

POLSCI 106D
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
Department of Political Science
Duke University

Spring 2011
Time: Tu/Th, 3.05-3.55PM
Room: Social Sciences 119
Office Hours: Wed., 3.30-5.00PM, or by appt.

Professor: Alexander B. Downes
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course serves as an introduction to enduring and contemporary questions in international security, a field that is fundamentally about the threat and use of force by states and non-state actors to achieve their political and military objectives. We will seek answers to questions such as: What are the causes of war and conditions of peace? Are the constraints imposed by the structure of the international system the most important factors influencing state behavior, or are variables at the unit level—such as regime type or the characteristics of individual leaders—more important? Does the spread of nuclear weapons to more states make the world a safer or more dangerous place than a world in which only a handful of countries possess them? Would the acquisition of nuclear weapons by “rogue” states threaten the security of the United States, and can this be prevented? Why are some states better at fighting wars than other states? How do states and non-state actors (such as terrorists) use force to persuade their enemies to take—or refrain from taking—a particular action? Is this kind of violent persuasion—known as coercion or deterrence—effective? Finally, what are the dynamics of asymmetric conflict such as the United States faces today in Iraq and Afghanistan? In pursuing answers to these questions, we will attempt to integrate theory and history: we will sample from the existing theoretical literature on a particular topic and then examine historical cases in order to observe these theories in action and compare their relative explanatory power.

Unlike in past years, there will be no simulation on nuclear proliferation this year owing to the smaller class size.

PREREQUISITES

There is no formal prerequisite for the course. POLSCI 106D is designed both as a follow-up to POLSCI 93D and a gateway to more advanced courses on security in the Political Science department. Students who have taken POLSCI 93D and/or possess a rudimentary knowledge of IR theory (realism, liberalism, etc.) will have a slight advantage, mainly in the first section of the course. Students unfamiliar with these theories should consult the articles by Snyder and Walt (which also contain suggestions for further reading) listed under Lecture #2. I assume some familiarity with 19th and 20th century European history, as well as World Wars I and II. Suggested historical readings may be found at the end of the syllabus for those needing additional background.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course is organized into two 50-minute lectures per week, plus one 50-minute discussion section led by a Teaching Assistant. The readings and lectures are not substitutes: they are designed to complement each other. To do well in the class, you will need to do the reading assigned for each session, attend the lectures, and be able to discuss both in section. You should also stay abreast of current events that pertain to the subject matter of the course, such as the insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the status of Iran’s nuclear program, by reading a major newspaper like the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, both of which are available for free online.

Course grades will be based on the following criteria:

- **Participation (20%):** Participation consists of attendance and involvement in lecture and section. Participation means you contribute to discussion regularly and intelligently. We will circulate questions before each week’s sections that will serve as a basis for discussion, and may ask you to write brief (one or two paragraphs) reaction papers to facilitate discussion. If for some reason you have to miss your regular section, you should attend a section at different time (see below for times and locations). Notify your TA and the TA whose section you will attend instead by e-mail.

- **Mid-Term Take-Home Examination I** (20%), due February 15: Essay question based on the first part of the course on IR theory and the causes of war, handed out in class on February 8. A HARD COPY must be turned in at the start of lecture on February. E-mailed papers will not be accepted without instructor's permission.
- **Mid-Term Take-Home Examination II** (25%), due March 22: Essay question based on the second part of the course on nuclear proliferation, distributed in class on March 3. The same rules apply as above for turning in the paper.
- **Final Examination** (35%): Monday, May 2, 7-10PM. Cumulative, but with an emphasis on Parts III, IV, and V of the course. The exam will consist of ten short-answer identification questions based on the readings and lectures, and two essay questions. The date and time of the final exam is fixed by the university; students need written permission from their academic Dean to be excused or to take the exam at another time.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students are expected to comply with the Duke Community Standard in their work for this course, meaning that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct (see <http://www.registrar.duke.edu/bulletins/communitystandard/>; for specific definitions, see <http://www.studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/resources/academicdishonesty>). All work you submit for this course must be your own. Do not collaborate with other students on the take-home exams. You may, however, form study groups to prepare for the final exam. I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty. Suspected cases will be referred to the Office of Judicial Affairs. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please consult "Plagiarism: Its Nature and Consequences" on the Duke Library website (<http://www.library.duke.edu/research/citing/plagiarism.html>), or ask the instructor.

OTHER POLICIES

- Late papers will be accepted only in cases of extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor as soon as possible
- Laptops are allowed in class for note-taking purposes, not for checking e-mail or surfing the web
- The only cell phones allowed in class are those that have been turned off

TEACHING ASSISTANTS & DISCUSSION SECTIONS

There are two Teaching Assistants assigned for POLSCI 106D. Each is an advanced graduate student in the Department of Political Science. The TAs will lead discussion sections, hold office hours, and assist with grading.

- Andrew Bell (andrew.bell@duke.edu)
- Danielle Lupton (danielle.lupton@duke.edu)

There are three discussion sections established for the course. Expectations for student attendance and engagement in section are discussed above under "Participation."

- Thursdays, 6.15-7.05PM, Perkins 307 (Bell)
- Thursdays, 6.15-7.05PM, Allen 304I (Lupton)
- Fridays, 10.20-11.10AM, Allen 306 (Lupton)

READINGS

The following books (in paperback) are available for purchase at the Duke Textbook Store.

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Going Nuclear: Nuclear Proliferation and International Security in the 21st Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010).

Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Contending with Terrorism: Roots, Strategies, and Responses* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010).

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2003).

Joseph Cirincione, Jon B. Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threats*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005).

Many of the readings for the course are articles or book chapters. Most of these are available online via databases accessible through the Duke University Library. These are indicated by the word “online” in parentheses after the citations below. To retrieve these articles, go to the Duke Library’s web site, select “E-journals,” search on the journal name, and follow a link (sometimes there are several) that includes the date of the article you want. A few other selections, however, are on E-Reserve, indicated by the term “e-res” after the citation. These texts are easily obtained through the Blackboard site that has been established for the class. Click on “Blackboard” from the library’s main page, log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “E-Reserves” on the left side of the screen. Articles and chapters are posted by the author’s last name and the first few words of the title. You may also search Course Reserves on the library’s web site to retrieve E-Reserve material. Readings for a few class sessions will be posted on Blackboard under the heading “Course Documents” when available.

COURSE OUTLINE**I. IR Theory and the Causes of War**

1. Course Introduction January 13
 - No readings
 - Discussion sections do not meet this week

2. IR Theory: An Overview January 18
 - Jack Snyder, “One World, Rival Theories,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 145 (November/December 2004): 52-62 (online).
 - Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (Spring 1998): 29-46 (online).

3. The International System: Anarchy, Polarity, and War January 20
- Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, Chapter 1.
 - Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 615-628 (online).
 - John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 29-54 (e-res).
 - William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 5-41 (online).
4. The International System: Moving Parts January 25
- Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, Chapter 2.
 - John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 334-359 (e-res).
 - Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1978): 167-214 (online).
5. The State January 27
- Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, Chapter 4.
6. The Individual February 1
- Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, Chapters 5-6.
7. Causes of World War I February 3
- Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 56-78 (e-res).
 - Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 108-146 (online).
 - Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 66-111 (e-res; skim the passages on Weimar and Nazi eras).
8. Causes of the Iraq War February 8
Take-home midterm #1 question distributed in class
- Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002), 243-280 (e-res).
 - Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 5-48 (online).
 - James Fallows, "Blind into Baghdad," *The Atlantic Monthly* (January/February 2004): 52-74 (online).
 - Fredrik Logevall, "Anatomy of an Unnecessary War: The Iraq Invasion," in Julian E. Zelizer, *The Presidency of George W. Bush: A First Historical Assessment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 88-113 (e-res).

II. Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Proliferation

9. Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Deterrence February 10
- Cirincione, Wolfsthal, and Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals*, 45-55.
 - Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 1-34 (e-res).
 - Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 3 (September 1990): 731-745 (online).
10. Nuclear Proliferation: Causes February 15
Take-home midterm #1 due at start of lecture
- Brown et al., *Going Nuclear*, articles by Sagan, Solingen, and Fuhrmann
11. Nuclear Proliferation: For Better or For Worse? February 17
- Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, pp. 3-87.
 - Matthew Kroenig, "Beyond Optimism and Pessimism: The Differential Effects of Nuclear Proliferation," unpublished paper, Georgetown University (Blackboard).
12. Dealing with a Nuclear Iran February 22
- Cirincione, Wolfsthal, and Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals*, 294-313.
 - David Albright and Jacqueline Shire, "Iran's Growing Weapons Capability and Its Impact on Negotiations," *Arms Control Today* 39, no. 10 (December 2009): 6-14 (online).
 - Eric S. Edelman, Andrew F. Krepinevich, and Evan Braden Montgomery, "The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 1 (January/February 2011): 66-81.
 - Barry R. Posen, "A Nuclear-Armed Iran: A Difficult but not Impossible Policy Problem," A Century Foundation Report (Blackboard).
 - Whitney Raas and Austin Long, "Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities," *International Security* 31, no. 4 (Spring 2007): 7-33 (online).
13. Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia February 24
- Cirincione, Wolfsthal, and Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals*, 220-258.
 - Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, 88-124.
 - Brown et al., *Going Nuclear*, articles by Ganguly ("Nuclear Stability") and Kapur.
14. Nuclear Reversal March 1
- Brown et al., *Going Nuclear*, articles by Liberman and Levite
15. Nuclear Terrorism March 3
Take-home midterm #2 question distributed in class
- Brown et al., *Going Nuclear*, article by Bunn
 - Jasen J. Castillo, "Nuclear Terrorism: Why Deterrence Still Matters," *Current History* (December 2003): 426-431 (online).
 - Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier, "Terrorist Nuclear Weapon Construction: How Difficult?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 607 (September 2006): 133-149 (online).
16. No Class: Spring Break March 8
17. No Class: Spring Break March 10

III. Military Effectiveness

18. Military Effectiveness: Causes of Victory and Defeat March 15
- Biddle, *Military Power*, 1-51.
 - Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 10-57 (e-res; read 10-38, skim 38-57).
19. Operation Michael, March 1918 (Prof. Peter Feaver, Guest Lecturer) March 17
Note: Sections will not be held March 17-18.
- Jonathan M. House, *Combined Arms Warfare in the Twentieth Century* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 31-64 (e-res).
 - Biddle, *Military Power*, 78-107.
20. The Battle of France, May 1940 March 22
Take-home midterm #2 due at start of lecture
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 99-133 (e-res).
 - Jasen J. Castillo, "The Will to Fight: National Cohesion and Military Staying Power," unpublished paper, Bush School, Texas A&M University (Blackboard).
21. The Persian Gulf War March 24
- Biddle, *Military Power*, 132-149.
 - Daryl G. Press, "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare," *International Security* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 5-44 (online).

IV. Coercion

22. Military Coercion March 29
- Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 1-86.
23. Coercion in Practice: World War II March 31
- Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 87-136, 254-313.
24. Coercion in Practice: Recent Conflicts April 5
- Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 211-253.
 - Andrew L. Stigler, "A Clear Victory for Air Power: NATO's Empty Threat to Invade Kosovo," *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002/03): 124-157 (online).
 - Robert A. Pape, "The True Worth of Air Power," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (March/April 2004): 116-130 (online).
25. Coercion: Other Tools April 7
- Robert J. Art, "Coercive Diplomacy: What Do We Know?" in *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy*, ed. Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin (USIP, 2003), 359-420 (e-res; 2 parts).
 - Daniel W. Drezner, "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion," *International Organization* 57, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 643-659 (online).

V. Contemporary Conflict: Insurgency and Terrorism

26. Asymmetric Conflict April 12
- John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15-33 (e-res).
 - Andrew J. R. Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175-200 (online).
 - Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67-106 (online).
 - Brown et al., *Contending with Terrorism*, article by Byman.
27. Terrorism April 14
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361 (online).
 - Brown et al., *Contending with Terrorism*, articles by Cronin and Moghadam (in Part I).
28. Debates about Terrorists and Terrorism April 19
- Brown et al., *Contending with Terrorism*, both articles by Abrahms and related Correspondence (125-226).
29. Iraq April 21
- David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 49-91 (online).
 - Thomas E. Ricks, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 200-227 (e-res).
 - Peter D. Feaver, "Anatomy of the Surge," *Commentary* (April 2008): 24-28 (online).
 - Steven Simon, "The Price of the Surge: How U.S. Strategy is Hastening Iraq's Demise," *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 3 (May/June 2008): 57-76 (online).
30. Afghanistan/Pakistan April 26
- Seth G. Jones, "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad," *International Security* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 7-40 (online).
 - Thomas H. Johnson and M. Chris Mason, "No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier," *International Security* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 41-77 (online).
 - Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, "The Drone Wars," *The Atlantic*, December 2010 (online).
31. Final Examination May 2
- Social Sciences 119, 7-10PM

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS FOR HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDEuropean History

- Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford, 1976).
Michael S. Neiberg, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1898 to the Present* (Routledge, 2004).
Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente* (Henry Holt, 1934/1962).
Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Clarendon, 1994).
Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (Routledge, 1983).
A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1954).
Geoffrey Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe 1792-1914* (Routledge, 2000).

World War I

- Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (Henry Holt, 1994).
James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, 3rd ed. (Longman, 2007).
Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War* (Princeton, 1991).
David G. Herrmann, *The Arming of Europe and the Making of the First World War* (Princeton, 1996).
L. C. F. Turner, *Origins of the First World War* (Norton, 1970).

World War II

- P. M. H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*, 3rd ed. (Longman, 2007).
David M. Glantz and Jonathan House, *When Titans Clashed: How the Red Army Stopped Hitler* (Kansas UP, 1995).
Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia* (Longman, 1987).
Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (Norton, 1995).
Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge, 1994).

The Cold War

- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War*, rev. and expanded ed. (Oxford, 2005).
Raymond L. Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* (Brookings, 1994).
Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, 1992).
Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963* (Princeton, 1999).