



UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

**POLS: 20200 Sec. 01**

**Introduction to International Relations**

**Tuesdays and Thursdays: 9:30am-10:45am in DeBartolo Hall 136**

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This course is about anarchy and death. To us, anarchy means the absence of centralized order. There is no central government in international politics, hence international politics are anarchic. Anarchy distinguishes international politics from domestic politics, the latter characterized by centralized and hierarchical power structures. Anarchy is the defining feature of international politics.

Anarchy causes or exacerbates many of humanity's greatest problems, including war, pollution, and famine. Anarchy leads to excess or unnecessary death. It also generally makes accumulation and distribution of wealth more difficult.

This course analyzes the extent and effects of anarchy. The central questions we assess are:

1. What is anarchy and what are its effects?
2. What can be done to reduce the effects of anarchy?

To address these questions, the course proceeds through these parts:

1. An overview of various theories and concepts used by scholars to understand international politics and respond to the two major questions just listed. War is bad, but that feeling does not a policy prescription make. Policy prescriptions should be based on patterns discerned from history and reasoned analysis. These patterns and analysis are our theories and concepts.
2. A brief history of international politics, to better understand its evolution and trajectory.
3. A survey of the major issues in international politics, which we study using the theories and concepts from part 1. These issues include: war, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic conflict and peacekeeping, globalization and international trade and finance, international organizations, the environment, and ethics.
4. A look at the future, or at least projections and arguments about the future by various scholars.

Why take this course?

- War, pollution, and starvation are perverse, shameful, and/or tragic. Thus, they are worthy of study and even fun to study.
- You will hopefully be a better citizen if you understand more fully our major problems. Many of you will be leaders in your various fields and will assume positions of responsibility. The more you are aware and knowledgeable about our major problems, the more you may be able to save some lives, reduce pollution, or increase prosperity.

- It will help you professionally by teaching you to write, think, and speak more clearly and persuasively. Politics, bargaining, debate, and writing are part of any job and they are the heart of this course's subject matter and assignments.

### **Requirements**

This course requires a five page paper, a ten page paper, a midterm, and a final. One page, lightly graded papers may be assigned and quizzes given at the Professor's discretion. In sequential order, the due dates and grade weights are:

10/1: Midterm; worth 20%;

11/3: Five page paper; worth 20%;

12/1: Ten page paper; worth 25%;

12/14: Final exam; worth 35%.

In addition: possible behavioral adjustment upgrade or downgrade: ~5% (see professional/unprofessional behavior, below)

There are two books required for purchase and many readings are on online reserve, NOT in a packet - those were the good old days. There are about 57 pages of reading per class meeting (roughly 1600 total pages assigned/28 class meetings).. The books are available at the Hammes bookstore and they are:

1. Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations*, 9th ed., (New York, NY: Pearson Longman 2009)
2. Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, 9th ed., (New York, NY: Longman, 2009).

All readings below that do not refer to these books are in the online course reserve, accessible here:

[https://www.library.nd.edu/eresources/ereserves//course.cgi?course=2009F\\_POLS\\_20200\\_01](https://www.library.nd.edu/eresources/ereserves//course.cgi?course=2009F_POLS_20200_01)

and / or in the HANDOUTS section of my website. NOTE: online reserve is a spotty process. There may be missing readings. If there are any problems, just send me an email, then don't sweat it (and get bonus points for helping me out!). I'll just review the important points in class. I strongly urge you to print out all the readings. You will learn more reading from a hard copy. You will have a very hard time studying for the exams if you do not use hard copies.

The readings vary in amount and complexity by week. Often, you do not have to read every word to get much of the value from a given reading. **WHATEVER YOU DO, DO NOT GET CAUGHT IN THE MENTAL TRAP OF "IF I CAN NOT DO ALL OF THE READING, I WILL NOT DO ANY."** Always do as much as you can. Some hints on reading efficiently are on the how to read handout.

In addition to the regular course readings, you are required to keep up with major IR-related current events by regular reading of the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times* (see web sites below). Discussion of current events will be part of class and optional section meetings.

### **Grading**

There is no curve. All excellent work will receive an A. All good and competent work will receive a B. Work with some significant flaws will receive a C. Work with very significant flaws will receive a D along with recommendations or requirements to speak with the TA, the Professor, any special counseling and advising services, etc. as appropriate. Incompetent, negligent, or non-existent work will receive an F. Work deserving of an A

impresses graders and creates smiles; B quality work evokes little; C quality work creates disappointment, frowns, and concern; D quality work evokes anger and worry.

The TA/s and I want you to do excellent work. We will try hard to explain assignments clearly ahead of time and otherwise do everything we can to help you do your best. For example, when the TAs grade papers they will pay particular attention to helping you write better and thus do better on your next assignment. TA review sessions are designed in large part to review class materials and to answer your questions about anything to do with the class.

Read all the advice handouts! When the people grading you give you the playbook, read and follow the playbook!

Important Note: You can not pass the course unless you complete the two major writing assignments (the five and ten page papers) and take the midterm and final exams. You can not pass if (for example) you have A's on all your assignments and then skip the final. ***Failure to complete the major papers and the exams is grounds for failure in the course***, regardless of the percentage weights of each assignment.

Extensions: These may be granted for legitimate reasons, including illness of the student or in the student's family. Other reasons should be discussed well in advance with a TA or me, but you are urged to try elsewhere first. Flexibility may be possible ahead of time; very little is possible after the fact. Schedule and assignment pressures require planning by the student much more than they require flexibility from us. We must be fair to those who do not ask for extensions and face similar or worse time pressures. *Fait accomplis* (turning something in late without permission) beat the alternative of not handing anything in, but they reflect poorly on the student and are insulting to us. Grades on *fait accomplis* will be adjusted accordingly: down a half grade if turned in by end of business on the due date, down 1 full grade per day thereafter.

Do not try to play the TAs (or me) off against each other for extensions and grade pleas. We try very hard to be fair and consistent and do not want to penalize those who do not complain. Almost everyone works hard and carries many burdens around here. Do not think we will be flexible because this is a large class. Precisely the opposite is true. We will be stringent to reward those who plan ahead and follow the rules, as well as to prevent collective action problems and chaos.

That said, if any grading errors are made, we will correct them promptly and with apologies.

DO NOT LEAVE CAMPUS BEFORE FINALS ARE OVER. THIS IS OUT OF MY HANDS. YOU NEED THE DEAN'S APPROVAL TO RESCHEDULE AND AVOID FAILING THE EXAM.

### **Cheating**

Do not cheat. Your work must be your own. In writing for political science courses, cheating is most likely to take the form of plagiarism. Plagiarism is when writers use other people's words or ideas and do not give them credit. Use footnotes or endnotes to give credit for direct quotes, paraphrased quotes, or borrowed ideas. I will explain how to use footnotes and endnotes in class, in section, and in handouts. If you don't know what footnotes or endnotes are...Ask! Do not copy other people's old papers. Do not copy or buy papers or sections of papers from the web or other sources. Do not quote or paraphrase without giving credit in footnotes or endnotes. **Your ideas, your arguments, and the vast majority of your text must be your own. Everything which is not your own must be noted.** Penalties for cheating range include redoing work, lowered grades, course failure, letters on your permanent record, and expulsion. Every year, a number of students are not allowed to graduate because they cheated. That is a \$20,000+ mistake. I will be furious and feel personally betrayed if anyone cheats in my class. As you may know, the University acquired an institutional license for Turnitin.com, the leading plagiarism detection service on the internet. If papers are suspected of having been plagiarized, I will use Turnitin.com as per the guidance provided by the University Honor Code Committee. For more information on cheating and its consequences, please consult the University Honor Code. Let me repeat: if you have any questions about how to use citations or about plagiarism, please ask!

Use foot/endnotes when:

- you use other people's words or ideas in any way from direct quotes to paraphrasing to borrowed ideas.
- you include a fact that is not commonly known or you had to look up.

There are several links that explain citations and how to use them, via this link, under Writing:  
<http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/handoutlinks.html>

### **Professional and Unprofessional Behavior**

Professional behavior includes timely arrival, lack of in class distractions, regular attendance, class participation, and other signs of striving for excellence.

In contrast, arriving late without good reason or creating distractions through noise or actions in class (whispering, beepers, cell phones, texting, facebooking, etc.) is unprofessional and selfish. Such behavior bothers others who have paid money to concentrate and learn something in class. If you use the words 'like' and 'you know' (or other language ticks) excessively and when they add no meaning to what you are saying, you should know that many people consider those ticks unprofessional, casual, and sloppy. Take this opportunity to think about what you are saying and to refrain from excess use of such language.

Please do not play computer games, surf the web, check email, text message, or do anything other than take notes with your computers and other electronic devices. If you must do these rude and distracting activities, please sit in the back row so as not to disturb the more serious consumers. If you are observed using electronic devices for purposes other than taking notes, I will be made grumpy by the sign of disrespect, I will wonder why you bothered to show up for class, be angry that you disturbed other students and robbed them of concentrated class, and you will have to worry for the rest of the semester about getting a *poor behavior downgrade*. In addition, disrespectful students will not get good letters of recommendation, will suffer other reputation-based consequences, and will not be eligible for any *end of semester rounding up or upgrade* which sometimes happens for students who try really hard all semester.

### **Nature of Classes and Assignments**

Lectures: Among other things, these are designed to cover points not mentioned in the readings, to sew together disparate points in the readings, to provide background history to help you understand the readings, and to offer contending points of view about topics for your consideration. I hope and expect to have time for debate and discussion in class. I will often refer to the readings during lectures. You may wish to bring your readings to class so you can follow along. Aside from helping learn the materials, attendance will usually help your grade: I signal things that are important and that may be on the tests. I sometimes put things on tests that are only covered in the lectures. I often talk about how to write well and do well on the papers. Attendance is not mandatory. You are the paying customer. Do what you want with the product. But I am paid to grade to you and structure incentives. From this perspective, I must tell you from my experience that missing class is foolhardy and will likely hurt your grade.

Written Assignments: The five page paper asks you to explain a historical or current IR event or problem with reference to the theories presented in class and in the readings. The ten page paper will be a policy memo. You can select an IR problem of your choice. You will propose a solution to the problem. The solution must take into account historical factors, must assess the technical/factual and political nature of the problem, and must grapple with such barriers to your solution as adversaries' policies, and difficulties (and opportunities) suggested by the theories we covered. The allies, friends, and theories may also suggest reasons why your solution would work. More on the written assignments will be handed out when appropriate. The TAs and I can help you pick topics. Last minute efforts tend to implode (hard to find data, sloppy arguments, poor writing).

Midterm and Final: these will have a number of quiz-type define and identify items for which you identify and

explain the significance of terms/concepts/events/persons/etc. You will be given five minutes per item to write answers in an exam blue book. The Final Exam will also have several longer essay questions. A list of possible essay questions will be handed out before the final. Some of these questions will appear on the final. You may take notes on the list's pages and bring them to the final. No other pages or materials can be open or consulted during the final. In studying for the final, you are encouraged to form study groups so long as the end product reflects each student's original contribution. Indeed, students are encouraged to study together and to discuss the course all semester. Cooperation should help everyone learn but all work, from written assignments to the final, must reflect each student's own individual effort and ideas.

### Useful Web Sites

The POLS 20200 web site is <http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/govt241/govt241maincoursepage.html> . This does or will contain the syllabus, the assignments, and some handouts (under advice), and the lecture outlines will be posted there before tests.

To keep up with IR-related current events (as required for Govt 241), you can read the US' top two newspapers on the web: the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. These are known as "newspapers of record." Some clicking around may be necessary to find all the relevant international, national, and sometimes business/economic news on tap at each site. See: <http://www.nytimes.com/> and <http://www.washingtonpost.com/>

I have designed my main website <http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/> to make current events and international relations research fairly easy. Near the top of the page are links to various newspapers, journals, branches of government, international organizations, and various think tanks and non-governmental organizations. You may wish to bookmark the page for the duration of the course. I use it to click around and get my daily fix on news and views. Here are some comments on some of the links there:

<http://www.economist.com/> A very high quality British journal. Lots of insight.

<http://www.worldnews.com/> Links for many newspapers from around the world

<http://www.cfc.dnd.ca/spotlight.en.html> Links to current military/conflict news stories, put together and updated daily from the Canadian Forces College. Includes many British and Canadian newspapers to expand your mind. For some more fun with news and views, compare and contrast the *Nation* which is on the political left, with the *Weekly Standard* or *National Review* on the right. With whom do you agree more and why? (links on main website)

The best overall set of links on military/history issues is: <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/cse/links.htm> collected by Bill Arkin. Tell a friend before you go in, and don't forget that you have work to do, real world responsibilities... (or am I just projecting...)

Some personal favorites among the Research/Lobby/Activist/Action Organizations include:

<http://www.fas.org/> The Federation of American Scientists. A high quality arms control organization, with information and links on all sorts of Weapons of Mass Destruction issues.

<http://cns.miis.edu> The Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute for International Studies: good on proliferation issues, and a superb list of links to other proliferation and security-related sites.

<http://www.stimson.org/> The Stimson Center, whose motto is "pragmatic steps toward ideal objectives." Good information on WMD issues and arms control.

I welcome ideas for additions, corrections on dead links, etc.

**Class Outline, FALL 2009**

<b>Class Number &amp; Date</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Due</b>
Class 1, 8/25	Introduction	
Class 2, 8/27	Overview of Theory and Methods	
Class 3, 9/1	Overview Continued	
Class 4, 9/3	Anarchy and Its Effects	
Class 5, 9/8	Anarchy and Its Effects	
Class 6, 9/10	Anarchy and Its Effects	
Class 7, 9/15	Mitigating Anarchy	
Class 8, 9/17	Mitigating Anarchy	
Class 9, 9/22	Mitigating Anarchy	
Class 10, 9/24	History of International Relations	
Class 11, 9/29	History of International Relations	
Class 12, 10/1	MIDTERM	<b>MIDTERM</b>
Class 13, 10/6	War: Causes, Conduct, and Consequences	
Class 14, 10/8	War: Causes, Conduct, and Consequences	
Class 15, 10/13	WMD Proliferation and Terrorism	
Class 16, 10/15	WMD Proliferation and Terrorism	
Class 17, 10/27	WMD Proliferation and Terrorism	
Class 18, 10/29	WMD Proliferation and Terrorism	
Class 19, 11/3	Ethnic Conflict and Peacekeeping	<b>FIRST PAPER</b>
Class 20, 11/5	Ethnic Conflict and Peacekeeping	
Class 21, 11/10	Economics, Trade, and Globalization	
Class 22, 11/12	Economics, Trade, and Globalization	
Class 23, 11/17	Economics, Trade, and Globalization	
Class 24, 11/19	Global Environmental Problems	
Class 25, 11/24	International Organizations and Law	
Class 26, 12/1	International Ethics and Norms	<b>SECOND PAPER</b>
Class 27, 12/3	The Future of International Politics	
Class 28, 12/8	The Future of International Politics	
Class 29, 12/10	Space taker....	
12/14 10:30 am- 12:30pm Monday (grades due 12/21; 3:45)	<b>FINAL EXAM</b>	<b>FINAL EXAM</b>

## **Part I: Introduction and Theoretical Concepts**

### **Class 1: Introduction**

Welcome to IR/POLS 20200! Introduce professor and TA/s. Review syllabus and requirements. Present themes of course.

- Read the introductory tables and charts in the packet on population, GNP, wars, and so forth. Who's big, who's small, who's rich, who's poor, who is spending what on the military, and how many fairly big interstate wars have occurred since the Napoleonic Wars. These tables and charts help us keep our eyes on the big picture. Usually, the most important things in IR have to do with large populations, concentrations of wealth and poverty, military power, and so forth.
- Also take a look at the advice handouts in the reading packet (and more via my website). And why not read ahead in the readings?

### **Class 2 and 3: Overview of Theory and Methods**

What are we studying and how do we study it? Is there an international system? What is a state?

Readings [~81 pages]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 1, Introduction
- Morgenthau vs. Tickner in Art/Jervis, pp. 7-28.
- Waltz on anarchic world politics in Art/Jervis, pp. 29-49.
- Mearsheimer on anarchy and power in Art/Jervis, pp. 50-60.
- Wendt critiquing anarchy in Art/Jervis, pp. 61-69.

Goldstein/Pevehouse presents a textbook survey on the basics of international relations. The material to be skimmed gives a bit more detail on the complexity of what makes up a state and what it takes to make a foreign policy. The Waltz, Mearsheimer, and Wendt pieces introduce the concept of anarchy. Think about real world events as you read these pieces. Which if any of these arguments ring true as you think about the Middle East, international trade, or China-Taiwan relations (for example)?

### **Classes 4, 5, 6: Anarchy and Its Effects**

What are the effects of anarchy? How do common misperceptions aggravate the effects of anarchy?

Readings [~159 pages]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 2, Realist Theories.
- Jervis on the security dilemma in Art/Jervis, pp. 153-173 Why do states fear each other? How do arms races arise? What can be done to temper the corrosive effects of anarchy?
- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Carrots and Sticks are the two main policy instruments. When should a state use carrots to despiral or sticks to deter? A bad choice can be disastrous. This reading about spirals suggests some conditions under which it is wise to pick carrots, and others when it is wise to pick sticks. Are carrots and sticks mutually exclusive? (carrots may also be used to induce and sticks used to coerce)

- Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, and Co. 1989), pp. 461-482. Plus: Meg Greenfield, "They Won't...They Can't..." *Newsweek*, June 1 1997, p. 78; and Tim Weiner, "Naivete at the CIA: Every Nation's Just Another U.S." *New York Times*, June 7, 1998. The above Jervis readings suggest that some policies may have unintended consequences. This Jervis piece suggests that policy makers may be inherently prone to misperception. Uh Oh. Jervis outlines fourteen hypotheses here; if you boil them down to their essence, how many remain?

The Greenfield and Weiner articles dramatically illustrate the relevance of the Jervis piece. Jervis should be required reading at the CIA. Students: do the country a favor -- read the Jervis piece and get a job in Washington.

- Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 17-49; 274-285. A central question facing policy makers is: Why do states make or end up with certain friends and enemies? Walt's writings offer many candidate explanations, all of which hold some water. But he prefers balance of threat theory. His conclusion offers some interesting insights about U.S. Cold War policy. How would you write the conclusion for today's post-Cold War world?
- Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-7. A short but important reading that is particularly relevant to environmental and alliance issues.
- Hardin on tragedy of the commons in Art/Jervis, pp. 347-352.

### **Classes 7, 8, 9: Mitigating Anarchy**

If anarchy has negative consequences, what can be done to fix things? Many, if not most, problems in international relations boil down to the following questions: how much anarchy is there, what is the effect of anarchy, and what can be done about anarchy? Diagnosis and prescription.

Readings [~116 pages]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 3, Liberal Theories; Chapter 4 Social Theories.
- Oye on cooperation in Art/Jervis, pp. 69-82.
- Keohane on institutions in Art/Jervis, pp. 119-126.
- Doyle on democratic peace in Art/Jervis, pp. 83-96.
- Wendt, on anarchy in Art/Jervis, pp. 61-68 (review).
- Jervis on leading power peace in Art/Jervis, pp. 379-394.
- Charles Lipson, "International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs," *World Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 1. (October, 1984), pp. 1-23.



A menu of possible ways to ameliorate anarchy: international institutions, economic interdependence, democratic domestic political structures, and evolution in ways of thinking. How well do these work and which problems do they solve best? Pick a few real world problems and think about each type of solution. Is it being tried? Is it working? If applied, would it work?

## Part II: History of International Relations

### Classes 10 and 11: History of International Relations

One way to assess the effects of anarchy and test the various ways proposed to ameliorate it is to take a theoretically informed look at the history of international relations. Is the problem of war getting better or worse? How well have past institutions worked?

Readings [~127 pages]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, review Chapter 1, history section on the evolving system.
- Charles Tilly, "How War Made States, and Vice Versa," *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Press, 1992), Chapter 3, pp. 67-95.
- Paul M. Kennedy, "The First World War and the International System," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984).
- Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984).

Goldstein/Pevehouse is a very brief overview of the history of international politics. Rather than spend the pages filling out the overview, I will do so in lectures. You may also wish to read more on your own.<sup>1</sup> Instead of opting for more general readings, I have chosen a chapter which presents an argument by Tilly about how states came into being in the first place. This is not only an interesting lens through which to view the history and purpose of war, it is worthwhile trying to apply these arguments to areas of world in which states are less developed.<sup>2</sup> Following this are articles by Kennedy and Van Evera on World War I. They provide some background details and arguments that I will develop in the lectures. They also apply some of the theories we discussed earlier in the class and give us an appetizer for the upcoming section on the causes of war. Note the changes in economic position and power discussed in the Kennedy piece. The two authors agree in some areas about the causes of WWI, but diverge in other areas. Their historical arguments bolster different policy recommendations. What was going on in the world when these articles were written that might have influenced these recommendations? What arguments and recommendations do you find persuasive today?

**RED ALERT: \*\*\*Thursday, 10/1: Midterm\*\*\***

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<sup>1</sup> Some good sources include Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, 3 ed. (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Michael Mandelbaum, *The Fate of Nations: The Search for National Security in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Ian Lustick does this in: "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997).

### Part III: Major Issues and Problems in International Politics

#### Classes 13 and 14: War: Causes, Conduct, and Consequences

Kennedy and Van Evera argued that ideas about the conduct and consequences of World War I contributed to its outbreak. Many believe that WWI helped lead to WWII. The causes, conduct, and consequences of war are often related. Thus, we endeavor to learn a bit about all three.

Readings [~61 pages]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 5, International Conflict.
- Art on force in Art/Jervis, pp. 131-138.
- Schelling on violence in Art/Jervis, pp. 139-152.

Goldstein/Pevehouse provides an overview of a vast subject, while Art and Schelling are think pieces about the fundamental purposes of force and violence. It is often wise to start with the basics, and Art and Schelling help us answer such questions as: Are the ends that policy makers seek well connected to the means they are using?

#### Classes 15, 16, 17, and 18: Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Readings [~300 pages]:

As I write this, we are grappling with having invaded Iraq primarily to stop its WMD programs, the international community is pressuring Iran to stop its nuclear weapons program while Iran claims to have doubled its enrichment capabilities, and North Korea appears to have made progress in dismantling its nuclear program. In 2001, the Congressional Research Service reported that about twenty-five states are pursuing WMD. Countries possessing nuclear weapons (beside the five original nuclear states) include India, Pakistan, Israel and possibly North Korea. Almost a dozen countries have offensive bioweapons programs.

Overview and Technologies:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 6, Military Force.
- U. S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, *The Effects of Nuclear War* (Washington, DC: OTA, 1979), pp. 1-12. Nuclear weapons are destructive.
- NOTE: I will put additional readings online.**

Proliferation:

- Waltz on peace and nuclear weapons in Art/Jervis, pp. 228-238.
- Scott D. Sagan, Chapter 2, "More will Be Worse," in Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1995), pp. 47-92. I commend to you the whole book. I assigned it in its entirety in Fall 1999. Or you can read Sagan in Art/Jervis, pp. 217-227.
- Posen, Barry R., "A Nuclear Armed Iran: A Difficult but Not Impossible Policy Problem" in Art/Jervis, pp.

Terrorism:

- NOTE:I will put additional readings online.**
- Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, *America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), pp. 64, 147-159, 213-215.
- Pape on the logic of suicide terrorism in Art/Jervis, pp. 198-216
- Gause on Democracy and Terrorism in Art/Jervis, pp. 411-418
- Gordon on Winning War Against Terror in Art/Jervis, pp. 419-427

Prescriptions:

- NOTE:I will put additional readings online.**
- Dan Lindley, *Campaign Against Terrorism*, Kroc Institute Occasional Paper 22:OP:1, April 2002 (25pp).

Are you scared yet?

**Classes 19 and 20: Ethnic Conflict and Peacekeeping**

**RED ALERT: \*\*\*11/3: Five Page Paper Due Today\*\*\***

Many people have died and are dying in ethnic conflict. What causes ethnic conflict and what can be done to prevent or ameliorate it? How much do the causes, conduct, and consequences of ethnic conflict differ from inter-state conflict?

Readings [~155+ pages]:

- Michael E. Brown, excerpts from "Introduction," and "The Causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict" in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-12 and 571-601). Perhaps the best survey and argument about the causes of ethnic conflict.
- Rotberg on failed states in Art/Jervis, pp. 427-434
- Dobbins on nation building in Art/Jervis, 457-465. See also: William J. Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press), pp. 1-34. A well-respected overview of recent developments in peacekeeping.
- Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6 (November/December 1994), pp. 20-33. How well do Betts' arguments apply to the current situation in Kosovo?

- Dan Lindley, "Collective Security Organizations and Internal Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 537-568. A look at what organizations like the U.N. can and can not do when confronting ethnic conflict.
- Eric Solsten, "Introduction," and excerpts Ellen Laipson, "Government and Politics," and Jean R. Tartter, "National Security," in Eric Solsten, ed., *Cyprus: A Country Study*, 4 ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), pp. xx-xxxii, 163-174, and 213-224. In lecture, I will talk in depth about Cyprus as a case to highlight themes from the other readings. The Solsten readings provide some background on Cyprus to help you understand this part of the lecture. Dan Lindley, "UNFICYP and the Cyprus Problem, A Strategic Assessment" MIT Security Studies Program Working Paper, WP #97-1 (May 1997) contains some of my arguments about the Cyprus problem: <http://www.hri.org/forum/intpol/UNFICYP/>
- Skim Kaufman on solutions to ethnic conflict in Art/Jervis, pp. 435-456 (well written, easy to skim). The idea of partition is politically unpalatable...

### **Classes 21, 22, and 23: Economics, Trade, and Globalization**

Some basic questions here are what makes some states richer than others and what can be done to reduce poverty. The answers depend on understanding how international, domestic, and local economies work. Another set of questions is about whether and to what extent globalization is eroding the power of the state and its sovereignty. What are the consequences if the state's abilities to influence its economy, regulate its citizens, and tax commerce to provide common and social benefits are all eroding?

Readings [~240++ pages]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapters 8, 9, 10, 12: Trade, Finance, Integration, and the North-South Gap.
- Gilpin on political economy in Art/Jervis, pp. 263-279
- Scott on the great divide in Art/Jervis, pp. 290-302
- Rodrik on trading in illusions in Art/Jervis, pp. 325-332.
- Micklethwait and Woolridge on globalization and the stupid in Art/Jervis, pp. 333-339
- Drezner on the internet and sovereignty, in Art/Jervis 567-580 (he also runs a good blog at: <http://www.danieldrezner.com/blog/> zzz
- David Leonhardt, "Globalization Hits a Political Speedbump," *New York Times*, June 1, 2003.
- "Invasion of the Transgenics," *Economist*, May 14, 2003.
- "Bouncing Around," *Economist*, May 12, 2003.
- Table 6.1: "Integration with the World Economy," in World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, 2002, p. 332-335.

A lot reading for a vast topic. Most of us are affected by the global economy in several ways: current and future jobs, ethical concerns for the impoverished, stock holdings of pension plans, future courses in the subject, and perhaps business school.... Thus, it is important for you to get at least a taste of the various issues in the domain of

international economics. Gilpin is a good overview of the subject of international political economy, especially the overview of the range of perspectives. Most of the readings focus on globalization, and several smaller articles focus on specific issues like trade in genetically modified crops and currency fluctuations. Lectures will range from a review of basic IPE concepts like balance of trade to the Asian financial crisis and its lessons.

**Class 24: Global Environmental Problems** (we may do development instead for this, or for the next topic)

There is a good possibility that over the course of our (and especially your) lifetimes that the global environment will be significantly changed and degraded. There is much debate on just how bad it will be. These readings present many of the arguments in the debate over the future of the environment.

Readings [~40+ pages]

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 11, The Environment
- Kahl on Conflict and the Environment in Art/Jervis 353-363
- Victor on Intl Cooperation in Art/Jervis, pp. 364-371
- Mankiw on a New Tax, pp. 372-374

**Class 25: International Organizations and Law**

**RED ALERT: \*\*\*12/2: Ten Page Paper Due Today\*\*\***

Many problems could be reduced (and perhaps some others created) if international institutions could be made more effective. Some of the most important debates among international relations scholars are over international institutions: how influential are they? What can be reasonably expected of them? Should they be strengthened? If so, how?

Readings [~61+]:

- Goldstein/Pevehouse, Chapter 7, International Organization and Law.
- Morgenthau on Diplomacy in Art/Jervis, pp. 104-113
- Hoffman on International Law in Art/Jervis, pp. 114-119.
- Roberts on the U.N. in Art/Jervis, pp. 539-547.
- Annan on intervention in Art/Jervis, pp. 517-522.
- Review/skim Oye in Art/Jervis.
- Review/skim Keohane on institutions in Art/Jervis.

It can be difficult to assess the effectiveness of international organizations. Think about the following questions as you read the readings: are institutions causes or consequences of international harmony? Are institutions mainly

tools of the most powerful states to help them control their environment? How much do institutions restrain the most powerful states? How can smaller states promote their interests through institutions? Overall, how much are peace and prosperity promoted by institutions?

### **Class 26: International Ethics and Norms**

Another cut at globalization: how are international norms changing? What is causing these changes? Will these changes 'stick'? Which changes are for the better?

Another focus of the lecture will be the role of morality in international politics. Whether or not states consider morality highly in their choice of actions, many issues nonetheless involve moral judgements and have moral ramifications: how much and in what form should richer states help poorer states, how fair it is for people, companies, and states to pollute the environment, where should the US and others use force to intervene, and so forth. Moral judgements (and non-judgements) are made all the time in international politics (and in business, education, etc).

Readings [~24 pages; we are usually pressed for time about now in the semester, so this class is short and can be merged into the class above]:

- Howard and Donnelly on human rights, in Art/Jervis, pp. 504-516.
- Keck and Sikkink on transnational networks in Art/Jervis, pp. 477-483.
- Ratner on International Law in Art/Jervis, pp. 523-528.

## **Part IV: The Future of International Politics**

### **Classes 27-28: The Future of International Politics**

Probably the fundamental question of the future is 'will there be another world war?'

Readings [~118+ pages]:

- John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56. Coupled with Robert O. Keohane's, "Response to 'Back to the Future,'" in Foreign Affairs Agenda Series, *The New Shape of World Politics*, revised edition (New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999), pp. 158-160.
- Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Winter 1990/91), pp. 7-57.
- Huntington on the clash of civilizations in Art/Jervis, pp. 395-411.
- Jervis on leading power peace in Art/Jervis, pp. 379-394 (review).

Mearsheimer vs. Van Evera: two analytically dense readings, but this is one of the all-time great debates. Well-made, categorically different predictions about the future in Europe. The experiment is still being run. Who do you think will be right? How do these arguments apply to other areas of the world? Huntington's article (and book) has provoked many heated debates. What are the counterarguments? Go around the globe's hot spots in your head. Is he right?

## **THE FUTURE LIES AHEAD**