questions

- How does neoliberal institutionalism differ from neorealism?
- What are some of the benefits of international institutions that facilitate cooperation?
- What are relative gains, and why are they thought to inhibit cooperation?
- What does Keohane highlight as a major potential problem for international institutions that could undermine their legitimacy and effectiveness?
- What are the various mechanisms through which interdependence is thought to inhibit war?
- How is joint democracy thought to inhibit war?

Key Terms

- Absolute gains vs. relative gains
- International regimes
- Checks and balances
- Cultural/normative model of DP
- Structural/institutional model of DP

5. Constructivist Theories

January 28

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 391-425.
- John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), Forward (unpaginated), Preface (pp. ix-xii), and Introduction (pp. 3-13).
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 433-68.

Reading Questions

- How is Wendt's structural constructivism similar to—and different from—neorealism?
- What does Wendt say must be added to Waltz's conception of structure?
- Why does Wendt say there can be three types of anarchies rather than one?
- What does Mueller mean when he says that "war is merely an idea—an institution?"
- Has major war died out among the great powers? Why? Is Mueller's explanation for this correct?
- According to Tannenwald, what are the three types of effects that norms can have? How do they work?
- According to Tannenwald, why is the Vietnam War a "good test" of the nuclear taboo?
- How has the nuclear taboo facilitated the use of other highly destructive weapons?
- Do you agree that the United States would never use a nuclear weapon in anger in a future conflict?

Key Terms

- Identity
- Endogenous vs. exogenous
- Norm
- Nuclear taboo
- Regulative, constitutive, and permissive effects (of norms)
- Logic of appropriateness
- Logic of consequences
- "Taboo talk"
- Operation Duck Hook

Part II. From Napoleon to World War I

6. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

February 2

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 579-594.
- Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 75-93.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 267-288.

Reading Questions

- What is the difference between "absolute" and "real" war for Clausewitz? What prevents real war from approaching the absolute?
- What is the governing principle that guides the level of effort in warfare?
- What differentiates European warfare prior to the French Revolution from warfare thereafter?
- Why didn't the European great powers balance effectively against France until 1813? In general, when do states prefer to balance or buckpass?

Key Terms

- Nationalism
- Absolute and real war
- Levée en masse
- Carl von Clausewitz
- Napoleon Bonaparte
- Balancing
- Buckpassing
- Continental System
- Balanced and unbalanced multipolarity

7. The Concert of Europe and Bismarckian Realpolitik

February 4

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 78-102, 120-167.
- Richard B. Elrod, "The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at an International System," *World Politics* 28, no. 2 (January 1976): 159-74.
- Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, "Balance of Power, 1815-1914: Three Experiments," in Craig and George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 25-42.

Reading Questions

- What is international stability?
- According to Elrod, what were the essential features of the Concert of Europe that helped keep the peace among Europe's great powers?
- Which of the three periods discussed in the reading – 1815-1854 (the Concert of Europe), 1870-1890 (Bismarckian Realpolitik), or 1890-1914 (the pre-World War I era) – was the most stable?
- Which of the major theories we encountered in Part I of the class are most helpful in explaining periods of peace in nineteenth century Europe?
- Are the causes of stability the same today as they were in the nineteenth century?

Key Terms

- Klemens von Metternich
- German Confederation
- Congress of Vienna
- Quadruple Alliance
- Holy Alliance
- Napoleon III
- Crimean War
- War of Italian Unification
- "Splendid isolation"
- Otto von Bismarck
- Wars of German Unification
- Three Emperor's League
- Realpolitik
- Eastern Question
- Russo-Turkish War, 1877-78
- Congress of Berlin
- Triple Alliance
- Reinsurance Treaty

8. The Expansion of World Trade in the 19th Century February 9

- Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, 1-11, 13-33, 39-50, 77-79, 105-123.
- Stephen D. Krasner, "State Power and the Structure of International Trade," *World Politics* 28, no. 3 (April 1976): 317-337 only.
- Arthur Stein, "The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States, and the International Economic Order," *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (1984): 355-373 only.

Reading Questions

- What is globalization? Which factors were the most important in the rise of globalization and free trade in the nineteenth century?
- What is Frieden's argument about the relationship between nations' integration into the global market and their economic development?
- Does international trade encourage or discourage war?
- What is a hegemon and what does Stein mean by the "hegemon's dilemma"?
- What sort of international system most encourages trade? Is a hegemon required?

Key Terms

- Globalization
- Mercantilism
- Specialization/division of labor
- Gold Standard
- Corn Laws
- Cobden-Chevalier Treaty
- Price-specie flow mechanism
- Comparative advantage
- David Ricardo
- Hegemon
- Hegemonic stability theory
- Heckscher-Ohlin theory
- Stolper-Samuelson theory

9. The Rise of Germany and the Path to World War I February 11

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 168-217.
- Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 94-115.
- Geoffrey Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1914* (London: Routledge, 2000), 176-225.

Reading Questions

- What were some of the crucial technological innovations of the second half of the nineteenth century, and how did they influence the conduct of war?
- What were the key diplomatic realignments among the European great powers after the dismissal of Bismarck? Why did they occur?
- What was the German war plan on the eve of the Great War? What were its political premises? Were these premises realistic?

Key Terms

- Alsace-Lorraine
- Reinsurance Treaty
- “Splendid isolation”
- Entente Cordiale
- First and Second Moroccan Crises
- Crowe Memorandum
- Bosnian Crisis
- Schlieffen Plan
- Weltpolitik
- Plan XVII
- Russia’s “Great Program”
- Archduke Franz Ferdinand
- Gavrilo Princip
- The Low Countries
- Triple Entente
- Triple Alliance
- July Crisis
- The “blank check”
- Tirpitz’s “risk theory”
- Dreadnought
- Race to the sea

No Class: President’s Day February 16

No Class: International Studies Association Annual Meeting February 18

10. Make-Up Lecture: International Relations Theory and the Origins of World War I February 20

- Jack Snyder, “Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984,” *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 108-137.
- Scott D. Sagan, “1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability,” *International Security* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 151-171.
- Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 56-78.

Reading Questions

- According to Snyder, what was the source of the offensive war plans of great power militaries before World War I? What is Sagan’s view and how is it different? Which is more convincing?
- Can World War I be explained by a single “image,” or are multiple levels of analysis needed?
- Why does Copeland argue that “only Germany can be considered responsible for wanting and bringing on major war”?
- Is there a “rationalist” explanation for World War I? If so, what is it?
- Was World War I inevitable? If so, what kept it from breaking out prior to 1914?

Key Terms

- Offense-defense balance
- Security dilemma
- Cult of the offensive
- Parochial organizational interests
- Plan 17
- Preventive war
- Kaiser Wilhelm II
- Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg
- Helmuth von Moltke (the younger)
- Russia’s “Great Program”

Part III. From World War I to World War II

11. The Interwar Period: Collective Security and the Great Depression

February 23

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 218-287.
- Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, 127-154, 173-194.
- Arthur Stein, "The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States, and the International Economic Order," *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (1984): 373-376 only.
- Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 288-305.

Reading Questions

- What were the main features of the Treaty of Versailles? Did the treaty help create conditions that destroyed the peace?
- What were the key features of the League of Nations? Why did it fail to prevent aggression and ultimately another world war?
- What caused the Great Depression? What role did the gold standard play in the Depression?
- According to hegemonic stability theory, how could the Great Depression have been avoided or shortened?

Key Terms

- Treaty of Versailles
- Collective security
- League of Nations
- Fourteen Points
- Self-determination
- Reparations
- Locarno Pact
- Gustav Stresemann
- Kellogg-Briand Pact
- Hyperinflation
- John Maynard Keynes
- Smoot-Hawley Tariff
- Lender of last resort
- Great Depression
- Countercyclical lending

12. The Origins of World War II

February 25

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 288-318, 332-368.
- Scott D. Sagan, "Origins of the Pacific War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 893-922.

Reading Questions

- Would World War II have occurred without Adolf Hitler or Nazi ideology?
- How and why did the Allies appease Hitler in the 1930s? Were their decisions rational given the information available to them at the time?
- Why did Stalin agree to the Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pact?
- Do you see the spiral model or the deterrence model as a better explanation for the outbreak of war? Is your judgment different for the causes of the war in Europe versus the causes in the Far East?

Key Terms

- Lebensraum
- Anschluss
- Rhineland
- Maginot Line
- Sudetenland
- Tripartite Pact
- Russo-Finnish War
- Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pact
- Munich Agreement
- Clean slate debate

13. The Conduct of World War II

March 2

- Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 187-223, 253-276.
- Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 115-155.

Reading Questions

- How was the conduct of World War II different from that of World War I? How was it similar?
- Why did the German blitzkrieg fail in the Soviet Union when it worked so brilliantly in France?
- Why was it so difficult to bomb military targets in Japan? Why was Japan such an inviting target for incendiary bombing?
- Is the era of bombing civilians over? Could such a thing ever happen again in contemporary wars?
- Is there such a thing as a “civilian” in total wars like World War II?

Key Terms

- Operation Barbarossa
- Operation Reinhard
- Einsatzgruppen
- Blitzkrieg
- Babi Yar
- Holocaust
- Concentration camp
- Treblinka
- Auschwitz
- Heinrich Himmler
- Strategic bombing
- Operation Meetinghouse
- Curtis LeMay
- Battle of Britain
- The Blitz
- B-29

14. The End of World War II and the Origins of the Cold War

March 4

- Harper, *Cold War*, 16-89.
- Telegram, George Kennan to George Marshall (“The Long Telegram”), Department of State, February 22, 1946.
- “A Report to the National Security Council – NSC 68,” April 12, 1950, 7-12 (part IV, “The Underlying Conflict...”) and 48-60 (part IX, “Possible Courses of Action,” from “The First Course”).
- The Novikov Telegram, September 27, 1946.

Reading Questions

- Was the Cold War an inevitable by-product of the geopolitical situation and the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1945? Or were non-structural factors, like ideology and personality, the key drivers of hostility?
- Was the United States or the Soviet Union more responsible for the Cold War? Or were both equally responsible?
- Why did the United States launch the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan?
- What was the ultimate goal of U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union – containment or rollback?
- What does Ambassador Novikov get right in his telegram? What does he get wrong?

Key Terms

- Halford Mackinder
- Morgenthau Plan
- Yalta
- Potsdam
- Containment
- George Kennan
- Novikov Telegram
- Cominform
- Iron Curtain
- Spheres of influence
- NSC-68
- NATO
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan

Part IV. The Cold War

15. Postwar Political and Economic Institutions: The UN and Bretton Woods

March 16

- Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, 253-300.
- John H. Barton, Judith L. Goldstein, Timothy E. Josling, and Richard H. Steinberg, *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 27-60.
- Arthur Stein, "The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States, and the International Economic Order," *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (1984): 376-386 only.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 85-97, 107-109.

Reading Questions

- How does the United Nations differ from the League of Nations in terms of its organization and its approach to collective security?
- What were the objectives of the GATT?
- What is an international regime? According to Keohane, why did such regimes emerge after World War II?

Key Terms

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| • Bretton Woods System | • United Nations Security Council |
| • GATT | • OECD |
| • IMF | • European Coal and Steel Community |
| • World Bank | • European Economic Community |
| • Marshall Plan | |

16. The Nuclear Revolution and Early Cold War Crises

March 18

- Harper, *Cold War*, 110-137.
- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), 1-45.
- Daryl G. Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), 117-141.

Reading Questions

- According to Jervis, how have nuclear weapons changed international politics?
- What is the stability-instability paradox?
- What was the nuclear balance between the United States and the Soviet Union in the late 1950s and early 1960s? How did it influence U.S. policymakers' perceptions of the credibility of Soviet threats?
- Did Soviet missiles in Cuba actually change the strategic balance between the United States and the Soviets? If not, why were U.S. leaders so concerned about them?

Key Terms

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| • The Nuclear Revolution | • Bay of Pigs invasion |
| • Mutually Assured Destruction | • Nikita Khrushchev |
| • Stability-Instability Paradox | • Deterrence |
| • Hydrogen bomb | • Compellence |
| • First strike | • Berlin Crisis |
| • Secure second strike capability | • Cuban Missile Crisis |
| • Hungarian uprising | |

17. Dominoes and the Third World: Korea and Vietnam

March 23

- Harper, *Cold War*, 90-109, 138-163.
- Fredrik Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 58-82.

Reading Questions

- Which factors best explain why the United States intervened in military conflicts in Asia?
- Do you agree with Thomas Schelling that a state's reputation for upholding its commitments "is one of the few things worth fighting over?"
- Why did realists like Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz oppose the Vietnam War?
- Why did the United States find it so difficult to prevail in Vietnam?

Key Terms

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| • Kim Il Sung | • Gulf of Tonkin |
| • Syngman Rhee | • Pleiku |
| • Gen. Douglas MacArthur | • Rolling Thunder |
| • Inchon | • Tet Offensive |
| • Ho Chi Minh | • Robert McNamara |
| • Ngo Dinh Diem | • Domino Theory |
| • Viet Minh/Viet Cong | • Credibility |

18. The Middle East: Three Crises

March 25

- Richard K. Betts, *Surprise Attack: Lessons for Defense Planning* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1982), 63-80.
- Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Critique of American Policy* (New York: Viking, 1994), 37-59.
- Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 315 (map), 327-343.

Reading Questions

- Why did Egypt and Syria launch the Yom Kippur War after being so thoroughly defeated in the Six Day War?
- What have been the most important factors driving U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East over the last several decades?
- What problems did Israel's conquest of the West Bank and Gaza in the Six Day War cause both for Israel and the broader Middle East?
- What has the role of the superpowers been in Middle East crises and wars?

Key Terms

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| • Gamel Abdel Nasser | • Six Day War |
| • Golda Meir | • Yom Kippur War |
| • Anwar Sadat | • War of Attrition |
| • Camp David Accords | • West Bank |

19. Economic Crises of the 1970s: Oil and Bretton Woods

March 30

- Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, 339-360, 363-372.
- Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 570-591, 595-614.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 220-237.

Reading Questions

- Why did the United States go off the gold standard in 1971?
- According to Frieden, what economic development strategies did many newly independent African and Asian states select and why?
- What were some of the problems associated with import substitution industrialization (ISI)?
- What caused the 1973 oil embargo? What were its consequences?

Key Terms

- Import substitution
- Non-tariff barriers to trade
- Nationalization
- The Seven Sisters
- OPEC
- King Faisal
- International Energy Agency

20. The End of the Cold War and Its Consequences

April 1

- Harper, *Cold War*, 207-242.
- James W. Davis and William C. Wohlforth, "German Unification," in *Ending the Cold War*, ed. Richard K. Herrmann and Richard Ned Lebow (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 131-153.
- Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* 15, no. 3 (Winter 1990/91): 7-23, 26-28 only.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* 15, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 5-8, 10-21, 31-40 only.
- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.

Reading Questions

- Which factor is the most important in explaining the end of the Cold War – shifting power, changing ideas, individual leaders, or domestic politics?
- How did the Cold War affect European stability?
- Why do Van Evera and Mearsheimer disagree about the future of Europe? Whose argument do you think is more compelling?
- Which structure of the international system (unipolarity, bipolarity, multipolarity) is most stable?
- Has Huntington's prediction of a clash of civilizations come to pass in the post-Cold War era?

Key Terms

- German unification
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- Bipolarity
- Multipolarity
- Unipolarity
- Clash of civilizations

Part V. The Post-Cold War World

21. Globalization

April 6

- Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, 392-426.
- Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), 3-16, 29-72.
- Jeffrey A. Frankel, "Globalization of the Economy," NBER Working Paper No. 7858 (August 2000).
- David Dollar and Art Kraay, "Spreading the Wealth," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 1 (January/February 2002): 120-133.

Reading Questions

- What are the major technological and political changes driving globalization?
- According to Frankel, which factors – other than tariffs or non-tariff barriers – prevent the world from being perfectly globalized in trade?
- Do you agree with Friedman that there is a “globalization system” that has replaced the “Cold War system”?
- Does globalization make everyone better off? Why?

Key Terms

- Washington Consensus
- NAFTA
- Mercosur
- Democratization of technology
- Democratization of finance
- Democratization of information

22. Globalization and Its Discontents?

April 8

- Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, 435-476.
- Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy* (New York: Norton, 2011), 47-111.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, “The Capital Myth: The Difference between Trade in Widgets and Dollars,” *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 3 (May-June 1998): 7-12.

Reading Questions

- According to Frieden, why did Africa largely get left behind by globalization?
- What do advocates of free trade tend to neglect in making the case that trade improves general welfare?
- Why does Rodrik suggest that the Bretton Woods system may have been preferable to the current WTO system of international trade?
- Why does Bhagwati argue that free movement in capital is not like free movement in goods?

Key Terms

- Resource curse
- Dumping
- Failed states
- Mundell dilemma
- Stagflation
- Battle in Seattle
- Henry Martyn
- Fixed vs. floating exchange rates
- Capital controls

23. Economic Sanctions

April 13

- Robert A. Pape, “Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work,” *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Autumn 1997): 90-110.
- Daniel Drezner, “The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion,” *International Organization* 57, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 643-59.
- Daniel Drezner, “Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice,” *International Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (March 2011): 96-108.

Reading Questions

- What are the principal pieces of evidence that Pape offers to support his argument that Hufbauer, Schott, and Elliot overestimate the effectiveness of economic sanctions?
- Why does Pape believe that sanctions will not play a greater role in the future?
- What does Drezner mean when he says that “selection bias” has led studies to underestimate the effectiveness of economic coercion?
- Does Drezner (“Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion”) effectively rebut Pape’s charge that sanctions do not work?

- According to Drezner, what led the international community to move away from “comprehensive” sanctions and toward “smart” sanctions?
- Although smart sanctions solve several political problems for sender states, are they actually more effective than comprehensive sanctions?

Key Terms

- Economic sanctions
- Trade wars
- Economic warfare
- Selection bias
- Smart sanctions

24. The Environment and Climate Change

April 15

- Coral Davenport, “A Climate Accord Based on Global Peer Pressure,” *New York Times*, December 14, 2014.
- Garrett Hardin, “The Tragedy of the Commons,” *Science* 162, no. 3859 (December 13, 1968), 1243-1248.
- “Confronting the Crisis of International Climate Policy: Rethinking the Framework for Cutting Emissions,” Policy Brief, Lowy Institute for International Policy, July 2010, 2-7.
- David G. Victor, *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), xxvi-xxxiv, 30-58.

Reading Questions

- What is the tragedy of the commons, and how can it be overcome?
- Why has international cooperation to regulate the emission of greenhouse gases and thereby manage global warming been so unsuccessful? How could cooperation be made more productive?
- Why was the Montreal Protocol so much more successful than the Kyoto Protocol?
- According to Victor, what are the three myths about how to solve climate change?
- Does the climate change agreement reached in Lima in December 2014 represent real progress towards reining in fossil fuel emissions?

Key Terms

- Kyoto Protocol
- Copenhagen conference
- Tragedy of the commons
- Free-rider problem
- Montreal Protocol

25. Is the World Still Dangerous? Terrorism

April 20

- National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, “Annex of Statistical Information,” *Country Reports on Terrorism 2012* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, May 2013).
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 13-44.
- Robert A. Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361.
- Assaf Moghadam, “Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks,” *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 46-78.

Reading Questions

- What is terrorism? According to Hoffman, how has the meaning of the term fluctuated over time?
- What does Pape mean when he says there is a “strategic logic” of suicide terrorism?
- According to Pape, which kind of states are the most frequent targets of suicide attacks? Why?
- What are Moghadam’s principal criticisms of Pape’s argument? Are they persuasive? What is Moghadam’s own explanation for suicide terrorism?
- Does terrorism work?

Key Terms

- Terrorism
- Suicide terrorism
- Salafi jihad
- Tamil Tigers/LTTE
- Hamas
- Hezbollah
- PKK
- Al Qaeda
- Takfir
- Ayman al-Zawahiri
- Osama bin Laden

26. Is the World Still Dangerous? Nuclear Proliferation

April 22

- Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, "Global Nuclear Inventories, 1945-2013," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 69, no. 5 (September-October 2013): 75-81.
- Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97): 54-87.
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, "Indian and Pakistani Nuclear Weapons: For Better or Worse?" in Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: Norton, 2003), 88-124.
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and Relevant Provisions of Security Council Resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran," February 20, 2014.

Reading Questions

- Why do states build nuclear weapons? Which of Sagan's three models do you find most persuasive?
- If nuclear weapons ensure a state's security, why have so few states built them?
- Is the spread of nuclear weapons dangerous? Does it increase or decrease the likelihood of war? Is South Asia more or less secure now that India and Pakistan are overt nuclear powers?
- Is Iran likely to build the bomb? Can the international community do anything to stop it? What would be the consequences of an Iranian bomb?

Key Terms

- WMD
- LEU and HEU
- Plutonium
- Security model
- Domestic politics model
- NPT
- Kargil War
- Brasstacks crisis
- Natanz
- Centrifuge
- Fordow

27. An Age of Permanent Crisis? The EU and the Arab Spring

April 27

- Sebastian Rosato, "Europe's Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project," *International Security* 35, no. 4 (Spring 2011): 45-86.
- Martin Feldstein, "The Failure of the Euro: The Little Currency that Couldn't," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 1 (January/February 2012): 105-116.
- Sheri Berman, "The Promise of the Arab Spring: In Political Development, No Gain without Pain," *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February 2013): 64-74.
- Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring," *Comparative Politics* 44, no. 2 (January 2012): 127-149.

Reading Questions

- According to Rosato, what explains why European states chose to integrate during the Cold War? What explains the fraying of the EU today? Do you agree with his conclusions?
- According to Feldstein, what is the basic reason behind the crisis of the euro?

- How would leaving the euro zone give countries like Greece more freedom to deal with their economic crises?
- Is the Arab Spring a good or a bad thing – for human rights? Democracy? Internal conflict? Stability in the Middle East?
- What obstacles to democratization do Arab Spring countries face? Can these obstacles be overcome?
- Why did the Arab Spring revolutions succeed in some countries but fail in others?
- Is Berman’s optimism about the future of the Arab Spring warranted?

Key Terms

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| • Euro | • Hosni Mubarak |
| • Treaty of Lisbon | • Moammar Qaddafi |
| • Maastricht treaty | • Tahrir Square |
| • Currency devaluation | • Bashar al-Assad |
| • Mohammed Morsi | |

28. The End of Unipolarity? The Rise of China

April 28

- Review Gilpin, “Theory of Hegemonic War” (Lecture 3).
- John J. Mearsheimer, “The Gathering Storm: China’s Challenge to U.S. Power in Asia,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 381-396.
- Michael Beckley, “China’s Century? Why America’s Edge Will Endure,” *International Security* 36, no. 3 (Winter 2011/12): 41-78.
- Evan Braden Montgomery, “Contested Primacy in the Western Pacific: China’s Rise and the Future of U.S. Power Projection,” *International Security* 38, no. 4 (Spring 2014): 115-149.

Reading Questions

- Is the United States in decline relative to China? In what sense? Is that decline dangerous, in that it could lead to war?
- Does the rise of China necessarily threaten the United States? Are there factors that could reduce the likelihood of conflict between the two countries?
- Why might China feel threatened by the United States?
- What kinds of military capabilities has China been developing and how do they impair the United States’ ability to project power in the Western Pacific? What steps does Montgomery argue the United States should pursue in response?
- Should the United States pursue a strategy of deep engagement or offshore balancing in East Asia?

Key Terms

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| • Regional hegemon | • Kadena air base |
| • A2/AD | • PLA Second Artillery Corps |
| • Deep engagement | • SRBMs, ASBMs, and ASCMs |
| • Offshore balancing | |

29. Course Wrap-up and Review

April 29

30. Final Exam

- Date and Time TBD