IAFS 4500-001: The Post Cold War World – Global Security

Fall, 2023 Tuesday, Thursday: 2:00-3:15 Club 6

Contact Information

Steven Beard, (Steven.Beard@Colorado.edu)

Ketchum 212

Office Hours: Tuesday, Thursday 12:45-1:45

Class Description

What will war and armed conflict look like in the remainder of the 21st century? Commentators have presented many arguments. Will we see a return of major power war, or will terrorism and ethnic conflict remain the primary forms of conflict? How will new(ish) technologies such as the internet and uncrewed vehicles affect conflict? We will examine and discuss these debates, among others.

In addition to classroom readings and discussion, students will examine these issues by writing a major research or policy paper on a relevant topic of their choice. Through this paper, students will also learn research and project management skills.

Texts and Readings

All required reading will either have website links provided or be placed on Canvas. You are expected to complete all assigned readings before the relevant class

Course Requirements and grades

Your grade will be determined by the following assignments:

- Course research/policy paper (40%)
- Paper proposal (5%)
- Outline and paper meeting (5%)
- Paper presentation (10%)
- 3 Discussion papers (10% each)
- Attendance and participation (10%)

Research / policy paper (due December 20)

The core requirement of the course is to write a major research or policy paper (15-20 pages). This is in essence a mini-senior thesis. You may choose the topic to write on, and whether to write a research paper of a policy paper. Whichever route you go, the paper must relate in some way to the future of armed conflict.

If you choose to write a research paper, you must formulate an academic research question related to international affairs. You will develop a theoretical answer to this research question, and examine that theory using available evidence.

If you choose to write a policy paper, you will identify a policy issue or problem to examine. You will identify several policy options to address the issue, and evaluate these options using

both specific evidence and theoretical knowledge of international affairs. Finally, you will propose one option as the best to address the issue and defend this choice.

Further details and guidance about both paper options will be provided throughout the course.

Paper proposal (due September 26)

Each student must write a paper proposal (~2-3 pages), detailing their research question or policy issue and existing research on the topic. Further details will be provided.

Paper outline and meeting (due November 7)

In order to help you work through your paper, each student will be required to complete a relatively detailed outline of their paper. Each student will then be required to schedule an out of class meeting with me to discuss their paper progress and any issues they are having.

Paper presentation

During the last two weeks of class, each student will present their paper to the class or about 10 minutes. We will then have five minutes of questions and discussion. This is both an opportunity to share your research with the rest of the class, and get feedback before writing your final paper.

Discussion guides/papers

This course is designed to be a seminar with active discussion of all students. To facilitate this role, each student will write three discussion guides or papers on the readings for a class period. In the paper, you should briefly summarize the main points of the readings. Then, pose three questions or issues for discussion. Elaborate on each, such as by presenting alternative viewpoints or answers. The paper should be 2-3 pages. I will circulate a sign-up sheet for which classes you will write your paper on. The paper will be due at the beginning of class on the day you sign-up for.

Attendance and participation

You are required to attend all scheduled classes and relevant small group meetings and participate fully. You are allowed two unexcused absences, and then each further absence will result in losing 1 of your 10 attendance points. I reserve the right to reduce this grade further if you are consistently not participating (i.e. just sitting in the back playing on your computer).

Schedule

- Week 1
 - o August 29 Intro to course
 - Onambele Mendouga, Guy Herve. 2022. "The Future of War." Small Wars Journal. https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/future-war
 - August 31 Overview of conflict trends
 - Pinker, Steven. "Has the Decline of Violence Reversed since The Better Angels of Our Nature was Written?" https://stevenpinker.com/files/pinker/files/has the decline of violence reversed since the better angels of our nature was written.pdf

- Braumoeller, Bear F. 2021. "Trends in Interstate Conflict." In Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and John A. Vasquez (eds.), What Do We Know About War? (3rd ed.) New York: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 272-289.
- Beard, Steven and Christina Boyes. 2023. "Is War Intensity Declining?
 Revisiting the decline of war hypothesis."

• Week 2

- o September 5 What is war?
 - Clausewitz, Carl von. On War. Ch. 1. https://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/BK1ch01.html
 - Levy, Jack S. and William R. Thompson. 2010. Causes of War. Wiley-Blackwell. Ch. 1
- September 7 Bargaining model of conflict
 - Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization*. 49(3): 379-414.

• Week 3

- o September 12 debates of the 1990s
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*. 16: 3-18.
 - Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*. 72(3) 22-49.
- O September 14 changes in the international system
 - Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "The end of international liberal order?" *International Affairs*. 94(1): 7-23.
 - Lake, David A., Lisa L. Martin, and Thomas Risse. 2021. "Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization." *International Organization*. 75(2): 225-257.
 - Adler-Nissen, Rebecca and Ayşe Zarakol. 2021. "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents." *International Organization*. 75(2): 611-634. (skim)
 - Weiss, Jessica Chen and Jeremy L. Wallace. 2021. "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order."
 International Organization. 75(2): 635-664. (skim)

• Week 4

- o September 19
 - Workshop paper topics
 - Readings TBD
- O September 21 return to multipolarity
 - Posen, Barry R. 2009. "Emerging Multipolarity: Why Should We Care?" *Current History*. 108(721), 347-352.
 - Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security*. 15(1): 5–56.

• Week 5

- o September 26 Hegemonic stability theory, Thucydides trap
 - Paper proposal due
 - Allison, Graham. 2015. "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic*. September 24, 2015.

- https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/ (on Canvas)
- Lebow, Richard Ned, & Benjamin Valentino. 2009. "Lost in Transition:
 A Critical Analysis of Power Transition Theory." *International Relations*. 23(3): 389–410. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117809340481 (on Canvas)
- Lemke, Douglas and Suzanne Werner. 1996. "Power Parity,
 Commitment to Change and War." *International Studies Quarterly*.
 40(2): 235-260. (skim)
- September 28 Rogue states
 - Caprioli, Mary and Peter F. Trumbore. 2005. "Rhetoric versus Reality: Rogue States in Interstate Conflict." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(5): 770–791.
 - International Crisis Group. 2023. "10 Conflicts to Watch in 2023."
 https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/10-conflicts-watch-2023

• Week 6

- October 3 Civil war and ethnic conflict
 - Walter, Barbara. 2017. "The New New Civil Wars." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 20: 469-46.
 - Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Laia Balcells. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." The American Political Science Review. 104(3): 415-429.
 - Ghodes, Anita R. "Studying the Internet and Violent Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science.* 35(1): 89-106.
- October 5 Failed states
 - "The Fragile States Index, Annual Report 2022." Fund for Peace.
 https://fragilestatesindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/22-FSI-Report-Final.pdf (Read 4-11, Skim 40-50, don't worry about the rest)
 - Goldstone, Jack. A. 2008. "Pathways to State Failure." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 25(4): 285–296.
 - Nay, Oliver. 2013. "Fragile and failed states: Critical perspectives on conceptual hybrids." *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique*. 34(3): 326–341.
 - Call, Charles T. 2010. "Beyond the 'failed state': Toward conceptual alternatives." European Journal of International Relations. 17(2): 303-326

• Week 7

- October 10 Changing alliances
 - Kenwick, Michael R. and Roseanne W. McManus. 2021. "Deterrence Theory and Alliance Politics." In Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and John A. Vasquez (eds). What Do We Know about War? Blue Ridge Summit: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
 - "Changing Alliance Structures." 2021. International Institute for Strategic Studies. https://www.iiss.org/blogs/research-paper/2021/12/changing-alliance-structures (read full report – click on "download research paper")
- October 12 Transnational influences on civil conflict

- Robinson, Kali and Will Merrow. 2021. "Iran's Regional Armed Network." Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/article/irans-regional-armed-network
- Forsberg, Erika. 2014. "Diffusion in the Study of Civil Wars: A Cautionary Tale." *International Studies Review*, 16(2), 188–198.
- Anderson, Noel. 2019. "Competitive Intervention, Protracted Conflict, and the Global Prevalence of Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly*. 63: 692-706.

Week 8

- October 17 Future of deterrence and arms control
 - Peters, Robert, Justin Anderson, and Harrison Menke. 2018. "Deterrence in the 21st Century: Integrating Nuclear and Conventional Force." Strategic Studies Quarterly.
 - Lissner, Rebecca. 2021. "The Future of Strategic Arms Control."
 Discussion Paper Series on Managing Global Disorder No. 4. Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/report/future-strategic-arms-control (Read full report click "Download PDF" button)
 - Williams, Heather and Nicholas Adamopoulos. 2022. "Arms Control after Ukraine: Integrated Arms Control and Deterring Two Peer Competitors." Center for Strategic & International Studies.
 https://www.csis.org/analysis/arms-control-after-ukraine-integrated-arms-control-and-deterring-two-peer-competitors (recommended)
- October 19 WMD proliferation
 - Monteiro, Nuno P. and Alexandre Debs. 2014. "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation." *International Security*. 39 (2): 7–51.
 - Robinson, Kali. 2022. "What is the Iran Nuclear Deal?" Backgrounder. Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-iran-nuclear-deal
 - Akerman, Gary and Michelle Jacome. 2018. "WMD Terrorism: The Once and Future Threat." *Prism: a Journal of the Center for Complex Operations*. 7(3): 22-36. (Skim)

• Week 9

- October 24 Military transformation
 - Adamsky, Dima. 2008. "Through the Looking Glass: The Soviet Military-Technical Revolution and the American Revolution in Military Affairs." The Journal of Strategic Studies. 31(2): 257-294.
 - Biddle, Stephen. 2022. "Ukraine and the Future of Offensive Maneuver."
 War on the Rocks. https://warontherocks.com/2022/11/ukraine-and-the-future-of-offensive-maneuver/
 - O'Hanlon, Michael E. 2018. "A retrospective on the so-called revolution in military affairs, 2000-2020." Brookings.
 https://www.brookings.edu/research/a-retrospective-on-the-so-called-revolution-in-military-affairs-2000-2020/
 (Read at least executive summary; whole report if time)

- Davis, Paul K. 2010. "Military Transformation? Which Transformation, and What Lies Ahead?" RAND.
 https://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP1413.html (optional)
- October 26 Air power
 - Lake, Daniel. 2009. "The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO's 'Victory' in Kosovo Revisited." *International Security*. 34(1): 83-112.
 - Biddle, Stephen. 2005. "Allies, Airpower and Modern Warfare: The Afghan Model in Afghanistan and Iraq." *International Security*. 30(3): 161-176.
- Week 10
 - October 31 Outline workshop
 - Readings TBD
 - November 2 Private military contractors
 - Leander, Anna. 2005. "The Market for Force and Public Security: The Destabilizing Consequences of Private Military Companies." *Journal of Peace Research.* 42(5), 605–622.
 - Marten, Kimberly. 2019. "Russia's use of semi-state security forces: the case of the Wagner Group." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 35(3): 181-204. (Skim at least, read if time)
 - Carey, Sabine C. and Niel J. Mitchell. 2017. "Progovernment Militias." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 20: 127-147.
- Week 11
 - o November 7 Counter-insurgency and Counter-terrorism
 - Paper outline due
 - Marlowe, Ann. 2009. "The Picture Awaits: The Birth of Modern Counterinsurgency." World Affairs. 172(1): 64-73.
 - https://mwi.usma.edu/not-your-grandfathers-counterinsurgency-the-united-states-must-prepare-for-radically-new-forms-of-nonstate-violence/
 - O November 9 human rights and conflict
 - https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-xinjiang-uyghurs-muslimsrepression-genocide-human-rights
 - Nordas, Ragnhild and Dara Kay Cohen. 2021. "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence." Annual Review of Political Science. 24: (193-211)
 - How will international humanitarian law develop in the future? ??
 - Barter, Shane Joshua. 2012. "Unarmed Forces: Civilian Strategy in Violent Conflict." *Peace and Change.* 37(4): 544-571.
- Week 12
 - O November 14 Future of international institutions and conflict
 - Readings TBD
 - November 16 Future of peacekeeping
 - Sassoli, Marco. 2022. "How will international humanitarian law develop in the future?" International Committee of the Red Cross. https://international-review.icrc.org/articles/how-will-international-humanitarian-law-develop-in-the-future-920
 - Day, Adam. 2020. "The Future of UN Peace Operations in a Changing Conflict Environment."

- https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/future_of_peacekeeping_op erations in a changing conflict environment.pdf
- Ilhan Dahir, Agathe Sarfati, and Jake Sherman. 2020. "The Future of UN Peacekeeping and Parallel Operations."
 https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/the_future_of_peacekeeping_and_parallel_operations.pdf
- Gary Milante, Hannes Mueller and Robert Muggah. 2020. "Estimating future conflict risks and conflict prevention implications by 2030."
 https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/estimating_future_conflict_risks and conflict prevention implications by 2030.pdf
- Thanksgiving break November 20-24
- Week 13
 - November 28 Topic TBD
 - Readings TBD
 - November 30 Wrap up
 - Readings TBD
- Week 14
 - o December 5
 - Presentations
 - December 7
 - Presentations
- Week 15
 - o December 12
 - Presentations
 - o December 14
 - Presentations
- Final time (December 20: 4:30-7:00)
 - o Final paper due
 - Make up presentations

Policies

Late policy

All assignments are due at the beginning of class

The final paper, along with the paper proposal and outline will incur a 15% late penalty if turned in late. I am relatively willing to grant extensions as needed, provided you contact me.

The discussion papers will not be accepted after the day those papers are discussed. However, I am willing to let you switch days if you contact me and make arrangements.

Communication

I will use both e-mail and Canvas to communicate important announcements. You are expected to check both regularly. The best way to contact me is through e-mail. I will do my best to respond reasonably promptly, but please be patient. For more complex issues or substantive

questions I will probably suggest setting up an appointment to meet on zoom office hours. I will endeavor to check the discussion boards and respond regularly.

Grading Grievances

Objectively assigning grades is a tough business, and mistakes do happen. I am happy to go over the assignment and explain why I assigned the given grade during office hours. If you wish to appeal a grade, you must submit *in writing* an explanation detailing where (i.e. what question) and why you think that you received insufficient credit for your answer. Be forewarned: I will not accept explanations arguing that because you worked really hard on a paper, your overall grade was just not high enough. You need to be able to show specific grading errors on my part.

Classroom Behavior

Both students and faculty are responsible for maintaining an appropriate learning environment in all instructional settings, whether in person, remote or online. Those who fail 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, 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.

Requirements for Covid-19

Members of the CU Boulder community and visitors to campus must follow university, department, and building health and safety requirements and all public health orders to reduce the risk of spreading infectious diseases.

The CU Boulder campus is currently mask optional. However, if masks are again required in classrooms, students who fail to adhere to masking requirements will be asked to leave class. Students who do not leave class when asked or who refuse to comply with these requirements will be referred to Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution. Students who require accommodation because a disability prevents them from fulfilling safety measures related to infectious disease will be asked to follow the steps in the "Accommodation for Disabilities" statement on this syllabus.

For those who feel ill and think you might have COVID-19 or if you have tested positive for COVID-19, please stay home and follow the further guidance of the Public Health Office. For those who have been in close contact with someone who has COVID-19 but do not have any symptoms and have not tested positive for COVID-19, you do not need to stay home. See https://www.colorado.edu/healthcenter/coronavirus-updates/symptoms-and-what-do-if-you-feel-sick for further information about what to do.

Accommodation for Disabilities

Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so

your needs can be addressed. Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or dsinfo@colorado.edu for further assistance.

If you have a temporary medical condition or required medical isolation for which you require accommodation, please contact ma and your TA when you are able so we can work out appropriate accommodations. Also see Temporary Medical Conditions on the Disability Services website.

Preferred 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.

If you would like me to use a name or pronoun other than that listed, please let me know.

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, 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.

All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution (honor@colorado.edu); 303-492-5550. 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. Additional information regarding the Honor Code academic integrity policy can be found on the Honor Code website.

My policy is that I will report all suspected violations to the honor code office. If the honor code office finds that you did violate the honor code, you will receive a zero on the affected assignment. Subsequent violations will result in automatically failing the course.

Use of AI or similar tools

Students are **not** allowed to use advanced automated tools (artificial intelligence or machine learning tools such as ChatGPT or Dall-E 2) on any assignment for this course. Each student is expected to complete each assignment without assistance from AI. Use of AI will be treated as a form of academic dishonesty akin to plagiarism or cheating.

Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment, and/or Related Retaliation CU Boulder is committed to fostering an inclusive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. University policy prohibits sexual misconduct (harassment, exploitation, and assault), intimate partner violence (dating or domestic violence), stalking, protected-class discrimination and harassment, and related retaliation by or against members of our community on- and off-campus. These behaviors harm individuals and our community. The Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) addresses these concerns, and individuals who

believe they 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 can be found on the OIEC website.

Please know that faculty and graduate instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when they are made aware of any issues related to these policies regardless of when or where they occurred to ensure that individuals impacted receive information about their rights, support resources, and resolution options. To learn more about reporting and support options for a variety of concerns, visit Don't Ignore It.

Religious Holidays

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. In this class, if religious observances affect any graded assignment, let me know so we can work out alternate arrangements. 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, https://www.colorado.edu/counseling/) located in C4C or call (303) 492-2277, 24/7. Free and unlimited telehealth is also available through Academic Live Care (https://www.colorado.edu/health/academiclivecare). The Academic Live Care site also provides information about additional wellness services on campus that are available to students.