

## 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 (33%) and written work (67%) will determine final grades. Quality of discussion is a product of doing the reading, staying current on world events, attending class regularly, presenting one of the readings, asking intelligent questions, and contributing critical insights. The written component is wholly composed of a 20-25 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 four or more classes profoundly jeopardizes your grade.
- **Presentation.** Every student will make a 5-7 minute presentation to the class on one of the course readings, plus distribute a one-page summary to each member of the class – hard copies only. During week two, students will select their reading.
- **Discussion.** Students are expected to demonstrate proficiency with the assigned works in discussion.
- **Term Paper.** Students must submit a maximum four-page paper proposal in week three, outlining the main research question, universe of cases, relevance, and preliminary sources. Papers are due when the class last meets.

## **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 and deans may excuse absences, as would prior consent of the instructor. If you have any questions about anything related to this syllabus, please ask.

## **REQUIRED READINGS:**

A coursepack can be picked up at the New University Copy Center between Mercer and Green streets. Many journal articles may be found at jstor.org. All readings are on reserve at Bobst Library. The following required texts will be available for purchase at the NYU Bookstore:

- Art, Robert and Robert Jervis eds. 2005. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn. New York: Free Press.
- Clausewitz. 1976. *On War*. Peter Paret and Michael Howard eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Brown, Michael E. et al. eds. 2004. *Offense, Defense, and War: An International Security Reader*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

## Schedule

### **Week 1**

Introductions, cast of characters.

Reading: approx. 61 pp.

- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1998. *The Prince*. H.C. Mansfield trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chaps. 10, 14-15, 18, 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**

In-class signup for reading presentations.

Writing social science tutorial.

Reading: approx. 180 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.
- Posner, Richard. 1996. Rhetoric, Legal Advocacy, and Legal Reasoning. In *Overcoming Law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chap. 24, pp. 498-530.
- Hirschman, A.O. 1991. *The Rhetoric of Reaction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chaps. 1, 7, pp. 1-10, 164-172.
- 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

Paper proposal due.

Setting the stage: anarchy.

Reading: approx. 205 pp.

- Anonymous. 2000. The Tale of Thorstein Staff-Struck. In Ornlfur Thorsson ed. *The Sagas of Icelanders*. New York: Viking, pp. 677-684.
- Wolfers, Arnold. 1962. *Discord and Collaboration*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, chap. 1, pp. 3-24.
- 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 Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, 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.
- Snyder, Jack. 2002. Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War. *International Organization* 56: 7-45.

### Week 4

Paper proposals returned.

In *medias res*: American primacy and balancing.

Reading: approx. 170 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>
- Wohlforth, William. 2002. U.S. Strategy in a Unipolar World. In G. John Ikenberry ed. *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 98-118.
- Jervis, Robert. 2005. Explaining the Bush Doctrine. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 439-453.
- Guicciardini, Francesco. 1984. Sidney Alexander ed. *The History of Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 4-10.
- Walt, Stephen. 2005. Alliances: Balancing and Bandwagoning. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 96-103.
- Gibbon Edward. 1993. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Everyman, vol. 1, chap. 2, pp. 65-68; vol. 3, chap. 31, pp. 327-328; vol. 4, chap. 38, pp. 117-127.
- Montesquieu. 1965. *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*. David Lowenthal trans. Indianapolis: Hackett, chaps. 9, 18, pp. 91-96, 167-174.
- Schweller, Randall. 2004. Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing. *International Security* 29: 159-201.
- Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chaps. 1-2, pp. 13-57.

## Week 5

How? War and strategy.

Reading: approx. 254 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, chaps. 3, 4, 8, 18, pp. 35-67, 108-127, 291-295.
- Pape, Robert. 1996. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-11.
- Kier, Elizabeth. 1996. Culture and French Military Doctrine Before World War II. In Peter Katzenstein ed. *The Culture of National Security*. New York:

Columbia University Press, chap. 6, pp. 186-215.

## Week 6

Offense, defense, balance?

Reading: approx. 192 pp.

- Jervis, Robert. 2004. Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 3-50. Originally published in 1978 *World Politics* 30: 167-214.
- Sagan, Scott and Jack Snyder. 2004. Correspondence: The Origins of Offense and the Consequences of Counterforce. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 183-194.
- Glaser, Charles and Chaim Kaufmann. 2004. What is the Offense Defense Balance and How Can We Measure It? In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 266-304.
- Lieber, Keir. 2004. Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 366-399.
- Shimshoni, Jonathan. 2004. Technology, Military Advantage, and World War I: A Case for Military Entrepreneurship. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 195-223. Originally published in 1990/1991 *International Security* 15: 187-215.
- Biddle, Stephen. 2004. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 2, pp. 14-28.
- Quester, George. 1988. Crises and the Unexpected. In Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb eds. *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 127-148.

## Week 7

Weapons of mass destruction.

Reading: approx. 207 pp.

- Trachtenberg, Marc. 1991. *History and Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 3, pp. 100-152.
- 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.
- 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. 1994. The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in

the Postwar World. In Sean Lynn-Jones et al. eds. *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 45-69.

## Week 8

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 9

Democracy and security.

Reading: approx. 178 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. 1996. Reflections on the Liberal Peace and its Critics. Michael Doyle on the Democratic Peace – Again. In Michael Brown et al. eds. *Debating the Democratic Peace*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 358-373.
- 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.

- Waltz, Kenneth. 1967. *Foreign Policy and Democratic Politics*. Boston: Little, Brown, and co., pp. 306-311.

## Week 10

Domestic politics and disputes.

Reading: approx. 238 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.
- Snyder, Jack. 1991. *Myths of Empire*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 2, pp. 21-65.
- 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.
- Kydd, Andrew. 2005. *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 2, pp. 28-45.
- 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.
- Christensen, Thomas. 1996. *Useful Adversaries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chaps. 1-2, pp. 3-31.

## Week 11

Economics and force.

Reading: approx. 201 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 Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, 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.
- Earle, E.M. 1986. Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, and Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power. In Peter Paret ed. *The Makers of Modern Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 217-261.
- Grampp, William. 2000. What did Smith Mean by the Invisible Hand? *Journal of Political Economy* 108: 441-465.
- 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. 180 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.
- Morgenthau, H.J. 1966. Introduction. In David Mitrany *A Working Peace System*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.
- 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 Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 589-594.
- Gilligan, Michael and Stephen J. Stedman. 2003. Where Do the Peacekeepers Go? *International Studies Review* 5(4): 37-54.
- 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

Cultural conflict.

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.

## Week 14

Final paper due.

Terrorism.

Reading: approx. 71 pp.

- Freedman, Lawrence. 2002. A New Type of War. In Ken Booth and Tim Dunne eds. *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, chap. 3, pp. 37-47.

- Waltz, Kenneth. 2002. The Continuity of International Politics. In Ken Booth and Tim Dunne eds. *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, chap. 31, pp. 348-354.
- Katzenstein, Peter. 1993. Coping with Terrorism: Norms and International Security in Germany and Japan. In Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane eds. *Ideas & Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 10, pp. 265-295.
- Pape, Robert. 2005. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 232-250.
- Stern, Jessica. 2005. Al Qaeda: The Protean Enemy. In Art and Jervis eds. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 431-438