

IAFS 4500-003

Global Security

Contact Information

Jeffrey Nonnemacher

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Office: Norlin LIBR M400M

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3:30 to 6:00pm or by appointment. Virtual available upon request

Course Information

August 21 – December 5

Classroom: CLUB 10

Class-time: 11:15am – 12:05pm

Course Description: When the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of the Cold War, many thought that we had reached the “end of history” and that a new era of liberal peace was upon us. Thirty years later, in February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine and brought war back to the European continent for the first time since the end of WW2. This marked a turning point in world history where many have remarked that the world is growing increasingly unsafe. Throughout the world, interstate tensions seem to have reached their boiling point, and the threat of interstate conflict has risen dramatically. What is the current status of global security, and how have debates around liberal democracy and globalization changed global security? Why did Russia invade Ukraine? What lessons can we learn from the invasion for understanding global conflict? In this course, designed as a capstone course for students in the IAFS major, students are going to put all their training in International Affairs to use to evaluate existing theories of global security, how they have evolved, and how they may (or may not) apply going forward.

This course is a seminar style course where I will provide some lecture material, but we will spend most of our time discussing key questions for understanding global security. We will be paying particular attention to the Russian-Ukraine War. Along the way students will learn how to engage in original research and compile a research project from start to finish.

Course Requirements and Grading:

Research Paper	75%
Paper Proposal (5%)	
Annotated Bibliography (10%)	
Literature Review (15%)	
Final Paper (30%)	
Discussant Response (5%)	
Presentation (10%)	
Final Exam	15%
Participation	10%

Letter grades will be assigned at the end of the semester based on the following scale. I will **not** round your grade, and grades will not be curved.

		B+	87-89%	C+	77-79%	D+	67-69%
A	94-100%	B	84-86%	C	74-76%	D	64-66%
A-	90-93%	B-	80-83%	C-	70-73%	D-	60-63%

Research Paper (75%)

As a capstone course for the IAFS major, the core requirement is to write a substantial research paper of 4000 to 5000 words. This is, in essence, a mini-senior thesis. Students will be expected to

identify an interesting academic research question, develop a theory to answer that question, and examine that theory using available evidence. Students may focus their research on any topic that is relevant to the course themes.

Since this is the primary objective of this course, most of the coursework for this class is focused on developing your research paper. This is not an assignment you can do in the final week of class—I will not let you! While the research project is 75% of your final grade, it is divided into smaller assignments, all helping you develop your paper and get feedback as you progress through the research process. Each assignment will have more information provided on Canvas. They are due as follows:

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| • Paper Proposal (5%) | September 5th |
| • Annotated Bibliography (10%) | September 26th |
| • Literature Review (15%) | October 24th |
| • Presentation (10%) | November 12th – November 21st |
| • Discussant Response (5%) | December 3rd |
| • Final Paper (30%) | December 3rd |

Final Exam (15%)

There will be one final exam in this course. This exam will be cumulative and will consist of one essay question. The final is scheduled for **Tuesday, December 9th (1:30-4pm)**.

Participation (10%)

As this is a discussion based seminar, active participation in this course is critical! Coming to class well prepared and offering comments and questions in discussions will result in a superior participation grade. Attendance is mandatory. Each student gets **three “freebie”** absences that cover both excused and un-excused absences throughout the semester. Each subsequent absence will result in a decrease in the participation and attendance grade. If you have ten total absences, you will receive a 0% for this category. Twelve or more absences will result in an “F” in the course. Attendance alone is not sufficient to receive full credit. Students with perfect attendance but no participation in class should expect to receive a 40% on the participation and attendance grade.

Late/Makeup Assignment Policy

All assignments must be submitted by their specified due date as designated in the syllabus. Late assignments will suffer a 10 percent penalty for each day that they are late and will not be accepted after three days unless discussed in advance of the deadline. In general, there will be no make-up exams or extensions without a university approved excused absence. However, if you find yourself in a situation where you cannot complete the work on time, please communicate with me as soon as possible before the deadline or day of the exam.

Canvas & Email Policy

I will primarily communicate with you via Canvas Announcements. Please ensure Canvas notifications are enabled, and announcements go to your inbox. **Please do not use Canvas to send me a message.**

E-mail is the best way to get in touch with me. When communicating with me, emails must have IAFS4500, Global Security, or a logical alternative indicating the email pertains to this course. Emails to me must be sent from your official University of Colorado email address. It is class policy that grades will not be discussed over email. I will generally reply to e-mails within 24 hours.

Artificial Intelligence

Generative artificial intelligence tools—software that creates new text, images, computer code, audio, video, and other content—have become widely available and pose new threats to academic integrity. **You may not use generative AI tools on assignments in this course.** Generative AI tools are typically trained on limited and pre-existing datasets that may be out of date and are designed to produce content that *appears* to be written by a human. As a result, work produced using generative AI is considered plagiarism and will often produce potentially outdated and inaccurate work that is not your own. If you use generative AI tools to complete assignments in this course, in ways that I have not explicitly authorized, this will be considered a violation of the Honor Code and there will be consequences appropriate to your specific case. These include getting a zero on the assignment, and possibly failing the class. Please act with integrity, for the sake of both your personal character and your academic record.

Please be **extremely careful** if you use tools like Grammarly or other generative AI for proofreading. This can and will rewrite your text and is considered a violation per the policy stated above if it does so. Use Spellcheck or other non-AI proofreading tools. If you aren't sure if you are using AI, err on the side of caution and don't use it.

Course Materials

There is one assigned book for this course:

- Popova, Maria and Oxana Shevel. 2024. *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States*. Polity Press. ISBN: 978-1509557370 [PS]

All other readings will be made available on Canvas. Assigned readings and deadlines are subject to change, but you will be notified in advance

Schedule

Week 0: Course Introduction and Syllabus

Friday, August 22: Course Introduction & Syllabus

- No Reading

Unit 1: Theoretical Foundations of Global Conflict

Week 1: The Causes of War

Monday, August 25: Is War in Decline?

- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2025. "Is War in Decline?" *Annual Review of Political Science*.

Wednesday, August 27: The Causes of War

- Cashman, Greg, and Leonard C. Robinson. 2021. "Introduction." in *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq*.

Friday, August 29: Is War Rational?

- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War."

Week 2: Theories on Global Security

Monday, September 1: NO CLASS (Labor Day)

Wednesday, September 3: Clash of Civilizations

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72(3):22.
- Sussex, Matthew. 2017. "Cultures in Conflict? Re-Evaluating the 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis After 9/11." In *European Security After 9/11*.

Friday, September 5: The End of History?

- Mueller, John. 2014. "Did History End? Assessing the Fukuyama Thesis." *Political Science Quarterly* 129(1):35–54.
- **Paper Proposal Due**

Week 3: Liberalism and Global Security

Monday, September 8: Liberalism and Global Security

- Walker, Thomas C., and David L. Rousseau. 2016. "Liberalism: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment." in *Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*.

Wednesday, September 10: The Democratic Peace

- Doyle, Michael W. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80:1151–69.
- Tomz, Michael R., and Jessica L. P. Weeks. 2013. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107(4):849–65.

Friday, September 12: Critiques of Liberalism

- Gibler, Douglas M. 2007. "Bordering on Peace: Democracy, Territorial Issues, and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 51(3):509–32.
- Gibler, Douglas M. 2014. "Contiguous States, Stable Borders, and the Peace between Democracies." *International Studies Quarterly* 58(1):126–29. **[Read this Second]**
- [OPTIONAL] Park, Johann, and Michael Colaresi. 2014. "Safe Across the Border: The Continued Significance of the Democratic Peace When Controlling for Stable Borders." *International Studies Quarterly* 58(1):118–25.

Week 4: Globalization and "the Capitalist Peace"

Monday, September 15: The Capitalist Peace

- Gartzke, Erik. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1):166–91.
- Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. 1999. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 1–37.

Wednesday, September 17: Peace Through Internationalism

- Zeiler, Thomas W. 2022. "Globalization, 1991–2000." (Pages 223–48) **and** "Crisis, 2001–2021." (249–78) in *Capitalist Peace*.

Friday, September 19: Trade and Global Security

- Copeland, Dale C. 1996. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security* 20(4):5–41.

Week 5: A Changing Order

Monday, September 22: Backlash to Globalization and Liberalism

- Berman, Sheri. 2021. "The Causes of Populism in the West." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24(1):71–88

Wednesday, September 24: End of the Liberal Order?

- Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94(1):7–23.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Ayşe Zarakol. 2021. "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents." *International Organization* 75(2):611–34.

Friday, September 26: The Future of the Liberal Order

- Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Jeremy L. Wallace. 2021. "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Organization*.
- **Annotated Bib Due**

Week 6: Hegemony and Multipolarity

Monday, September 29: Hegemonic Theory

- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Benjamin Valentino. 2009. "Lost in Transition: A Critical Analysis of Power Transition Theory." *International Relations* 23(3):389–410.

Wednesday, October 1: The Rise of Multipolarity

- Posen, Barry R. 2009. "Emerging Multipolarity: Why Should We Care?" *Current History* 108(721):347–52.
- Lind, Jennifer. 2024. "Back to Bipolarity: How China's Rise Transformed the Balance of Power." *International Security* 49(2):7–55.

Friday, October 3: End of American Hegemony?

- Stokes, Doug. 2018. "Trump, American Hegemony and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Affairs* 94(1):133–50.

Week 7: Tools of Global Security

Monday, October 6: Sanctions

- Drezner, Daniel W. 2011. "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice." *International Studies Review* 13(1):96–108.
- Silva, Paul M., and Zachary Selden. 2020. "Economic Interdependence and Economic Sanctions: A Case Study of European Union Sanctions on Russia." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 33(2):229–51.

Wednesday, October 8: Alliances

- Walt, Stephen M. 1985. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security* 9(4):3.
- Pesu, Matti, and Tuomas Iso-Markku. 2024. "Insufficiency of Informal Alignment: Why Did Finland Choose Formal NATO Membership?" *International Affairs* 100(2):569–88.

Friday, October 10: Deterrence

- Jervis, Robert. 1979. "Deterrence Theory Revisited." *World Politics*.
- Lupovici, Amir. 2023. "Deterrence by Delivery of Arms: NATO and the War in Ukraine." *Contemporary Security Policy* 44(4):624–41.

Unit 2: The Russian-Ukraine War and Global Security
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Week 8: Russian Ukrainian Relations

Monday, October 13: Entangled Histories

- PS: Chapter 1

Wednesday, October 15: Euromaidan and Crimea

- PS: Chapter 5

Friday, October 17: Road to Invasion

- PS: Chapter 6

Week 9: Russia's Reasons for War

Monday, October 20: Imperialism

- Götz, Elias, and Per Ekman. 2024. "Russia's War Against Ukraine: Context, Causes, and Consequences." *Problems of Post-Communism* 71(3):193–205.
- PS: Introduction

Wednesday, October 22: Public Opinion

- Ferraro, Vicente. 2024. "Why Russia Invaded Ukraine and How Wars Benefit Autocrats: The Domestic Sources of the Russo-Ukrainian War." *International Political Science Review* 45(2):170–91.

Friday, October 24: Geopolitics

- Mearsheimer, John. 2022. "The Causes and Consequences of the Ukraine War." *HoRiZonS*.
- *Lit Review Due*

Week 10: The International Response

Monday, October 27: The United States

- Kaarbo, Juliet, Kai Oppermann, and Ryan K. Beasley. 2023. "What If? Counterfactual Trump and the Western Response to the War in Ukraine." *International Affairs* 99(2):605–24.

Wednesday, October 29: The European Union

- Bosse, Giselle. 2022. "Values, Rights, and Changing Interests: The EU's Response to the War against Ukraine and the Responsibility to Protect Europeans." *Contemporary Security Policy* 43(3):531–46.

Friday, October 31: China

- Pennisi Di Floristella, Angela, and Xuechen Chen. 2024. "Strategic Narratives of Russia's War in Ukraine: Perspectives from China." *Policy Studies* 45(3–4):573–94.

Week 11: What Does it Mean?

Monday, November 3: Russia and Ukraine

- PS: Conclusion

Wednesday, November 5: European Security

- Fernández, Óscar, Marie Vandendriessche, Angel Saz-Carranza, Núria Agell, and Javier Franco. 2023. "The Impact of Russia's 2022 Invasion of Ukraine on Public Perceptions of EU Security and Defence Integration: A Big Data Analysis." *Journal of European Integration* 45(3):463–85.

Friday, November 7: Outside Europe

- Schirm, Stefan A. 2023. "Alternative World Orders? Russia's Ukraine War and the Domestic Politics of the BRICS." *The International Spectator* 58(3):55–73.

Unit 3: Research Presentations

Week 12: In Class Presentations

Monday, November 10: Giving a Research Presentation & Being a Discussant

- No Reading

Wednesday, November 12: In-Class Presentations

Friday, November 14: In-Class Presentations

Week 13: In Class Presentations

Monday, November 17: In-Class Presentations

Wednesday, November 19: In-Class Presentations

Friday, November 21: In-Class Presentations

THANKSGIVING BREAK (November 24–28th)

Week 14: The Future of Global Security

Monday, December 1: What's Next for Global Security

- Way, Lucan. 2022. "The Rebirth of the Liberal World Order?" *Journal of Democracy* 33(2):5–17.

Wednesday, December 3: Writing Workshop (Class Optional)

- Work on Final Papers
- Come with Questions
- **Final Papers Due**

Friday, December 5: Review for Final Exam

FINAL EXAM: Tuesday, December 9th (1:30-4pm)

Classroom Behavior: Students and faculty are responsible for maintaining an appropriate learning environment in all instructional settings, whether in person, remote, or online. Failure to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, marital status, political affiliation, or political philosophy. For more information, see the [classroom behavior policy](#), the [Student Code of Conduct](#), and the [Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance](#).

Accommodation for Disabilities: If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. Information on requesting accommodations is located on the [Disability Services website](#). Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or DSinfo@colorado.edu for further assistance. If you have a temporary medical condition, see [Temporary Medical Conditions](#) on the Disability Services website.

If you have a temporary illness, injury or required medical isolation for which you require adjustment, please let me know as soon as possible via e-mail.

Preferred Student Names and Pronouns: CU Boulder recognizes that students' legal information doesn't always align with how they identify. Students may update their preferred names and pronouns via the student portal; those preferred names and pronouns are listed on instructors' class rosters. In the absence of such updates, the name that appears on the class roster is the student's legal name.

Honor Code: All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the [Honor Code](#). Violations of the Honor Code may include but are not limited to: plagiarism (including use of paper writing services or technology [such as essay bots]), cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access to academic materials, clicker fraud, submitting the same or similar work in more than one course without permission from all course instructors involved, and aiding academic dishonesty. Understanding the course's syllabus is a vital part in adhering to the Honor Code. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution: StudentConduct@colorado.edu. Students found responsible for violating the [Honor Code](#) will be assigned resolution outcomes from the Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution as well as be subject to academic sanctions from the faculty member. Visit [Honor Code](#) for more information on the academic integrity policy.

Note: Use of AI in your written answers is considered plagiarism in this course and is not permitted and will result in an “F” in the course!

Discrimination and Harassment: CU Boulder is committed to fostering an inclusive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. University policy prohibits [protected-class](#) discrimination and harassment, sexual misconduct (harassment, exploitation, and assault), intimate partner abuse (dating or domestic violence), stalking, and related retaliation by or against members of our community on- and off-campus. The Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) addresses these concerns, and individuals who have been subjected to misconduct can contact

OIEC at 303-492-2127 or email CUreport@colorado.edu. Information about university policies, [reporting options](#), and [support resources](#) including confidential services can be found on the [OIEC website](#). Please know that faculty and graduate instructors must inform OIEC when they are made aware of incidents related to these policies regardless of when or where something occurred. This is to ensure that individuals impacted receive outreach from OIEC about resolution options and support resources. To learn more about reporting and support for a variety of concerns, visit the [Don't Ignore It page](#).

Religious Holidays: Campus policy requires faculty to provide reasonable accommodations for students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Please communicate the need for a religious accommodation in a timely manner. In this class, **please let me know by the end of week 3 of any religious accommodations you may require.** See the [campus policy regarding religious observances](#) for full details.

Mental Health and Wellness: The University of Colorado Boulder is committed to the well-being of all students. If you are struggling with personal stressors, mental health or substance use concerns that are impacting academic or daily life, please contact [Counseling and Psychiatric Services \(CAPS\)](#) located in C4C or call (303) 492-2277, 24/7. Free and unlimited telehealth is also available through [Academic Live Care](#). The Academic Live Care site also provides information about additional wellness services on campus that are available to students.