

Political Science 334
Spring 2010
T/Th 3:40-5:00
GBB L09

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International Security

Course Description and Objectives

This course will develop your ability to analyze the causes, conduct, and consequences of war. We will begin by exploring the consequences of war for personal, national, international, and global security. We will then examine theories about the causes of war and apply them to understand the occurrence of World War I, World War II, and the Cold War. Next, we will explore the conduct and consequences of these wars at the doctrinal, strategic, operational, and tactical levels. We will conclude by discussing contemporary issues in war, peace, and security, including the causes, conduct, and consequences of the war on terrorism and the war in Iraq, weapons proliferation, the future of military technology, the rise of new great powers, humanitarian intervention, and alternatives to war.

During the course, you will develop your critical reading skills by evaluating other scholars' theories, arguments, and evidence. You will also improve your analytic writing skills by comparing and contrasting theories and arguments and by developing and supporting your own arguments about the causes, conduct, and consequences of war. By the end of the class, you will be able to make informed predictions and prescriptions about the security challenges of the coming years.

Prerequisites

To enroll in this course, you must have at least sophomore standing, and you must have taken PSC 130 (Introduction to International Relations).

Course Communications

Throughout the course, I will communicate with you by email and by posting announcements and materials on the Blackboard website, which you can access at <https://courseware.umt.edu/webapps/login>

I will also email you from time to time. To ensure that you receive my emails, you should either check your UM email account on a regular basis or have your UM email forwarded to an account you do check regularly.

Required Texts

To do well in this class, you must complete all of the assigned reading before each lecture. The following texts are required and are available for purchase at the bookstore:

- Richard K. Betts, *Conflict after the Cold War*, 3rd edition (New York: Longman, 2007).
- Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 7th edition (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).
- Articles posted in the Course Materials section of the Blackboard website.

Keeping Up with Current Events

In addition, you are required to keep up with current events related to personal, national, international, and global security by reading the *New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com>) on a daily (Monday - Friday) basis.

Other ways to keep up with current events are to:

- Read other national daily newspapers such as the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*, as well as international papers such as the *London Times*, *Guardian*, and *Le Monde* and compilations of international news such as <http://worldpress.org/>
- Read weekly news magazines such as *The Economist*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report*. See also monthly and quarterly journals such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, and *International Security*.
- Listen to National Public Radio programs such as “Morning Edition,” BBC World Service,” and “All Things Considered” on KUFM 89.1 (for schedule, go to <http://www.mtpr.net/>).
- Watch national nightly and weekly television news programs. On PBS, these include “PBS NewsHour,” “BBC World News,” “Worldfocus,” and “Frontline,” which are available on both KUFM Channel 11 (<http://www.montanapbs.org/>) and KSPS Channel 32 (<http://ksps.org/>). The ABC, CBS, and NBC evening news, as well as ABC’s “Nightline,” can also be helpful.

Whenever possible I encourage you to consult these and other additional sources. Please note, however, that they will not substitute for daily reading of the *New York Times*. Because it is the single best source for in-depth international coverage and a wide range of opinion, current event questions on the midterm and final will be based on the *New York Times*.

Course Requirements and Exams

You are expected to attend class regularly and to complete all of the assigned reading, including the previous day’s *New York Times*, before each class. To encourage you to do so, I will give several in-class quizzes. These assignments and your active, informed, and respectful participation in course discussions will constitute 10% of your course grade.

The rest of your grade will be based on two midterms (the first, an in-class exam worth 25% and the second, an 8-10 page take-home essay exam worth 30%) and a final (in class, worth 35%). These exams will test your understanding of and ability to analyze material from the readings, lectures, and *New York Times*. The in-class exams will include multiple choice questions, short answers, and essay questions. Be prepared to recall what you have learned and to write clear, thoughtful, and well-supported answers to challenging questions.

In class, you should take notes on the lectures and discussions. After class, take a few minutes to jot down your overall impressions of the session and the questions and insights it raised for you. These notes will provide you with leads to follow in reviewing for and writing the exams.

Grading

To reiterate, the weight attached to each assignment is as follows:

Quizzes and participation	10%
Midterm #1 (3/11)	25%
Midterm #2 (out 4/13, due 4/22)	30%
Final (5/11)	35%

The plus/minus grading system will be used. Grades may be curved, but the following distribution is the lowest I will use (*i.e.*, if you earn 93% of all possible points you are assured of an A in the course):

93-100	A	83-86	B	73-76	C	63-66	D
90-92	A-	80-82	B-	70-72	C-	60-62	D-
87-89	B+	77-79	C+	67-69	D+	0-59	F

Academic Honesty

Students must practice academic honesty and should be familiar with the Student Conduct Code. The Code is available at http://life.umt.edu/vpsa/student_conduct.php

Students who engage in academic misconduct such as plagiarism (representing another person's work as their own) will receive a 0 for the assignment in question and may be subject to a disciplinary sanction by the university.

Make-Up Policy

Make-up exams will be scheduled only for students directly involved in extreme, documented emergencies. Late papers will be accepted only in these conditions, as well. If you find yourself in the midst of an emergency, you must notify me as soon as possible (in advance of the exam or due-date if possible) that you will be unable to attend the scheduled exam or submit the paper on time. To do so, call me or send me an email explaining the circumstances of your emergency and giving me a way to contact you. I reserve the right to deny requests and require makeup work substantially different from the original assignment.

Note: Because I accept make-up work only in the event of extreme, documented emergencies, if you miss an exam or fail to submit a paper for any other reason you will receive a 0 for the assignment. This will put you at risk of failing the course.

Drop Policy, Grading Options, and Incompletes

The 15th day of the semester is the last day to drop the class or change the grading option without my signature on an override form. If you wish to drop or change the grading option after that, you must provide documentation of an emergency or other serious situation in which you are directly involved that has made it impossible for you to complete the course.

For UM's policy on incompletes, see <http://www.umt.edu/catalog/acad/acadpolicy/default.html>

Disabilities

Students with disabilities should apprise me of their needs at least two weeks before an assignment on which they wish to be accommodated.

PSCI 400

Political Science majors can use this course to complete PSCI 400 (the upper-division writing requirement in the major). The requirements for doing so are as follows:

1. You must have finished your 300-level writing requirement *and* passed UM's writing proficiency test before enrolling in PSCI 400.
2. You must obtain the paperwork from the PSCI department secretary, Karen Boice, and submit it for my signature by the add deadline.
3. When you submit your take-home midterm, you should indicate on the top that you will be revising it for PSCI 400.
4. When submitting your revised take-home midterm (due the last day of class), you must attach your graded first draft with my comments.
5. Your grade for PSC 400 will be the average of the grades you receive on the first and final versions of the take-home midterm.

Graduate Students

In addition to the requirements specified above, graduate students must read all of the listed readings (both assigned and recommended), demonstrate mastery of the readings on the exams, and write a 10-page proposal for a 20-25 page research paper. The paper topic must be approved by me by 15 April. The paper proposal is due on the last day of class. For proposal requirements, see me.

Reading Questions

On the exams, you will be asked to compare and contrast the arguments of various scholars and schools of thought. Doing so requires critical reading skills. To develop and practice these skills, consider the following questions for each item you read:

A. Overview

1. What is the central question or problem addressed by the author?
2. What is his or her answer or argument?

B. Evaluation of the Argument

3. What is the logic of this answer or argument? What school of thought, if any, does it represent?
4. Do you understand the author's argument? Do you agree with it? Why or why not?

C. Evaluation of the Evidence

5. What evidence does the author use to support his or her argument?
6. Does the evidence support the argument? Are you aware of other evidence that would support or weaken the argument?

D. Significance

7. Which of the authors we have read would agree and disagree with this argument, and why?
8. How does this article fit into the themes and arguments developed in lecture?

Essay Grading

- 100 Superb. Develops an extremely well-written, clear, and convincing argument that answers the question and substantiates the answer with facts and other information from readings.
- 90-99 Excellent. Develops a generally well-written, clear, and convincing argument that answers the question and refers well to readings. Omissions or inaccuracies are few and detract little from the overall quality of the argument.
- 80-89 Good. The argument is generally good and answers the question, but the answer is disorganized, unclear, inaccurate, or unsupported in several important respects -- OR -- The argument is well-written, clear, and convincing but doesn't fully answer the question or has few and/or insubstantial references to readings.
- 70-79 Marginal. The answer has numerous shortcomings in organization, clarity, accuracy, or support -- OR -- The argument is fairly well-written, more or less clear, and somewhat convincingly but doesn't really answer the question AND has few and/or insubstantial references to readings.
- 60-69 Unacceptable. The answer is very vague, completely wrong, has nothing to do with the question, and/or provides no evidence of reading.

Course Outline and Schedule

Readings marked (+ and *) are available to print or download from the Course Materials section of the Blackboard website. All other readings are either in the books by Betts or the book by Art and Waltz (A&W).

Readings marked (+) are from journals available through the library website. If the link is not functioning, go to <http://www.lib.umt.edu/>, click on "Journals," type in the name of the journal, select the electronic index that contains the issue in which the article appeared, and search for the article using the title and/or author's name.

Readings marked (*) are from books owned by myself or the library. If these links are not functioning, please send me an email.

Once you have accessed a reading from Blackboard, print and/or download it so you can highlight and make notes on the text. To minimize the number of pages you have to print, use your printer menu to select "2 pages per page" and "manual duplex."

To avoid problems later in the semester, I suggest you copy, print, or download online articles during the first several weeks of class.

I. Consequences of War and Benefits of Peace

A. Introduction (1/26)

B. Personal, National, International, and Global Security and Insecurity, Part I

Assignment: Graded Question #1 (due by 11:30 pm on Wednesday 1/27). After attending lecture and filling out the security spectra, log into Blackboard, and answer Graded Question #1 in the Discussion Board. If you have trouble accessing Blackboard, email your answer to me.

Personal, National, International, and Global Security & Insecurity, Part II (1/28; 50pp).

Assignment: Graded Question #2 (due by 11:30 pm on Friday 1/29). After reading the selections below and attending lecture, log into Blackboard, and answer Graded Question #2 in the Discussion Board. If you have trouble accessing Blackboard, email your answer to me.

Thomas Hobbes (1650), "The State of Nature and the State of War," in Betts, pp. 66-69 (3 pp).

*John Locke (c. 1680), "Of the Ends of Political Society and Government," *Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), Second Treatise, Chapter IX, p. 395-399 (5 pp).

*Hannah Arendt (1951), "The Perplexities of the Rights of Man," *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), pp. 290-294 (6 pp).

*Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol," *Political Science Quarterly* 67:4 (Dec. 1952), pp. 481-502 (21 pp).

*Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* 68:2 (Spring 1989), pp. 162-177 (15 pp.).

II. Causes of War

A. Overview (2/2; 33 pp)

As you read the following selections, think about how these authors would explain why the Iraq war occurred.

*Woodrow Wilson, "President Woodrow Wilson's War Message" (Address to Congress Asking for Declaration of War, April 1, 1917) and Woodrow Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points" (Address to Congress, January 8, 1918) available at the World War I Document Archive, <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/> (select year, then scroll down to

dates) (9 pp).

Woodrow Wilson, "Community of Power vs. Balance of Power," in Betts, pp. 132-134 (3 pp).

*Hans Morganthau (1948), "Political Power" and "A Realist Theory of International Politics," from *Politics Among Nations*, 4th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1978), reprinted in John A. Vasquez, *Classics of International Relations*, 3rd ed (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), pp. 24-27 (4 pp).

*Kenneth N. Waltz, "Introduction," *Man, The State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp 1-15 (16 pp).

B. The First Image: Human Nature and Behavior as Causes of Conflict and Cooperation

1. Realist, Liberal, and Feminist Theories of Human Nature (2/4; 49 pp)

Sigmund Freud (1932), "Why War?," in Betts, pp. 171-178 (7 pp).

Franco Fornari (1966), "The Psychoanalysis of War," in Betts, pp. 179-183 (4 pp).

Stanley Milgram, "How People Do Bad Things," in Betts, pp. 184-190 (6 pp).

Daniel Kahneman & Jonathan Renshon, "Why Hawks Win," in Betts, pp. 191-194 (3 pp).

Margaret Mead (1940), "Warfare is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity," in Betts, pp. 219-223 (5 pp).

*Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 3. (April 1968), pp. 454-479, reprinted in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics* 3rd ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 472-489 (14 pp).

J. Ann Tickner, "Men, Women and War," in Betts, pp. 252-263 (11 pp).

2. Case Study: World War I (2/9; 22-24 pp)

Assignment: World War I Reading Analysis (due at the beginning of class today). Read one of the following readings or groups of readings, type up answers to the reading questions on p. 3 of the syllabus, and be prepared to present and turn in your answers in class. Note: graduate students must read and write on ALL of these selections.

*John D. Stoessinger, "The Iron Dice: World War I," *Why Nations Go to War* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2005), pp. 1-25 (23 pp).

OR

*Robert W. Tucker, "An Inner Circle of One: Woodrow Wilson and His Advisers," *National Interest*, Spring 1998, pp. 3-26 (24 pp).

OR

*Jeannette Rankin, "Why I Voted Against War," available on pp. 153-155 of http://texts.cdlib.org/dynaxml/servlet/dynaXML?docId=kt758005dx&doc.view=entire_text&query=0 (note: for some reason these pages are near the end of the document, after p. 289)

AND

*Joyce Berkman, "Feminism, War, and Peace Politics: The Case of World War I," in Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias, eds., *Women, Militarism, and War* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1990), pp. 141-160 (22 pp).

C. The Second Image: State and Social Attributes as Causes of Conflict and Cooperation

1. Overview (2/11; 56 pp.)

2. Classical Realism

3. Classical Liberalism

*Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Discourses* (London: Penguin, 1988), II:1-10, pp. 270-303.

Niccolo Machiavelli, "Doing Evil in Order to Do Good," in Betts, pp. 61-65 (4 pp).

Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," in Betts, pp. 271-272 (2 pp).

Michael W. Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," in Betts, pp. 135-149 (14 pp).

4. Marxism-Leninism (2/16; 54 pp.)

5. Case Studies: World Wars I and II

Assignment: Comparison of Second Image Theories (due at the beginning of class today).

After reading the following selections, fill out the Second Image Comparison Chart, indicating which facts about World Wars I and II support which of the theories.

V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Betts, pp. 281-287 (6 pp).

*V.I. Lenin, "Socialism and War," in Lawrence Freedman, *War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 95-99 (4 pp).

*Emma Goldman, "Preparedness: The Road to Universal Slaughter," from *Mother Earth*, December 1815 (10 pp).

*Stewart C. Easton, *A Brief History of the Western World* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962), pp. 346-380.

6. Case Study: The Origins and End of the Cold War (2/18; 41-55 pp.)

Assignment: Cold War Reading Analysis (due at the beginning of class today). Read at least two selections in each of the following groups of readings. Then select one reading to examine in detail. Type up answers to the reading questions on p. 4 of the syllabus, and be prepared to present and turn in your answers in class. Note: graduate students must read and write on ALL of these selections.

Origins of the Cold War

*N. Novikov, "The Novikov Telegram," in Kenneth M. Jensen, ed., *Origins of the Cold War: the Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts "Long Telegrams" of 1946* (Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 1991), pp. 3-16 (14 pp).

*Mr. X (George F. Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," in Walter LaFeber, ed., *America in the Cold War* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), pp. 35-48 (13 pp). Originally published in 1947.

*Harry S. Truman, "The Truman Doctrine," (Speech, March 12, 1947), <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/trudoc.htm>, (9 pp).

End of the Cold War

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?," in Betts, pp. 6-17 (11 pp).

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," in Betts, pp. 34-51 (17 pp).

+Benjamin R. Barber, "Jihad Vs. McWorld," *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1992, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/199203/barber> (8 pp).

D. The Third Image: External Contexts as Causes of Conflict and Cooperation

1. Overview (2/23; 23 pp.)

2. Structural Realism

a. The Theory (9/24; 23 pp.)

Review Hobbes in Betts, pp. 66-69 (3 pp).

*Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Anarchic Structure of World Politics," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics* 4th ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 49-69 (20 pp).

b. Cases: the World Wars and the Origins of the Cold War (2/25; 52 pp.)

Assignment: Structural Realist Reading Analysis (due at the beginning of class today). Read both of the following items, then select one to examine in detail.

Type up answers to the reading questions on p. 3 of the syllabus, and be prepared to turn in and present your answers in class. Graduate students must write on both.

*Paul M. Kennedy, "The First World War and the International Power System," *International Security* 9:1 (Summer 1984), pp. 7-40 (33 pp).

Robert J. Art, "The Fungibility of Force," in A&W, pp. 3-22.

3. Technological Realism (3/2; 37 pp.)

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," in Betts, pp. 412-427 (15 pp).

*Karen Ruth Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," *International Security* 28:3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 45-50, 52-61, 68, 70, and 73-79 (22 pp.)

4. Dependency Theory (3/4; 42 pp.)

5. Neoliberalism

*Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," in John A. Vasquez, *Classics of International Relations*, 3rd ed (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), pp. 265-273 (9 pp).

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Power and Interdependence," in Betts, pp. 161-168 (7 pp).

Immanuel Kant (1795), "Perpetual Peace," in Betts, pp. 122-128 (6 pp).

*Robert Keohane, "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics," *International Institutions and State Power* (Westview, 1989), pp. 1-20 (20 pp).

6. Constructivism (3/9; 40 pp)

7. Case Study: The End of the Cold War

Assignment: Comparison of Third Image Theories (due at the beginning of class today).

After finishing the readings below, fill out the Third Image Comparison Chart for WWI, WWII, and the Cold War. Indicate which facts about each war support each theory.

Come to class ready to discuss the chart and participate in an intensive review.

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it," in Betts, pp. 198-218 (20 pp).

*Mikhail Gorbachev, "Basic Aims and Directions of the Party's Foreign Policy Strategy," *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, February 25, 1986 (Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986) (20 pp).

*****MIDTERM #1: In class on Thursday, 3/11*****

III. The Conduct of War

A. Doctrine, Strategy, Operations, and Tactics (3/16; 40 pp.)

*Karl Von Clausewitz (1832), "On the Nature of War," from *On War*, Book I, Ch.1, reprinted in John A. Vasquez, *Classics of International Relations*, 3rd ed (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), pp. 314-318 (5 pp).

*Sun Tzu (2nd century BC), *The Art of Warfare*, Roger T. Ames, trans. (New York: Ballantine, 1993), pp. 103-144 (27 pp).

*Robert J. Art, "The Four Functions of Force," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz, *The Use of Force* 4th ed. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 3-11 (8 pp).

Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- Alexander L. George, "Coercive Diplomacy," in A&W, pp. 72-76.

- Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin, "The US and Coercive Diplomacy," in A&W, pp. 272-293.

B. Sources and Consequences of Doctrine and Strategy (3/18; 32 pp.)

Barry Posen, "The Sources of Military Doctrine," in A&W, pp. 23-43 (20 pp).

*Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France Between the Wars," *International Security* 19:4 (Spring 1995), pp. 65-77 (12 pp).

Review Jervis and Adams in Technological Realism section.

C. Case Studies

1. The Conventional Era

a. World War I (3/23; 16 pp.)

Jack Snyder, "The Cult of the Offensive in 1914," in A&W, pp. 135-151 (16 pp).

b. World War II (3/25 – 3/30; 40 pp.)

John Mearsheimer, "Hitler and the Blitzkrieg Strategy," in A&W, pp. 152-166 (14 pp).

Sir George Sansom, "Japan's Fatal Blunder," in A&W, pp. 167-178 (11 pp).

Louis Morton, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," in A&W, pp. 179-194 (15 pp).

2. The Nuclear Era

a. The Nuclear Revolution (4/1; 33 pp.)

*Bernard Brodie, "War in the Atomic Age" in Gerard Chaliand, *The Art of War in World History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1994), pp. 991-1003 (12 pp).

*Thomas C. Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 3rd edition (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), pp. 3-24 (21 pp).

b. Conflicts Among Nuclear States (4/6; 38 pp)

David A. Welch, *et al.*, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in A&W, pp. 211-235 (23 pp).

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," in A&W, pp. 116-132 (15 pp).

Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- McGeorge Bundy, "The Unimpressive Record of Atomic Diplomacy," in A&W, pp. 99-107 (8 pp).

- Robert Jervis, "The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence," in A&W, pp. 108-115 (7 pp).

c. Limited War (4/8; 15 pp)

Morton H. Halperin, "The Korean War," in A&W, pp. 195-210 (15 pp).

Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- John Lewis Gaddis, "Implementing Flexible Response: Vietnam as a Test Case," in A&W, pp. 235-259 (24 pp).

d. Guerilla War and Counter-Insurgency (4/13; 51 pp.)

MIDTERM #2 will be handed out in class today

Mao Tse-tung, "On Guerilla Warfare," in Betts, pp. 475-485 (10 pp).

Samuel P. Huntington, "Patterns of Violence in World Politics," in Betts, pp. 486-510 (24 pp).

*Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986), Chapter 10, pp. 258-275 (17 pp).

e. Proxy War (4/15; 41 pp. + 5 minute audio)

T. E. Lawrence, "The Science of Guerilla Warfare," in Betts, pp. 466-474 (9 pp).

+Pankaj Mishra, "Exit Wounds: The Legacy of Indian Partition," *New Yorker*, August 13, 2007, pp. 80-84, available at

http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo_books_mishra (5 pp).

*Raymond L. Garthoff, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," in Art and Waltz, *Use of Force* 3rd ed, pp. 328-345 (17 pp).

*Ted Galen Carpenter, "The Unintended Consequences of Afghanistan," *World Policy Journal* 11:1 (Spring 1994), pp. 76-87 (10 pp).

+Interview with Joost Hilterman, "Saddam's Past with U.S. Has Implications for Iraq," National Public Radio, July 22, 2007, (audio), available at <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=12158923>

IV. Contemporary Issues in War, Peace, and Security

A. Terrorism: Causes and Conduct (4/20; 67 pp)

*Brian M. Jenkins, "International Terrorism," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz, *The Use of Force* 6th ed. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), pp. 77-84 (7 pp).

Martha Crenshaw, "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism," in Betts, pp. 511-524 (13 pp).

Mark Juergensmeyer, "Religious Radicalism and Political Violence," in Betts, pp. 525-540 (15 pp).

Osama bin Laden, "Speech to the American People," in Betts, pp. 541-545 (4 pp.)

Marc Sageman, "Jihadi Networks of Terror," in Betts, pp. 546-558 (12 pp).

Richard K. Betts, "The Soft Underbelly of Primacy," in Betts, pp. 559-575 (16 pp).

Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," in A&W, pp. 79-98.

B. Counter-Terrorism: Strategies and Effects (4/22; 72 pp)

*****MIDTERM #2 is due today at the beginning of class*****

Paul R. Pillar, "Dealing with Terrorists," in A&W, pp. 501-508 (7 pp).

+Barry R. Posen, "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security* 26:3 (Winter 2001/2), pp. 39-55 (16 pp).

+John J. Mearsheimer, "Guns Won't Win the Afghan War," *New York Times*, November 4, 2001, (1 p).

Michael E. O'Hanlon, "The Afghani War: A Flawed Masterpiece," in A&W, pp. 261-271 (10 pp).

+Seymour M. Hersh, "The Other War," *The New Yorker*, April 12, 2004, pp. 40-47 (7 pp).

+Barack Obama, "A New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan," 27 March 2009,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/09/03/27/> read white paper and the one-page summary of changes (7 pp).

+Barack Obama, "The Way Forward in Afghanistan," 1 December 2009,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/defense/afghanistan> read summary (1 pp.).

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," in A&W, pp. 509-532 (23 pp).

C. The War in Iraq (4/27; 62 pp.)

+Kenneth M. Pollack, "Why Iraq Can't Be Deterred," *New York Times*, September 26, 2002 (1 p)

+John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "Keeping Saddam Hussein a Box," *New York Times*, February 2, 2003 (1 p).

+Steve Coll, "Hussein Was Sure of Own Survival: Aide Says Confusion Reigned on Eve of War," *Washington Post*, November 3, 2003 (1 p).

+Max Boot, "The New American Way of War," *Foreign Affairs* 82:4 (Jul/Aug2003), (11 pp).

+Stephen Biddle, "Statement Before the Committee on Armed Services on Operation Iraqi Freedom," First Session, 108th Congress, October 21, 2003, available at

<http://armedservices.house.gov/comdocs/openingstatementsandpressreleases/108thcongress/03-10-21biddle.html> (12 pp).

+Michael Gordon, "The Strategy to Secure Iraq Did Not Foresee a 2nd War," *New York Times*,

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 - Benjamin H. Friedman, et al., "Learning the Right Lessons from Iraq," in A&W, pp. 294-308 (14 pp).
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- Kenneth N. Waltz, "More May Be Better," in Betts, pp. 451-461 (10 pp).
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- *Thomas C. Schelling, "Stability in a Disarmed World," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz, *The Use of Force* 4th ed. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 585-593 (8 pp).
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Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- Seymour M. Hersch, "Defending the Arsenal," *New Yorker*, 16 November 2009, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2009/11/16/091116fa_fact_hersh?currentPage=all (7 pp).
- Scott D. Sagan, "Nuclear Instability in South Asia," in A&W, pp. 382-393 (11 pp).
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E. New Great Powers: Who, When, How, and With What Effects? (5/4; 35 pp.)

- +G. John Ikenberry, "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Postwar Order," *International Security* 23:3 (Winter 1998/9), read pp. 43-47; skim the rest (4 pp.)
- +Eric Hobsbawm, "America's Imperial Delusion," *Guardian*, June 14, 2003 (originally published in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 2003), available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/usa/story/0,12271,977470,00.html> (4 pp).
- Richard K. Betts and Thomas J. Christensen, "China: Can the Next Superpower Rise without War?," in Betts, pp. 631-642 (12 pp).
- +Karen Ruth Adams, "Great Power: What Does It Take?," (15 pp).

Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- Christopher Layne, "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing," in A&W, pp. 311-326.
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- Stephen M. Walt, "Taming American Power," in A&W, pp. 349-357.
- Kier Lieber and Daryl Press, "The Rise of US Primacy," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006.

F. Humanitarian Intervention (5/6; 68 pp.)

G. Alternatives to War

+Sadako Ogata, "From State Security to Human Security," Brown University Ogden Lecture, 26 May, 2002 (4 pp), available at

http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/activities/outreach/ogata_ogden.html

Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in Betts, pp. 236-251 (15 pp).

*Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994, pp. 20-33 (13 pp).

Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in Betts, pp. 360-377 (17 pp).

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+ Mohandas K. Gandhi, "Nonviolence: The Greatest Force," excerpts from Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, Volumes I and II (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House, 1948), available at <http://www.forusa.org/nonviolence/07gandhi.html> (2 pp).

+Raed Abusahlia, "A Nonviolent Approach to the Intifada," Fellowship 68 (January/February 2002), available at http://www.forusa.org/fellowship/jan-feb_02/intifada.html

*Thich Nhat Hanh, "Being Peace," in David P. Barash, ed., *Approaches to Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 204-209 (5 pp).

Recommended reading (required of graduate students):

- Barry R. Posen, "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters," A&W, pp.427-447.

- Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," in A&W, pp. 448-461.

*****FINAL EXAMINATION: Tuesday, May 11 from 1:10-3:10 p.m. in our regular classroom*****