Bowdoin College Dept. of Government and Legal Studies T TH 2:50 – 4:15 Lecture Hall: Adams 406 Prof. Barbara Elias Office Hours T 12:30pm – 2:30pm Office: 203 Hubbard Hall E-mail: belias@bowdoin.edu

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Government 2680 – Spring 2019

National security is a paramount interest for states, but what does that mean in international political life, and for the safety of ordinary people like us? What options are available for promoting national security? How are international security polices influenced by competing international, economic and technological constraints, emerging non-state actors or domestic political interests? Analyzing the strategy and politics of diplomacy, alliances, enemies, threats, nuclear weapons, technological advances, foreign aid, intervention and war, this course provides an overview of security studies within the field of international relations.

Reading

Read the international/world section of one or more of the following papers, everyday.

- The New York Times, <u>www.nytimes.com</u>
- The Washington Post, <u>www.washingtonpost.com</u>
- The Wall Street Journal, <u>www.wsj.com</u>
- The Economist, <u>www.economist.com</u>
- The BBC, <u>www.bbc.com/news</u>
- The Guardian, <u>www.guardiannews.com</u>

All assigned readings are available on Blackboard. Readings are **due on the day** they are assigned on this syllabus.

Expectations and Classroom Laptop Policy

Students are expected to be professional and participatory in the classroom. This includes attending class, contributing to discussions, completing the readings on time, respecting peers, and observing classroom guidelines.

To ensure the classroom remains conducive to learning, no phones, laptops or tablets are allowed. For the majority of students, taking notes by hand is a better way to absorb the material and make the most out of our limited time together. For more information see: May, Cindi. "Students are Better Off Without a Laptop in the Classroom," *Scientific American*, July 11, 2017. If you are the rare exception to this rule and would like to request an accommodation to use a laptop or tablet, please contact me at the start of the semester to make arrangements.

Exams and Grading

Graded assignments are ways for me to assess your mastery of key concepts presented in readings and lectures. Contact me if emergencies arise that affect your work, but **do not** take shortcuts or violate the honor code. Positively no dishonesty, plagiarism or cheating will be tolerated. Please review the code of the college here:

www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/student-handbook/college-policies/

- 1. First Midterm Exam February 14 (25%)
- 2. Nuclear Crisis & Negotiation Simulation Memo February 26 (10%)
- 3. Quiz March 7 (10%)
- 4. Second Midterm Exam April 18 (25%)
- 5. Final Essay May 17, 1:30pm (30%)

Late Policy

I will deduct 1/2 a letter grade from the assignment for each 24 hour period the assignment is late. For example, if you hand in a paper 23 hours past due and the paper is a B+, it will be recorded as a B, 47 hours late, the grade will be a B- and so on.

I. Introduction, Theory & The Cold War

January 22: Introduction

January 24: The Diplomacy of Violence

- Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence*, (Yale, 1966) pp. 1–34.
- Smoke, Richard. *National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma*, (McGraw-Hill, 3rd Edition, 1993) pp. 5–21.

January 29: Uses of Force – Defense/Deterrence & Offense/Compellence

- Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 69–91.
- Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, (Stanford, 2000) pp. 26–32.

January 31 Containment & Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)

- Smoke. *National Security*, pp. 31–62.
- National Security Planning Group Meeting, "Subject: U.S.-Soviet Relations," *National Security Council*, June 12, 1986, 2:00pm – 2:45pm, Situation Room. [Secret], Declassified on December 21, 2005.

February 5: The Manipulation of Risk

- Schelling. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 92–125, 166–189.
- Kramer, Andrew E. "Russia Says Leak of Secret Nuclear Weapon Design Was an Accident," *The New York Times*, November 12, 2015.
- Seib, Gerald F. "Where Donald Trump's Unpredictability Could Hurt Him," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 23, 2017.
- Oprysko, Caitlin. "Haley Says Trump's Unpredictability Was an Asset in U.N. Diplomacy," *POLITICO*, December 12, 2018.

February 7: Beyond MAD & Deterrence of the Strong by the Weak

- Schelling. Arms and Influence, pp. 35-69.
- Goldstein. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, pp. 41–57.

February 12: Review and Debate

• Cohn, Carol. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Summer 1987, pp. 687–718.

February 14: Midterm Exam

II. Current Security Challenges

February 19: Nuclear Proliferation

- Sagan, Scott D. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21:3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54–86.
- Lieber, Kier A. and Daryl G. Press, "The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence," *International Security* 41:4 (Spring 2017), pp. 9–49.

February 21: Iran - Nuclear Negotiation & Simulation Project

- Kroenig, Matthew. "Time to Attack Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 1 (January/February 2012), pp. 76–86.
- Kahl, Colin H. "Not Time to Attack Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 2 (March/April 2012), pp. 166–73.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb," *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 91, no. 4 (July/August 2012), pp. 2–5.
- Kahl, Colin H. and Kenneth N. Waltz. "Iran and the Bomb: Would a Nuclear Iran Make the Middle East More Secure?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 5 (September/October 2012), pp. 157–62.

February 26: The Strategic Logic of Terrible Weapons & **Memo on Iran Nuclear Negotiation & Simulation Due**

- Pape, Robert. A. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3. August 2003.
- Walter, Barbara F. "The Logic Behind Assad's Use of Chemical Weapons" *Political Violence @ A Glance*, September 30, 2013. Available at http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2013/09/20/the-logic-behind-assadsuse-of-chemical-weapons/

February 28: Terrorism

- Hoffman, Bruce. "Defining Terrorism," *Inside Terrorism*, (Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 13–44.
- Abrahms, Max. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy," *International Security*, 32:4 (Spring 2008) 78– 105.

March 5: Regime Change - The U.S. Invasion of Iraq

- Dodge, Toby. "Iraqi Transitions: From Regime Change to State Collapse," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4/5, (2005), pp. 705–721.
- Packer, George. "Letter from Baghdad. War After The War," *The New Yorker*, November 24, 2003.

March 7: Daesh (ISIS) and al-Qaeda – Quiz

- Sageman, Marc. "Jihadi Networks of Terror," in Betts, Richard K. *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Fourth Edition, 2016. pp. 516–530.
- Foltyn, Simona. "The Underground Caliphate," *The Intercept*, September 16, 2018. To link to the videos see: https://theintercept.com/2018/09/16/isis-has-not-vanished-it-is-fighting-a-guerrilla-war-against-the-iraqi-state/

[Spring Break]

March 26: Conventional & Unconventional Warfare

 Hammes, Thomas X. The Sling and the Stone, (Zenith Press, 2006), pp. 1– 55.

March 28: Insurgencies

- Hammes, Thomas X. *The Sling and the Stone*, (Zenith Press, 2006), pp. 56–75.
- Griffith, Samuel B. *Mao Tse-Tung on Guerilla Warfare*, (Praeger, 1961), "Strategy, Tactics and Logistics in Revolutionary War," pp. 20–26.

April 2: Countering Insurgencies

- Nagl, John A. "Let's Win the Wars We're In," *JFQ: Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 52 (1st Quarter 2009), pp. 20–26.
- Gentile, Gian P. "Let's Build an Army to Win All Wars," *JFQ: Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 52 (1st Quarter 2009), pp. 27–33.
- Chivers, C.J. "War Without End," *The New York Times*, August 8, 2018.

April 4: Civil Wars - Syria

- Brown, Michael, E. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), "Introduction," pp. 1–29.
- Gilsinan, Kathy. "The Confused Person's Guide to the Syrian Civil War: A Brief Primer," *The Atlantic*, October 15, 2015.
- Fisher, Max. "Syria's Paradox: Why the War Only Ever Seems to Get Worse," *The New York Times*, August 26, 2016.

April 9: Humanitarian Intervention – Libya

- Kuperman, Alan. "Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security* 38:1 (Summer 2013), pp. 105–136.
- Chollet, Derek and Ben Fishman. "Who Lost Libya? Obama's Intervention in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs* 93:2 (May/June 2015), pp. 154–59.
- Paris, Roland. "The 'Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention," *International Peacekeeping* (2014): 569–603.

April 11: Ethics of Arms and Intervention – Yemen

- Walzer, Michael. "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)," *Social Research* 69:4 (Winter 2002): 925–944
- Stern, Jeffrey E. "From Arizona to Yemen: The Journey of an American Bomb" *The New York Times*, December 11, 2018.

April 16: Study Session - Professor at the United States Military Academy, West Point

April 18: Midterm Exam

April 23: Drone Debate

- Byman, Daniel. "Drones: Technology Serves Strategy," in Betts, Richard K. *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Fifth Edition, 2017. pp. 431–436.
- Kurth Cronin, Audrey. "Drones: Tactics Undermine Strategy," in Betts, Richard K. *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Fifth Edition, 2017. pp. 436–442.
- Carvin, Stephanie. "The Trouble with Targeted Killing," *Security Studies* 21:3 (Fall 2012), pp. 529–555.

April 25: Cyber Issues

• Singer, W.P. and Allen Friedman. *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 12–30, 67–76, 96–106, 114–121, 133–156.

April 30: Russia, the U.S. & Information Warfare

- U.S. Director of National Intelligence, "Background to 'Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent U.S. Elections': The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution," January 2017.
- Polyakova, Alina and Spencer Phipps Boyer. "The Future of Political Warfare: Russia, the West, and the Coming Age of Global Digital Competition," *The Brookings Institute*, March 2018.
- Lazer, David M. J., Matthew A. Baum, Yochai Benkler, et. al. "The Science of Fake News," *Science*, March 9, 2018, Vol. 359, Issue 6380, pp. 1094–1096.

May 2: Environmental Security and the Rise of China

- Homer–Dixon, Thomas F. "Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," in Betts, Richard K. *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Fifth Edition, 2017, pp. 619–633.
- Friedberg, Aaron, L. "Hegemony with Chinese Characteristics," *The National Interest*, (Jul/Aug 2011) Issue 114, pp. 18–27.

May 7: The Future – Thinking About Security

 Nye, Joseph. *The Future of Power*. 2011. Sections of the Preface and Chapter 1 "What is Power in Global Affairs?" and sections of Chapter 6, "Power Transition: The Question of American Decline," pp. ix-10, 153-157, 187-204