INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS CORNERSTONE

Fall 2015 IAFF 6101

Tuesday, 5.10-7pm, Elliott School, 113 Wednesday, 5.10-7pm, Elliott School, 113

Faculty Instructors:

Professor Henry Farrell E-Mail: iaff6101@henryfarrell.net

Telephone 202-994-7913. Office 2101 G St. Room 404. Office Hours: Tuesday 11am-1pm.

Professor Charles Glaser E-Mail: cglaser@gwu.edu

Office 605H, Elliott School

Office Hours: Monday: 1:30-3:30

Teaching Assistants:

Jessica Anderson jessica.luffman@gmail.com

Seung Joon Paik
Yong-il Moon
Seokjoon Kim
Drew Herrick

modernsj@gmail.com
yimoon@gwmail.gwu.edu
kim_sj@email.gwu.edu
herrick.drew@gmail.com

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The International Affairs Cornerstone is required for all incoming students in the Elliott School's International Affairs graduate program. IAFF 6101 introduces students to a variety of ways of thinking about international affairs; explores some of today's major areas of international policy, while demonstrating the value of international relations theory for analyzing them; and provides students with an appreciation of the range of issues that future practitioners in international affairs will grapple with in the 21st century.

The focus on international relations theory seeks to ensure that all incoming IA students have a solid grounding in the major schools of international relations theory – Realism, Institutionalism, Liberalism, and Constructivism – as well as introductions to international political economy and deterrence theory. The IR theory lectures will use

current policy issues—including the implications of a rising China and the possibility of nuclear disarmament—as vehicles for appreciating the analytic value of the theories.

Drawing on the IR theory lectures that preceded them, the course will expose incoming IA students to several major issues that are currently on the international affairs agenda, including U.S. grand strategy, nuclear proliferation, energy security, cyber security, and humanitarian intervention.

The Cornerstone course will also include weekly discussion sessions. The TAs will run the discussion sessions. These sessions will provide students with the opportunity to ask questions about the lectures and reading, and to explore topics of special interest in greater depth.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course will equip students with:

- An understanding of major debates among scholars of international politics
- An ability to apply insights from these debates to contemporary policy issues
- A grounding for more advanced and/or specialized courses in ESIA

COURSE REQUIREMENTS, GRADING and EXPECTATIONS

Mid-term paper: A take home exam will be given during the 7th week of the course. The topic will be distributed by e-mail on Thursday of that week and be due the following Monday. The exam will address the material covered to date.

Policy memo: A short policy paper assignment will be handed out during the 12th week, and will be due in week 13.

Final Exam. The final will cover the reading and lectures from the entire course and take place during exam week; exact date to be determined by the Registrar's office.

The mid-term paper, policy memo and final exam will each count for 1/3 of the total grade.

Attendance at lectures *and* sections is mandatory. Non-attendance will result in a grade penalty unless there are extenuating circumstances (e.g., a university recognized religious holiday, a documented medical emergency, a documented death or serious illness of a close family member).

The class policy is to punish plagiarism through an F grade for the course, and reporting of the offense to the appropriate university authorities with a recommendation that a permanent mark of academic dishonesty be placed on the student's record. All students are expected to be familiar with the GWU Code of Academic Integrity, available at http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html, and to understand how to cite sources correctly.

Those who are uncertain of the boundaries between correct use and plagiarism should consult the professor or teaching assistant.

TWITTER FEED

The class has a Twitter feed. If you have a Twitter account, you can follow user iaff6101. If you do not, you can still see the links at https://twitter.com/#!/iaff6101. Twitter using students who wish to respond to items, or to post their own items for other class members, should use the hashtag #iaff6101. If none of this means anything to you, don't worry — this is purely optional. No official announcements will be posted on the Twitter feed, and important communication will take place via email.

Instead, the feed is intended to help encourage discussion of relevant topics outside class. It will be used to draw attention to interesting news items and academic or policy articles that touch on the topics of the course. It will also (if students are interested in participating) provide a way for students to interact with each other using the hashtag. Obviously, all such communications should be civil or collegial – while this is an optional addition to the course, students should abide by the usual standards of the Elliott School.

COURSE SCHEDULE

First Class September 1, September 2

Midterm Paper Distributed Thursday of 6th week (October

8), due Monday October 12 (electronically), hard copies in

class

Thanksgiving: No class on Tuesday Nov. 24 and Wednesday Nov. 25 due

to the Thanksgiving holiday

Policy paper due: Distributed Thursday of 12th week (November 19); due the

following Monday (November 23) electronically; hard

copies in class the following week.

Last Class December 8 and December 9

Final exam: TBD

COURSE READINGS

Journal articles and book chapters: all of these are available on Blackboard.

WEEKLY SUBJECT AND READINGS SCHEDULE

Week 1, Sept. 1, Sept. 2: Course Introduction; Introduction to IR Theory and International Policy Analysis

- A. Cornerstone Structure and Goals
- B. Overview of IR Theory:
 - What is it good for?
 - What are the basic approaches/theories?
 - Levels of analysis
- C. Analyzing International Policy

Readings: Recommended but Optional:

Barry Buzan, "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations Reconsidered," in Ken Booth and Steve Smith, *International Relations Theory Today* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 145 (November/December 2004), pp. 52-62.

Week 2, Sept 8, Sept 9: Realism,

- A. Basics of Realism
- B: Overview of the debates within realism:
- C. Waltz, Offensive and Defensive Realism:
- D. Policy issue: Rising China

Readings:

Charles L. Glaser, "Realism," in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3rd edition (Oxford University Press, 2013).

John J. Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (Norton 2001), Chp. Two

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley, 1979), Chp. Six.

Avery Goldstein, "Parsing China's Rise: International Circumstances and National Attributes," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Assent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Zbigniew Brzezinski and John Mearsheimer, "Clash of the Titans," *Foreign Policy*, No. 146 (Jan.-Feb. 2005), pp. 46-50.

Week 3, September 15, September 16: Neo-Institutionalism and Liberalism

- A. International Institutions
- B. Democracies and Peace
- C. Trade and Peace
- D. Policy issues: Rising China; United Nations

Readings:

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "Institutional Theory as a Research Program," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003)

Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neo-liberalism and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 42-63.

Miriam Fendius Elman, "Introduction: The Need for a Qualitative Test of the Democratic Peace Theory," in Elman, ed., *Paths to Peace: Is Democracy the Answer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

Dale Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1996), pp. 5-41.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2008).

Week 4, September 22, September 23: International Political Economy [Farrell]

- A. Which IR theories (liberalism, realism, interdependence theory) explain the workings of the international economy best?
- B. How do international institutions shape the world economy?
- C. What are the origins of international economic institutions?
- D. How might China's rise affect the world economy?

Readings:

Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton University Press 1987), Chap. 2.

Charles Kindleberger, "Systems of International Economic Organization," in David Calleo et al., *Money and the Coming World Order* (1979), New York: Lehrman.

Robert Keohane, After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Economy (1984), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter Six.

Christopher McNally, "Sino-Capitalism: The Re-emergence of China and the International Political Economy," *World Politics*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (October 2012), pp. 741-776.

Week 5, September 29, September 30: Constructivism: Norms, Ideas and Identities

- A. What is the role of ideas in international politics?
- B. What forms states' interests and influences the actions they consider effective and appropriate?
- C. How do states' goals and interests change?
- D. Policy issue: Land mines, use of nuclear weapons, rising China.

Readings:

Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, "Chapter Six: Social Constructivism," in *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007).

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 4 (2001), pp. 391-416.

Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Summer 1999), pp. 433-468.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexi Shevchenko, "Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Spring 2010), pp. 63-95.

Week 6, October 6, October 7: Deterrence and Coercion [Glaser]

- A. Basic logic of threats and credibility
- B. Nuclear logic; arms competition
- C. Effectiveness of sanctions
- D. Policy application: Nuclear disarmament

Readings:

Thomas C. Schelling, "A World Without Nuclear Weapons?," Daedalus, Vol. 138, No. 4 (Fall 2009), pp. 124-129.

Glenn H. Snyder, *Deterrence and Defense: Toward a Theory of National Security* (Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 3-16.

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), Chap. 3.

Robert A. Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Autumn 1997), pp. 90-136; you can skip the appendix.

Richard Haass, "Conclusions: Lessons and Recommendations," in Haass, ed., *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), pp. 197-212.

Week 7, October 13, October 14: International Political Economy and the Economic Crisis [Farrell]

- B. How well has international political economy dealt with the last seven years' economic upheavals?
- C. What policy advice can we draw from international political economy to go forward from here?
- D. How did Europe, the US and China deal with the crisis?

Jonas Pontusson and Damien Raess "How (and Why) Is This Time Different? The Politics of Economic Crisis in Western Europe and the United States," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2012) 15:13–33.

Daniel Drezner, "The System Worked: Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession," *World Politics* (2014) 66: 123-164.

Jonathan Kirshner, "The Neo-Liberal Bailout," The Boston Review 2014.

Yang Jiang, "Vulgarisation of Keynesianism in China's response to the global financial crisis," *Review of International Political Economy* (2015) 22,2:360-390.

Eric Helleiner, "The Limits of Incrementalism: The G20, the FSB and the Global Regulatory Agenda," *Journal of Globalization and Development* 2:1-19.

Week 8 – October 20, October 21: Nuclear Proliferation [Glaser]

- A. Why do states acquire nuclear weapons?
- B. In broad terms, what are the options for preventing proliferation?
- C. What should be US policy toward N. Korea? Toward Iran?

Readings:

Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54-86.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Toward Nuclear Peace," in Art and Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 4th edition (University Press of America, 1993).

Scott D. Sagan, "More Will Be Worse," in Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: Norton, 2003).

Kenneth Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2012).

Colin Kahl and Kenneth Waltz, "Iran and the Bomb: Would a Nuclear Iran Make the Middle East More Secure?," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012).

Gary Samore, ed., *The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Definitive Guide* (Cambridge, MA: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, August 2015); read Executive Summay

Week 9, Oct 27, Oct 28: International Development Policy [Farrell]

- A. The origins of International Development
- B. The Relationship Between Economic Theory and Development Policy
- C. Changing Debates Over How To Direct Aid
- D. Policy Debate: Does foreign aid foster or hinder development?

Readings:

Walter Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth," *The Economic History Review* 12,1:1-16 (1959).

Douglass North, "Economic Performance Through Time," *American Economic Review* Vol. 84, no. 3, pp.359-368 (1994).

William Easterly, "Was Development Assistance a Mistake?," *American Economic Review* Vol. 97, no. 2, pp.328-332 (2007).

Dani Rodrik, "How to Save Globalization from its Cheerleaders," Working Paper (2003).

Sarah Babb, "The Washington Consensus as transnational policy paradigm: Its origins, trajectory and likely successor," *Review of International Political Economy* (2013), 20,2, 268-297.

Week 10, November 3, November 4: U.S. Grand Strategy [Glaser]

- A. What US interests are worth protecting with military force?
- B. What are the threats to these interests?
- C. What strategy should the U.S. employ to protect these interests? In what regions of the globe should the United States maintain security commitments?
- D. In broad terms, what types of forces should the US deploy to protect these interests?

Readings:

President Barack Obama, National Security Strategy (The White House: Feb 2015), at https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf (skim).

Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-48.

Barry R. Posen, "The Case for Restraint" *The American Interest*, Vol. III, No. 3 (November/December 2007).

Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home, America: The Case Against Retrenchment," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Winter 2012/13), pp. 7-51

Richard K. Betts, "Pick Your Battles," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, Issue 6 (November/December 2014), pp. 14-24.

Week 11, November 10, November 11: Energy Security [Glaser]

- A. What is "energy security"?
- B. Does the United States face large energy-security dangers?
- C. What policies should the United States adopt to reduce these dangers?

Readings:

Congressional Budget Office, *Energy Security in the United States* (May 2012).

Eugene Gholz and Daryl G. Press, "Protecting 'The Prize': Oil and the U.S. National Interest," *Security Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2010), pp. 453-485.

Charles L. Glaser, "How Oil Influences U.S. National Security," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Fall 2013), pp. 112-146.

Jeff D. Colgan, "Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Fall 2013), pp. 147-180.

Caitlin Talmadge, "Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Summer 2008), pp. 82-117.

Week 12, November 17, November 18: Snowden [Farrell]

A: What role does secrecy play in international politics?

B: What are the consequences of leaks for US foreign policy?

C: Is new information technology making it easier to gather and disseminate previously secret information?

Readings:

David Cole, "The Three Leakers and What to Do About Them," *New York Review of Books* (February 6, 2014).

Susan Landau, "Making Sense of Snowden, Part II: What's Significant in the NSA Revelations," *IEEE Security and Privacy* (January/February 2014).

Henry Farrell and Martha Finnemore, "The End of Hypocrisy," Foreign Affairs (2013)

John Gioe, "Tinker, Tailor, Leaker, Spy: The Future Costs of Mass Leaks," *The National Interest* (January-February 2014).

Peter Swire, "The Declining Half-Life of Secrets and the Future of Signals Intelligence," *New America Foundation* (2015).

[Note: no classes during week of Thanksgiving]

Week 13, December 1, December 2: Cyber Security

- A. How Well Do Theories of Deterrence and the Offense-Defense Balance Explain Cybersecurity?
- B. Are Cybersecurity Threats Overhyped?
- C. How Should the US Respond to Chinese Cyberincursions (Given That It Too Is Probing Chinese Defenses)

Readings:

Peter Singer, "What Everyone Needs to Know about Cyberwar," ICRC 2014.

Martin C. Libicki, Crisis and Escalation in Cyberspace (RAND, 2012), Chp. 3-5.

Charles L. Glaser, "Deterrence of Cyber Attacks and U.S. National Security," CSPRI Report (June 2011)

Jon R. Lindsay, "Stuxnet and the Limits of Cyber Warfare," *Security Studies* (2013) 22,3:365-404.

Henry Farrell, *Promoting Norms for Cyberspace*, (Council on Foreign Relations, 2015).

Week 14, December 8, December 9: Intervention and regime change (Syria) (Note: Tuesday 12/8 is a makeup day for Thursday classes, BUT our Tuesday class will meet then)

- A. When is humanitarian intervention appropriate?
- B. Is intervention successful at replacing abusive regimes with better ones?
- C. Is intervention the best approach for achieving U.S. objectives in Syria and elsewhere?

Readings:

Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: The Hard Truth About a Noble Action," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (Nov/Dec 2011), pp. 60-73.

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic*, Vol. 288, No. 2 (September 2001), pp. 84-108.

Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stephen Long, "Civil War Intervention and the Problem of Iraq," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (March 2012), pp. 85-98.

Alexander Downes, "Forum: Regime Change Doesn't Work," *The Boston Review* (September/October 2011), available at: http://bostonreview.net/downes-regime-change.

Various authors, *The Political Science of Syria's War*, POMEPS Colloquium (2013).

Additional information on University Resources and Course Policies:

Class Policies

- -- Late work: papers will be accepted late, but the student's grade will be reduced, unless the student has a good verifiable reason for being late (e.g., serious illness, family emergency); beyond 3 days, late papers will not be accepted without good reasons for lateness.
- -- Make-up exams will be possible only under exceptional circumstances:

University Policy on Religious Holidays:

- 1. Students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance;
- 2. Faculty should extend to these students the courtesy of absence without penalty on such occasions, including permission to make up examinations;
- 3. Faculty who intend to observe a religious holiday should arrange at the beginning of the semester to reschedule missed classes or to make other provisions for their course-related activities

[NOTE: for other university policies on teaching see http://www.gwu.edu/~academic/Teaching/main.htm]

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 remainder of the code, see: http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html. Because this is a graduate class, we take academic honesty issues especially seriously, and will recommend heavy penalties for students who violate the code.

Class assignments will be submitted using SafeAssign on Blackboard.

Support for Students Outside the Classroom

DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS):

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300

The University Counseling Center (UCC) 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

http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices

Security

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.