

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POL 591  
Spring 2010  
Thursdays 6:25-9:05pm  
Location: MM 119

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Ofc hrs: Tu 2:45-4:45  
Office: 314F Jenkins

## INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

### OVERVIEW:

This seminar focuses on force in world politics, threatened or used. We will investigate a host of questions, including: What causes security? What are the major influences on bargaining between states? Who are the main actors in international relations? What are the elements of continuity and change? What is international security good for?

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Quality of discussion (30%), presentations (20%) and written work (50%) will determine final grades. Quality of discussion is a result of doing the reading, staying current on world events, attending class regularly, asking intelligent questions, and contributing critical insights. The presentation grade will be a product of two in-class executive summaries with question and answer session. The written component is wholly composed of a twenty to twenty-five-page research paper, on a topic of the student's choosing. To spell this out with appropriate clarity:

- **Readings.** The readings are to be done in their entirety on the day they appear on the syllabus. Taking brief notes on each reading is highly recommended.
- **Newspapers.** Students are to read the world news section of a major daily paper, or the online equivalent—e.g. *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times*, etc.
- **Attendance.** Regular attendance is indispensable to doing well in the class. Missing three or more classes profoundly jeopardizes your grade.
- **Presentation.** Every student will make two 5 presentations to the class, summarizing and analyzing course readings, plus distribute a one-page summary to each member of the class not to exceed 250 words—hard copies only. During week two, students will select their readings.
- **Discussion.** Students are expected to demonstrate proficiency with the assigned works in discussion.

- **Term Paper.** Students must submit a paper proposal in week three (marked with suggestions but no grades), outlining the main research question, universe of cases, relevance, and preliminary sources, as well as a draft introduction in week nine (graded but the grade is not recorded), including all of the above in addition to a methods section. Each should be no more than four pages. All work should be double spaced, twelve point font, with default margins. Final papers are due by the deadline, hard copy only. Late papers may be emailed in, but they will be docked a full grade on the first day (until midnight) and a third of a grade for every day following.

**POLICIES:**

The standard caveats about academic honesty obtain. Collaboration is encouraged, but using the work of others without proper attribution will result in the matter being turned over immediately to the Dean's office. Written permissions from doctors, deans, and coaches may excuse absences and tardiness, as would prior consent of the instructor. If you have any questions about anything related to this syllabus, please ask.

**REQUIRED READINGS:**

All readings are on reserve at the library or are on electronic reserve; many journal articles can be found online and in databases such as jstor.org. The following required texts will be available for purchase at the university bookstore:

- Art, Robert and Robert Jervis eds. 2005. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> edn. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Biddle, Stephen. 2004. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York: Free Press.
- Brown, Michael E. et al. eds. 1998. *Theories of War and Peace*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Clausewitz. 1976. *On War*. Peter Paret and Michael Howard eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schroeder, Paul. 2004. *Systems, Stability, and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe*. David Wetzel, Robert Jervis, and Jack Levy eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

# Schedule

## Week 1

### Introductions, cast of characters

Reading: approx. 82 pp.

- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1998. *The Prince*. H.C. Mansfield trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chaps. 10, 14-15, 18, 24.
- Wolfers, Arnold. 1962. *Discord and Collaboration*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, chap. 1, pp. 3-24.
- Jervis, Robert. 2005. The Era of Leading Power Peace. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 399-414.
- Betts, Richard. 2004. Must War Find a Way? A Review Essay. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 333-365. Originally published in 1999 in *International Security* 24: 166-198.

## Week 2

### Social science writing

In-class signup for reading presentations

Reading: approx. 130 pp.

- Orwell, George. 1968. Politics and the English Language. In Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus eds. *In Front of Your Nose, 1945-1950*. Vol. 4 of Orwell's collected essays, journalism and letters. New York: Harcourt Brace, pp. 127-140.
- Nabokov, Vladimir. 1959. *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*. New York: New Directions, chap. 12, pp. 111-114.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1997. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 7-35, 74-99.
- King, Keohane, and Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 1, pp. 3-33.
- Laitin, Caporaso, and Collier. 1995. Responses to KKV. *American Political Science Review* 89: 454-466.
- Coase, Ronald. 1995. How Should Economists Choose? In *Essays on Economics and Economists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chap. 2, pp. 15-33.

### Week 3

#### Setting the stage: anarchy

Paper proposal due

Reading: approx. 200 pp.

- Anonymous. 2000. The Tale of Thorstein Staff-Struck. In Ornlouf Thorsson ed. *The Sagas of Icelanders*. New York: Viking, pp. 677-684.
- Waltz, Kenneth. 2005. The Anarchic Structure of World Politics. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 29-49.
- Wendt, Alexander. 2005. Anarchy is What States Make of It. In *ibid.*, pp. 61-68.
- Milner, Helen. 1993. The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique. In David Baldwin ed. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*. New York: Columbia University Press, chap. 6, pp. 143-169.
- Bull, Hedley. 1995. *The Anarchical Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, chaps. 1-2, 14, pp. 3-50, 307-308.
- Deudney, Daniel. 1995. The Philadelphia System. *International Organization* 49: 191-228.
- Parent, Joseph M. and Emily Erikson. 2009. Anarchy, Hierarchy and Order. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, 1: 129-145
- Snyder, Jack. 2002. Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War. *International Organization* 56: 7-45.

### Week 4

#### Why? War and change

Reading: approx 201 pp.

- Fearon, James D. 1995. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization* 49: 379-414.
- Carr, E.H. 1964. *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. New York: Harper & Row, chap. 13, pp. 208-223.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1995. The Theory of Hegemonic War. In Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb eds. *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-38.

- Wolfers, Arnold. 1962. *Discord and Collaboration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, chap. 5, pp. 67-80.
- Kennedy, Paul. 1987. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. New York: Vintage Books, introduction, chaps. 1, pp. xv-xxv, 3-30.
- Diamond, Jared. 1999. *Guns, Germs, and Steel*. New York: Norton, epilogue, pp. 403-425.
- Knight, Frank. 1997. Ethics and Economic Interpretation and The Ethics of Competition. In *The Ethics of Competition*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, chaps. 1-2, pp. 11-67.

## Week 5

### How? Primacy and Balancing

Paper proposals returned

Reading: approx. 187 pp.

- Kennedy, Paul. 2 February 2002. The Eagle Has Landed: The New U.S. Global Military Position. *Financial Times*. Available at: <http://www.uta.fi/FAST/US2/REF/pk-ft102.html>
- Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw Hill, chap. 6, pp. 102-128.
- Walt, Stephen. 2009 [1986]. “Alliances: Balancing and Bandwagoning” in Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics*, pp. 96-105 [originally from *Origins of Alliances*].
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. “The Abacus of Power” in *The Causes of War*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York: Free Press, chap. 8, pp. 108-124.
- Levy, Jack. 2004. “What Do Great Powers Balance Against and When?” in Paul, Wirtz, and Fortmann eds. *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, chap. 1, pp. 29-51.
- Schroeder, Paul. 2004. *Systems, Stability, and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, esp. chaps. 2, 6-7, 9-10, 14, pp. 37-57, 121-155, 195-241, 297-305.

## Week 6

### Assessing Threats

Reading: approx. 117 pp.

- Christensen, Thomas. 1996. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chaps. 1-2, pp. 1-31.
- Press, Daryl. 2005. Selections from “Conclusion” in *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 5, pp. 142-145, 158-161.
- Wohlforth, William. 1993. Selections from “The Elusive Balance of Power” in the *Elusive Balance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 10, pp. 293-300.
- Kaufman, Stuart J., Richard Little, and William Wohlforth. 2007. Selections from “Conclusion: Theoretical Insights from the Study of World History” in Kaufman et al. eds. *The Balance of Power in World History*. New York: Palgrave, chap. 10, pp. 228-242.
- Kennan, George F. 1979. Selections from “Prologue” in *The Decline of Bismarck’s European Order* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 11-22.
- Friedberg, Aaron. 1988. *The Weary Titan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chaps. 6-7, pp. 279-303.
- Crowe, Eyre. 1907. “Memorandum on the Present State of British Relations with France and Germany” in G.P. Gooch and Harold Temperley eds. *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, vol. 3. London: HMSO, pp. 397-420.

## Week 7

### War and strategy

Reading: approx. 173 pp.

- Clausewitz. 1976. *On War*. Peter Paret and Michael Howard eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press, book 1 all, book 2, chaps. 1-2, book 3, chaps. 2-8, pp. 75-140, 183-197, 370-371.
- Mao Tse-Tung. 2000. *On Guerilla Warfare*. Samuel B. Griffith II trans. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, chaps. 1-2, pp. 41-57.
- Biddle, Stephen. 2004. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chaps. 3-4, pp. 28-77.
- Schelling, T.C. 2005. *The Diplomacy of Violence*. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 149-162.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York: Free Press, chap. 18, pp. 291-295.

- Pape, Robert. 1996. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-11.

## **Week 8**

### **Weapons of mass destruction**

Reading: approx. 175 pp.

- Kaplan, Fred. 1991. *The Wizards of Armageddon*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, chaps. 14, 24-26, pp. 220-231, 343-391.
- Press, Daryl and Keir Lieber. 2006. The Rise of American Nuclear Primacy. *Foreign Affairs* 85(2): 42-54.
- Daalder, Ivo and Jan Lodal. 2008. The Logic of Zero. *Foreign Affairs* 87, 6: 80-95.
- Sagan, Scott and Kenneth Waltz. 2005. Nuclear Instability in South Asia and Nuclear Stability in South Asia. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 251-273.
- Price, Richard and Nina Tannenwald. 1996. Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboos. In Peter Katzenstein ed. *The Culture of National Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 114-152.
- Mueller, John. 2010. *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda*. New York: Oxford University Press, chaps. 2-3, epilogue, pp. 17-42, 235-239.

## **Week 9**

### **Democracy and security**

Draft introduction due

Reading: approx. 176 pp.

- Thucydides. 1998. *The Peloponnesian War*. New York: Norton, book 2.65, 3.36-3.50, 5.84-5.115, pp. 82-83, 113-119, 227-231.
- Kennan, George. 1984. *American Diplomacy: Expanded Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, part III, chaps. 1-2, pp. 157-179.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: Norton, chaps. 1-2, pp. 15-91.
- Page, Benjamin and Robert Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-17, 28-34.

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James Morrow, Randolph Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review* 93(4): 791-808.
- Doyle, Michael. 2005. Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace. *American Political Science Review* 99: 463-466.
- Rosato, Sebastian. 2005. Explaining the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review* 99: 467-472.
- Barzun, Jacques. 1987. Is Democratic Theory for Export? *Ethics and International Affairs* 1, 1: 53-71.

## **Week 10**

### **Domestic politics and disputes**

Reading: approx. 146 pp.

- Zakaria, Fareed. 1999. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 2, pp. 13-43.
- Breuilly, John. 1994. *Nationalism and the State*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chaps. 1, 18, pp. 1-16, 366-403.
- De Figueiredo, Rui J.P., Jr. and Barry Weingast. 1999. The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict. In Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder eds. *Civil War, Insecurity, and Intervention*. New York: Columbia University Press, chap. 8, pp. 261-302.
- Milner, Helen. 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 1, pp. 3-29.

## **Week 11**

### **Economics and force**

Reading: approx. 184 pp.

- Keohane, Robert O. 2005. International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work? In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 119-126.
- Waltz, Kenneth. 2005. Globalization and Governance. In *ibid.*, pp. 352-363.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn. New York: Free Press, chap. 2, pp. 18-34.

- Angell, Norman. 1933. *The Great Illusion*. New York: G.P. Putnam and Son, part II, chaps. 10 and 13, pp. 202-207, 247-266.
- Kirschner, Jonathan. 2002. Economic Sanctions: The State of the Art. *Security Studies* 11, 4: 160-79.
- Wade, Robert H. 2003. The Invisible Hand of the American Empire. *Ethics and International Affairs* 17, 2: 77-88.
- Posen, Barry R. 2003. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundations of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security* 28, 1: 5-46.
- Lenin, V.I. 1989. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. New York: International Publishers, chaps. 1, 10, pp. 16-30, 123-128.
- Baldwin, David A. 1985. *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap 1, 2, 7, pp. 3-28, 115-145.

## **Week 12**

### **Institutions and norms**

Reading: approx. 160 pp.

- Mearsheimer, John and respondents. 1998. The False Promise of International Institutions. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Theories of War and Peace*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 329-440.
- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink, Kathryn. 2005. Transnational Activist Networks. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 551-557.
- Ratner, Steven. 2005. International Law: The Trials of Global Norms. In *ibid.*, pp. 589-594.
- Kaufmann, Chaim and Robert Pape. 1999. Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade. *International Organization* 53: 631-668.

## **Week 13**

### **Counterinsurgency and Terrorism**

Reading: approx. 169 pp.

- Lawrence, T.E. 20 August 1917. "The 27 Articles of T.E. Lawrence" *Arab Bulletin*. Available at: <http://www.bu.edu/mzank/Jerusalem/tx/lawrence.htm>

- Swinton, Ernest D. 1905. "The Defence of Duffer's Drift" *Infantry Journal* 4. Available at: <http://carl.army.mil/resources/csi/Swinton/Swinton.asp> or <http://www.angelfire.com/oh5/duffersdrift/>
- Joll, James. 1964. Conclusion in *The Anarchists*. New York: Grosset's Universal Library, chap. 10, pp. 275-280.
- Arreguin-Toft, Ivan. 2005. "Explaining asymmetric conflict outcomes" in *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 2, pp. 23-47.
- Gause, F. Gregory III. 2009. "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" in Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics*, pp. 411-418.
- Gordon Philip H. 2009. "Can the War on Terror be Won?" in Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics*, pp. 419-426.
- Mueller, John. 2006. "Is There Still a Terrorist Threat? The Myth of the Omnipresent Enemy." *Foreign Affairs* 85, 5: 2-8.
- Betts, Richard K. 2005. "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy" in Betts ed. *Conflict*, pp. 520-535.
- Pape, Robert A. 2009. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" in Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics*, pp. 198-215.
- Abrams, Max. 2006. Why Terrorism Does Not Work. *International Security* 31, 2: 42-78.
- Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civilian Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict" *International Security* 33, 1: 7-44.

## **Week 14**

### **Cultural conflict**

Final Paper Due at beginning of class

Reading: approx. 73 pp.

- Luard, Evan. 1987. *War in International Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, selection from concluding chap., pp. 391-407.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2005. The Clash of Civilizations? In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 415-430.
- Mueller, John. 2004. Why Isn't There More Violence? *Security Studies* 13: 191-203.

- Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 7, pp. 313-343.