

**INTL 102: ECONOMICS, POLITICS, AND INTERNATIONAL CHANGE:
ANALYZING CURRENT SECURITY PROBLEMS**

University of California, San Diego
School of Global Policy & Strategy
Spring 2017, Tuesdays and Thursdays 11:00-
12:20, GPS Auditorium

Professor Barbara F. Walter
Email: bfwalter@ucsd.edu
Phone: (858) 822-0775
Office: Robinson Bldg. 1323
Office Hrs: Wednesdays 2:00-4:00

Course Outline and Readings

This is a course designed to teach you to analyze the behavior of key actors in the international system. The course is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on the analytic tools students need to acquire in order to explain the actions leaders take and their responses to foreign crises. These tools include an understanding of who the main decision makers are, the goals these players seek to obtain, the information they have about each other, how this information shapes their behavior, and the way in which their strategic interactions with each other produce certain, sometimes, predictable outcomes.

The second half of the course applies these tools to five major policy problems: the outbreak of war, nuclear proliferation, unconventional violence and terrorism, civil wars, and the benefits and challenges of democratization. Our goal is to explain why each of these events occurs, why these issues disproportionately affect certain countries and not others, and what can be done to resolve problems associated with these events. We will also analyze ongoing cases to predict how the players involved are likely to behave in the future. The objective is not to become an expert on any particular historical event or topic, but to give students the skills needed to understand and analyze *any* international problem they may encounter, now and in the future.

Organization of the Course

This is a large lecture *and* discussion course that deviates from traditional courses in the following way. Roughly half of the classes are designed around class discussion using the case method developed at Harvard Business School. Each of these discussions centers around two or three questions which the class will explore through discussion without, in the end, arriving at a “correct” answer. Our discussion classes will start with a “cold call” – I will ask one of you to answer a question that I consider central to the case. The two of us will go back and forth for about five minutes before the rest of the class chimes in. Subsequently, we will move to one or two additional questions without cold calls. For the cold call and the subsequent class discussions to work, you must have read the required reading and case carefully, analyzed and answered the assigned questions, and be prepared and ready to talk. I will provide only very limited guidance to the discussion. If we both do our parts, the case method offers an exhilarating learning experience for all of us; for the most part, you will be teaching and learning from each other. At the end of each case, I will offer approximately 15

minutes of reflections on the specific case and how it relates to some broader themes of the course.

Requirements

The grade for this course will be based on:

- class participation (30%),
- 3 short papers, maximum 4 pages in length (15%, 20%, and 20% respectively),
- and discussion section (15%).

Class Participation: Successful class participation will require thorough preparation, regular attendance, and active engagement in class discussions. TAs will act as scribes to keep track of the discussion (who speaks), the quality of their responses, and to record absences. Based on this record, you will get occasional updates about your standing for the class participation portion of your grade.

Short Papers: Students are also required to write 3 papers, no longer than 4 double-spaced pages each. Paper should be 12 pt type, with one inch margins. Please make sure that your name and student number appear on the first page of the document, and that the pages are numbered.

You have the choice of topics, with one caveat. You can choose 3 of the paper topics listed on the syllabus, but one topic must come from one of the topics listed between April 13 – April 27, one from one of the topics listed between May 2 – May 18, and the last from one of the topics listed between May 23 – June 6. You will be given no additional credit for writing more than 3 short papers or for more than one paper written during each of the time periods.

An electronic copy of the paper must be submitted to Turnitin.com no later than 11 am on the day it is due. In addition, a hardcopy of the paper must also be handed to the instructor at the beginning of class. Papers handed in late (after 11 am on the day due) will not be graded.

You are free to use whatever outside sources are available to answer the short-paper questions. Note, there are good and bad sources of information on the internet. Some of the best sources for current international reporting are the major newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Financial Times*, and the *Guardian*. In addition, the *Economist* has excellent coverage on most countries and most international events. For more in-depth analyses see *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *New Yorker*, and the *Atlantic*. You should be familiar with all of these sources and be reading extensively about a particular event before writing your memos.

Memos must follow all conventions of attribution and notation. Quotes and paraphrasing must be explicitly cited. Memos found to include plagiarized material will be given an automatic “zero” and no make-up paper will be allowed. The plagiarized paper will then be

reported to UCSD's Committee on Academic Integrity for whatever additional punishment the University would like to add.

ELECTRONIC-FREE CLASSROOM: This course is taught in a computer and phone-free classroom. The TAs and I will enforce this rule strictly. Please spare all of us the embarrassment of asking you to relinquish your electronics during class.

READINGS: All of the readings are available either through the hyperlinks included on the syllabus below (accessed through your university account), or through TED.

TEACHING ASSISTANTS: We are fortunate to have three great T.A.'s for this class. They are: Kristy Pathakis (kpathakis@ucsd.edu), Gregoire Phillips (g1philli@ucsd.edu), and Steven Koller (skoller@ucsd.edu).

Office hours:

Phillips: Mondays, 10:00-11:00 am, SSB 3131.

Pathakis: Tuesday, 9:00-10:00 am SSB 448.

Koller: Wednesdays, 9:00-10:00 am, SSB 3131.

DISCUSSION SECTIONS: The discussion sections serve to provide a smaller forum for students to discuss and review course material (e.g., lectures, readings). Students can share insights, raise questions, and diffuse ideas in smaller groups with their classmates. This will give students added time to develop their own perspective, and to reinforce the main themes and theories of the course.

WEEKLY SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS

ANALYTIC TOOLS

Tuesday April 4: Introduction

No reading

Thursday, April 6: Al Qaida's Attack Against the United States, September 11, 2001

Baseline Case to Analyze: How do you explain the decision by Al Qa'ida to target the United States with an attack on September 11, 2001?

Case Study: [The 9/11 Commission Report](#). Pages 1-14, and 47-70.

Assignment Questions:

1. On September 11, 2001, members of al Qa'ida targeted New York City and Washington D.C. with attacks. Why did AQ target the U.S. with attacks?
2. What did AQ hope to achieve?
3. Why did they launch it in September 2001 as opposed to another time?
4. Was the attack successful? Of so, why? If not, why not?

Tuesday, April 11: Introduction to Game Theory

How does game theory help us analyze the behavior of different actors in the international system?

John McMillan. Games, Strategies, and Managers: How Managers Can Use Game Theory to Make Better Business Decisions. pp 1-41. To be posted on TED.

Abhinay Muthoo, "[A Non-Technical Introduction to Bargaining Theory](#)," World Economics. April-June 2000, pp. 145-166.

Assignment question:

- What recent international event (or decision by a state leader) have you found puzzling and would like to see analyzed, in class, using game theory?

Thursday, April 13: Actors and Their Preferences

Who are the main actors in international affairs? How do you, the analyst, determine what their interests (i.e., preferences) are?

Joseph S. Nye Jr. "[Why the Gulf War Served the National Interest](#)," The Atlantic. July 1991.

Helen Milner, Interests, Institutions and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations. (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1997), pp. 9-23, pp. 33-46 and 60-65. To be posted on TED.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. The vast majority of scientists in the United States agree that climate change is the biggest security threat to the United States, much more so than ISIS or any other issue. If this is true, why do Democrats and Republicans disagree so much on its cause and how to address it?
2. Under what conditions are Republicans likely to change their view?

Tuesday, April 18: What Strategies Do Players Pursue? (Theory)

The strategy a player chooses to pursue depends on the player's (a) capabilities/resolve and (b) the information she has at her disposal.

Thomas Schelling. "The Diplomacy of Violence," in Arms and Influence. pp. 1-34. To be posted on TED.

Ernest J. Wilson III, "[Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power](#)", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2008.

Case: Russell Berman, "[President Trump's Hard Power Budget](#)", The Atlantic, March 16, 2017.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. The United States has traditionally wielded both "soft" and "hard" power. Soft power generally comes from the diplomatic arm of the U.S. government, most notably represented by the Department of State. Hard power comes from the military arm of the U.S. government, most notably the Department of Defense. President Trump has made it clear that he intends to significantly reduce the budget (and influence) of the DoS and increase the budget of the DoD. What justification has he given for this decision?
2. Discuss two other reasons why Trump might be pursuing this change?

3. Do you think this decision will increase or decrease (or have no effect) on U.S. power and influence in the world? Why?

Thursday, April 20: What Strategies Do Players Pursue? (Application)

Case: Ned Lebow, [The Cuban Missile Crisis](#), CIAO Case Study.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. Why did Khrushchev choose to put missiles in Cuba?
2. Why did Kennedy respond the way he did?
3. Why did this crisis not end in war?

Tuesday, April 25: The Importance of Information and Signaling (Theory)

MIT: "[Notes on Signaling Theory](#)." Anonymous author.

John McMillan, "Gaining Bargaining Power," and "Using Information Strategically" in [Games, Strategies and Managers](#). pp. 59 -75. To be posted on TED.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

One of the first diplomatic acts that Donald Trump did after being elected President of the United States was to accept a phone call from President Tsai of Taiwan. This was the first direct communication between leaders of the US and Taiwan since 1979, was against protocol, and immediately drew the ire of the Chinese government.

1. Why did Trump agree to this phone call?
2. Why was the call orchestrated so soon after his election?

When analyzing this event, keep in mind with whom President Trump was trying to communicate. Who was he trying to influence? What information was he trying to communicate (i.e., signal), and to whom? Was the signal credible? Why or why not?

Thursday, April 27: The Importance of Information and Signaling (Application)

Case: The 1996 Taiwan Straits Crisis. **Paper Topic**

Case: Richard L. Russell, [The 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis](#): The United States and China at the Precipice of War?

Assignment Questions:

1. What motivated Taiwan's President Lee to make such a provocative speech at Cornell?
2. Why did Chinese President Jiang Zemin respond the way he did?
3. Why did U.S. President Bill Clinton respond the way he did?
4. Why were the three players able to avoid war over this issue?

ANALYZING CURRENT PROBLEMS

Tuesday, May 2: The Breakdown of Bargaining = War

Information Problems and the Outbreak of War (Theory)

Why did the 1st Gulf War occur, and to what degree did information problems play a role?

James D. Fearon. "[Rationalist Explanations for War](#)," International Organization. 49, No. 3 (1995): pp. 379-414.

Assignment Questions:

1. What are the main causes of bargaining failures that lead to war?
2. Why would leaders ever withhold or misrepresent information from each other if sharing it would allow them to avoid a costly war?
3. How exactly are commitment problems different from information problems?

Thursday, May 4: Information Problems and the Outbreak of War (Application)

Case: The First Gulf War

Case: Steven Yetiv, The Persian Gulf Crisis. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997), Chapters 1-4. Posted on TED.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. Why did war break out in 1991 between President George H.W. Bush and Saddam Hussein of Iraq?
2. Why were the two leaders not able to reach a settlement before Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait?
3. After Hussein invaded Kuwait but before the war broke out, why were the two sides not able to reach a settlement that allowed Hussein to withdraw in exchange for peace?

Tuesday, May 9: Commitment Problems and the Outbreak of War.

Why did the 2nd Gulf War occur, and why were Saddam Hussein and George W. Bush not able to reach a settlement?

Robert Powell, "[War as a Commitment Problem](#)," International Organization. (Winter 2006) pp. 169-204.

Case: “[Saddam’s Delusions: The View From the Inside.](#)” Foreign Affairs. May/June 2006. Publishes declassified documents.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. The post 2003 study of Saddam Hussein’s decision making appears to indicate that he was woefully uninformed or misinformed about the strength of the Iraqi army relative to the US army. He also appeared to be misinformed about how willing the US would be to fight. Did Saddam Hussein fail to negotiate a settlement with George W. Bush regarding WMDs because of information problems?
2. If not, what commitment problems may have existed and why were Saddam Hussein and George W. Bush unable to solve them?

Thursday, May 11: Nuclear Proliferation (Theory)

Why do states seek nuclear weapons? And can states cooperate to contain the spread of nuclear weapons?

Kyle Beardsley and Victor Asal, “[Winning with the Bomb](#)”. Journal of Conflict Resolution. Vol. 53, no. 2 pp. 278-301.

Case: Iran. “[Everything You Want to Know About the Iran Nuclear Deal.](#)” The Economist, April 5, 2015.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. On July 14, 2015 President Obama (along with the leaders of China, France, Russia, the UK and Germany) signed an agreement with Iran on the future of Iran’s nuclear program. What were the terms of the deal?
2. Why did the United States and Iran both agree to sign the deal?
3. Why did they sign an agreement at that particular time?
4. President Trump has heavily criticized the deal. Do you believe he will rescind the deal during his Presidency? If so, why? If not, why not?

Tuesday, May 16: Nuclear Proliferation (Application)

Case: North Korea.

Case: Ted Galen Carpenter and Doug Bandow, The Korean Conundrum: America’s Troubled Relations with North and South Korea. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) Chapter 2-3, pp. 39-100. Posted on TED.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. What motivated President Clinton and President Kim Jong-il to sign an agreement (The Agreed Framework) on nuclear weapons in 1994?
2. Why did it eventually fail?
3. What does this tell us about the likelihood of a negotiated settlement between the US and North Korea over nuclear weapons now and in the future?

Thursday, May 18: What We Know About Terrorism

Terrorism has become increasingly popular over the last twenty five years. Why has this particular form of violence emerged, and why now?

Robert Pape, [Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism](#). (New York: Random House, 2005), pp. 3-76. Posted on TED.

Case: Tamil Tigers chapter in Pape book, pp. 139-154

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. According to Robert Pape, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka are the world's leading suicide terrorist organization (they have killed more people using suicide terror than anyone else). Why did the "Tamil Tigers" turn to terror in 1987?
2. Why have they relied on this form of violence more than other groups, especially other separatist groups?
3. Give at least two possible explanations why the predominantly Sinhalese government was unwilling to negotiate with the Tamils over independence during the war.

Tuesday, May 23: How Terrorism Is Designed to Work and How to Counter It

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "[The Strategies of Terrorism](#)," [International Security](#) (Summer 2006) pp. 49-80.

Case: Sebastian Rotella, "[How Europe Left Itself Open to Terror](#)", PBS, Frontline, October 18, 2016.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. ISIS is likely pursuing a war of attrition strategy against European countries it has targeted with attacks. Give at least 3 reasons why Belgium, France and the United Kingdom are being targeted with violence.
2. Discuss at least 3 ways in which these countries can best respond to these attacks.

3. What special challenges do European countries face in terms of responding as a result of being members of the EU?

Thursday, May 25: Explaining Civil Wars

What makes a country prone to civil war?

Required Reading: Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel. "[Civil War](#)," Journal of Economic Literature. Vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 3-57.

Optional Reading: Case: Barbara F. Walter, "[The New, New Civil Wars](#)", Annual Review, 2017.

Assignment Questions:

1. Since the early 2000's, almost all new civil wars have occurred in Muslim countries. Given existing theories and evidence for why civil wars break out in some countries and not others, why do you believe Muslim countries have been disproportionately affected by civil wars recently?
2. How do you explain why the fighting has broken out along sectarian lines (Sunni-Shia) and not some other cleavage?

Tuesday, May 30: Why So Few Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars?

Why are civil wars so difficult to resolve in negotiated settlements?

Barbara F. Walter, Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), Chapter 2, pp. 19-43. Posted on TED.

- Case: Kathy Gilsinan, "[The Confused Person's Guide to the Syrian Civil War](#)", The Atlantic. October 29, 2015.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

1. Why did civil war break out in Syria in 2011?
2. Why did it break out in 2011 and not earlier?
3. How do you think this civil war is likely to end? Why?
4. What role, if any, do Russia and Iran play in the resolution of this war?

Thursday, June 1: Why Do Democracies Not Fight Each Other?

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et.al. "[An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace](#)," American Political Science Review. Vol. 93, No. 4 (December 1999).

Assignment Questions:

1. Why do democracies tend not to fight against each other (i.e., go to war)? (Give at least 3 theories.)
2. Why do democracies tend to fight autocracies if they go to war, and start those wars?
3. Why do democracies tend to win the wars they start?

Tuesday, June 6: Why Are Transitions to Democracy so Violence-Prone?

Lars-Erik Cederman, Simon Hug & Lutz Krebs, "[Democratization and Civil War: Empirical Evidence](#)," Journal of Peace Research, July 2010.

Case: "[The Authoritarian Resurgence: Saudi Arabia's Anxious Autocrats](#)," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 15, 2015.

Assignment Questions: **Paper Topic**

- You are President of the United States. You have read all the literature on the democratic peace and must decide whether to try to encourage our least democratic ally (Saudi Arabia) to democratize. You must now decide whether to allow the House of Saud to continue as is, or to put pressure on the regime to pursue significant political reform designed to democratize the country? What policy would you pursue and why?

Thursday, June 8: What Have We Learned?

Final Case Analysis and Assignment Questions: TBD based on current events