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Fall 9-1-2007

### PSC 333.01: International Security

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Political Science 333  
Fall 2007  
T/Th 12:40-2:00  
GBB L11

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Office Hours: T/Th 2:15-3:15, W 5:30-6:30 & by appt

## **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. Finally, we will discuss 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 related to the security challenges of the coming years.

### **Prerequisites**

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

### **Required Texts**

To do well in this class, you must complete all of the assigned reading before each lecture and keep up with current events, as described below. The following texts are required. The first two are available for purchase at the bookstore.

- Richard K. Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War*, 3rd edition (New York: Longman, 2007). This book will also be on 2-hour reserve at Mansfield Library.
- Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 6th edition (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). This book will also be on 2-hour reserve at Mansfield Library.
- Reserve readings, available in on 2-hour reserve at Mansfield library and electronically through the library website. These readings are denoted by an asterisk (\*).
- Articles available online, denoted by a plus sign (+).

### **Keeping Up With Current Events**

You are required to keep up with current events related to personal, national, international, and global security by reading *The New York Times* on a daily (Monday - Friday) basis. You may do so either by reading the hard copy at the library or by reading the electronic edition on the World Wide Web (<http://www.nyt.com>).

There are many ways to supplement your reading of the *New York Times*:

- Reading other national 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*.
- Reading weekly news magazines such as *The Economist*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report*.
- Listening 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/>).
- Watching national nightly and weekly television news programs. On PBS, these include “The News Hour,” “BBC World News,” “Frontline,” “NOW,” and “Foreign Exchange with Fareed Zakaria,” 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.

I encourage you to consult these and other sources, but they will not substitute for daily reading of the *New York Times*. Because the NYT offers the most extensive international coverage and largest range of opinion, it is the source upon which current events quizzes and exam questions will be based.

### **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 pop quizzes and assignments. These quizzes and assignments 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, a take-home 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*. They will include multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions. Be prepared to recall what you have learned and to write clear, thoughtful, and well-supported answers to challenging questions.

Students with disabilities should discuss their needs with the professor at least two weeks before the first midterm. Graduate students should immediately consult with the professor about additional requirements.

### **Make-Up Policy**

Make-up quizzes and exams will be scheduled only for students directly involved in extreme, documented emergencies. 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 work on time. To do so, call my office 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 any and all petitions for make-up work, and to administer make-up quizzes and exams substantially different from the regular ones.

### **Grading**

The weight attached to each assignment is as follows:

Quizzes	10%	Midterm #2 (out 11/13, due 11/29)	30%
Midterm #1 (10/11)	25%	Final (12/12)	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

Note: Since I will 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.

### **Course Communications**

Throughout the course, I will communicate with you by email and by posting announcements and materials on the Blackboard website. To ensure that you receive my emails, you should check your UM email account on a regular basis. For Blackboard instructions and information on forwarding your email, consult the handout, "Using Blackboard."

### **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 (\*) are available both as hard copies on 2-hour reserve at the main desk of Mansfield library and electronically through the library website, <http://www.lib.umt.edu/>. To access the electronic versions, click on "Reserve Material," select course "U:PSC:333:International Security," and select the item you would like to read. You will be asked to submit a password, which is Security.

Readings marked (+) are available to print or download from the Blackboard website. If the link is not functioning, go to the library website, <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.

All other readings are either in the books by Betts or the book by Art and Waltz (A&W).

Once you have accessed an electronic reserve item or online 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, click on "Properties" and "Finishing" on the printer command screen, then select "2 pages per page" and "manual duplex."

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

### **I. Consequences of War and Benefits of Peace**

#### **A. Introduction (8/28)**

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

Assignment: Graded Question #1 (due by 11:59 p.m. on Wednesday, 8/29). After attending lecture, reading my notes for Lecture 01 (posted on Blackboard), and filling out the security spectra, log into the Blackboard, and answer Graded Question #1 in the Discussion Board (due by 11:59 p.m. on Wednesday, 8/29).

#### **C. Personal, National, International, and Global Security & Insecurity, Part II**

(8/30;50pp). Assignment: Graded Question #2 (due by 11:59 p.m. on Saturday, 9/1). Due to my attendance at the American Political Science Association conference in Chicago, IL, class will not meet today.

Instead you are responsible for:

1. Reading the selections below.
2. Logging into Blackboard and reading my notes for Lecture 02.
3. Answering Graded Question #2 on the Discussion Board (due by 11:59 p.m. on Saturday,

9/1).

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 (9/4; 33 pp)**

Due to my attendance at the American Political Science Association conference in Chicago, IL, class will not meet today. Instead you are responsible for reading my lecture outline (posted on Blackboard), doing the following readings, and thinking 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*, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 (9/6; 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 (9/11; 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.

\*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](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 (9/13; 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 (9/18; 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 (9/20; 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. 3 of the syllabus, and be prepared to present and turn in your answers in class.

#### 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 (9/25; 23 pp.)**

### **2. Structural Realism**

#### **a. The Theory (9/25; 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* 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 49-69 (20 pp).

**b. Cases: the World Wars and the Origins of the Cold War (9/27; 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.

\*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 (10/2; 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 (10/4; 42 pp.)**

**5. Neoliberalism**

\*Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," in John A. Vasquez, *Classics of International Relations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 (10/9; 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 27<sup>th</sup> Party Congress*, February 25, 1986 (Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986) (20 pp).

**\*\*\*MIDTERM #1: In class on Thursday, 10/11\*\*\***

**III. The Conduct of War**

**A. Doctrine, Strategy, Operations, and Tactics (10/16; 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*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), pp. 314-318 (5 pp).

\*Sun Tzu (2<sup>nd</sup> 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* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 3-11 (8 pp).

**B. Sources and Consequences of Doctrine and Strategy** (10/18; 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** (10/23; 16 pp.)

Jack Snyder, "The Cult of the Offensive in 1914," in A&W, pp. 121-137 (16 pp).

**b. World War II** (10/25; 40 pp.)

John Mearsheimer, "Hitler and the Blitzkrieg Strategy," in A&W, pp. 138-152 (14 pp).

Sir George Sansom, "Japan's Fatal Blunder," in A&W, pp. 153-164 (11 pp).

Louis Morton, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," in A&W, pp. 165-180 (15 pp).

**2. The Nuclear Era**

**a. The Nuclear Revolution** (10/30; 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** (11/1; 38 pp)

David A. Welch, *et al.*, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in A&W, pp. 197-220 (23 pp).

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," in A&W, pp. 102-117 (15 pp).

**c. Limited War** (11/6; 15 pp)

Morton H. Halperin, "The Korean War," in A&W, pp. 181-196 (15 pp).

**d. Guerilla War and Counter-Insurgency** (11/8; 51 pp.)

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** (11/13; 41 pp. + 5 minute audio)

\*\*\*MIDTERM #2 will be handed out in class today\*\*\*

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](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* 3<sup>rd</sup> 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>
- Additional readings may be assigned.

#### **IV. Contemporary Issues in War, Peace, and Security**

##### **A. Terrorism: Causes and Conduct (11/15; 67 pp)**

- Brian M. Jenkins, "International Terrorism," in A&W, 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).
- Additional or alternative readings may be assigned.

##### **B. Counter-Terrorism: Strategies and Effects (11/20; 55 pp)**

- + "US National Strategy for the War on Terrorism," <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/nationalsecurity/>, accessed November 30, 2005 (5 pp).
- Paul R. Pillar, "Dealing with Terrorists," in A&W, pp. 469-476 (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. 270-280 (10 pp).
- +Seymour M. Hersh, "The Other War," *The New Yorker*, April 12, 2004, pp. 40-47 (7 pp).
- +Council on Global Terrorism, "The Terrorism Index," *Foreign Policy*, September-October 2007 (8 pp.)
- Additional or alternative readings may be assigned.

##### **C. The War in Iraq (11/27; 67 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*, October, 2004 (8 pp).
- +Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2005 (9 pp).
- + "US National Strategy for Victory in Iraq," November 30, 2005, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/iraq/iraq\\_strategy\\_nov2005.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/iraq/iraq_strategy_nov2005.html) (17 pp.).
- +Seymour M. Hersh, "Up in the Air: Where is the Iraq war headed next?," *New Yorker*, 12/5/2005, available at [http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/articles/051205fa\\_fact](http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/articles/051205fa_fact) (7 pp).

+Michael E. O'Hanlon and Jason H. Campbell, "Iraq Index," Brookings Institution, available at <http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm> (skim)  
Additional or alternative readings may be assigned.

**D. Proliferation, Counter-Proliferation & Revolutions in Military Affairs** (11/29; 63 pp.)

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

Kenneth N. Waltz, "More May Be Better," in Betts, pp. 451-461 (10 pp).

+Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs* 83:1 (January/February 2004), pp. 64-74 (10 pp.)

\*Thomas C. Schelling, "Stability in a Disarmed World," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz, *The Use of Force* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 585-593 (8 pp).

+Scott Stossel, "North Korea: The War Game," *Atlantic* 296:1 (Jul/Aug 2005), pp. 97+ (11 pp).

\*Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1996, pp. 37-54 (17 pp).

\*Robert H. Scales, Jr., "Adaptive Enemies: Achieving Victory by Avoiding Defeat," *Joint Force Quarterly* 23 (Autumn/Winter 2000), pp. 7-14; available at [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq\\_pubs/0423.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/0423.pdf) (7 pp).

Additional or alternative readings may be assigned.

**E. New Great Powers: Who, When, How, and With What Effects?** (12/4; 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).

Additional or alternative readings may be assigned.

**E. Humanitarian Intervention** (12/6; 68 pp.)

**F. 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](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).

Samuel P. Huntington, "Peace Among Civilizations?," in Betts, pp. 643—654 (12 pp).

+ 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](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).

**\*\*\*FINAL EXAMINATION: Wednesday, 12/12 from 10:10-12:10 in our regular classroom\*\*\***