

**POLSCI 106D**  
**INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**  
Department of Political Science  
Duke University

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Spring 2007  
Time: Tu/Th, 11.55AM-12.45PM  
Room: Social Sciences 136  
Office Hours: Tues., 1.30-3.00PM, or by appt.

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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 how states and non-state actors use force 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, we will use the current example of Iraq to examine how civil wars and failed states affect international security. Are the current efforts to build democracy and defeat the insurgents in Iraq likely to succeed?

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. We will also experience first-hand the difficulties and complexities of international politics through a simulated United Nations Security Council session (see below).

## **PREREQUISITES**

PS106D is designed both as a follow-up to PS93D and a gateway to more advanced courses on security in the Political Science department. The only prerequisite for the course is PS93D \*OR\* a rudimentary knowledge of IR theory (realism, liberalism, etc.). Students unfamiliar with these theories should consult the articles by Snyder and Walt listed under Lecture #2. Familiarity with 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century European history, as well as World Wars I and II, will also be helpful for understanding the examples and cases discussed in the lectures and readings, but again is not strictly required. Suggested background readings may be found at the end of the syllabus.

## **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 insurgency in Iraq 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.

The centerpiece of the class is a simulation developed by Professor Scott Sagan of Stanford University. This event (Feb. 22-24) is designed to emulate a meeting of the United Nations Security Council convened to consider how to respond to Iran’s apparent pursuit of nuclear weapons in violation of its NPT commitments. Each student will be assigned a role on the delegation—such as head of the delegation or representative of the Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry, or intelligence services—of one of the 15 UNSC member states (plus Iran). These delegations will formulate an initial negotiating position and present it to the opening plenary session of the conference. Delegates will then attempt to resolve differences in their various positions and reach a compromise on how to proceed against Iran. Delegations will meet with their Heads of State on Thursday, February 22, to present their proposed

negotiating position and receive instructions. The Security Council simulation begins at 9.00AM on Friday, February 23, and will continue until approximately 5.00PM Saturday. All students are expected to participate. If you have an unavoidable conflict, you will be given another assignment to complete (albeit a less exciting one!). If you have to miss an hour or two or part of a day, you can still participate. You must notify your TA of all conflicts by February 1.

Course grades will be based on the following criteria:

- Mid-Term Take-Home Examination I (20%): essay question based on the first part of the course on IR theory and the causes of war, handed out on February 8, due at the start of lecture on February 15.
- Mid-Term Take-Home Examination II (25%): an essay question (to be determined) analyzing some aspect of the UNSC simulation, due at the start of lecture on Thursday, March 8. If you are unable to participate in the simulation, you will be required to write a 5-7 page review and critique of a journal article, and complete a take-home exam on a different question.
- Final Examination (35%): Friday, May 4, 2006, 2-5PM. Cumulative, but with an emphasis on Parts III-V of the course. 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.
- Participation (20%): participation consists of attendance at lecture, as well as attendance and participation in section. Participation means you contribute to discussion regularly and intelligently. If for some reason you have to miss your regular section, you should attend a section at different time (a list of section times/locations is on Blackboard). Notify your TA and the TA whose section you will attend instead.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students are expected to comply with the Duke Community Standard in their work for this course (see [www.integrity.duke.edu/ugrad/student.html](http://www.integrity.duke.edu/ugrad/student.html)). Academic dishonesty—such as lying, cheating, or plagiarizing—will not be tolerated.

## TEACHING ASSISTANTS

- Nazli Avdan (na15@duke.edu)
- Mark Dubois (mld2@duke.edu)
- Matthew Fehrs (mbf3@duke.edu)

## READINGS

The following books are available for purchase at the Duke Textbook Store. The first two are required, while the third is recommended (we are reading several chapters from it, which are also on E-reserve).

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

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

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

The majority of the readings for the course are journal articles or book chapters. Citations below followed by the word “online” in parentheses are available via databases accessible through the Duke University Library. To retrieve these articles, from the library home page click “E-journals,” type in the name of the desired journal, and then select the database that I have listed in parentheses. Other readings are on Electronic 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.” Finally, a few readings are posted on Blackboard on the Course Documents page in a folder entitled “Course Readings.”

## COURSE OUTLINE

### I. IR Theory and the Causes of War

1. Course Introduction: No readings January 11
2. IR Theory: An Overview (27 pages) January 16
  - Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy* (November/December 2004): 52-62 (online: Proquest).
  - Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998): 29-46 (online: Proquest).
3. The System: Anarchy, Polarity, and War (100 pages) January 18
  - G. Lowes Dickinson, *The European Anarchy* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 13-17, 127-133 (e-res).
  - John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 29-54 (e-res).
  - Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 615-628 (online: JSTOR).
  - Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," *World Politics* 16, no. 3 (April 1964): 390-406 (online: JSTOR).
  - William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 5-41 (online: JSTOR).

Recommended:

  - For further background on systemic theory in general (or neorealism in particular): Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 88-101, 116-128 (e-res).
  - For more on the bipolarity vs. multipolarity debate: Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 161-193 (e-res).
4. The System: Moving Parts (97) January 23
  - Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1978): skim 167-186; read 186-214 (online: JSTOR).
  - Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," *World Politics* 40, no. 1 (October 1987): 82-107 (online: JSTOR).
  - John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), 334-359 (e-res).
5. The State: Regime Type (76) January 25
  - Bruce Russett, "The Fact of Democratic Peace" and "Why Democratic Peace?" in *Debating the Democratic Peace*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 58-105 (e-res).
  - Mark Peceny, Caroline C. Beer, with Shannon Sanchez-Terry, "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 1 (March 2002): 15-26 (online: Cambridge University Press).
  - Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 3 (May/June 1995): 79-97 (online: Proquest).
6. The State: Other Theories (86) January 30
  - Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 653-673 (online: JSTOR).

- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 108-146 (online: JSTOR).
- Jack S. Levy and Lily I. Vakili, "Diversionary Action by Authoritarian Regimes: Argentina in the Falklands/Malvinas Case," in *The Internationalization of Communal Strife*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (London: Routledge, 1992), 118-146 (e-res).

7. The Individual (106)

February 1

- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 107-146 (online: Project Muse).
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 1-40 (e-res).
- Jack S. Levy, "Loss Aversion, Framing Effects, and International Conflict: Perspectives from Prospect Theory," in *Handbook of War Studies II*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 193-221 (e-res).

## Recommended:

- Richard Ned Lebow, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 101-118 (e-res).

8. Causes of World War I (100)

February 6

- Review Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984."
- Eckart Kehr, "Anglophobia and Weltpolitik," in *Economic Interest, Militarism, and Foreign Policy: Essays on German History* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 22-49 (e-res).
- Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 58-107 (online: JSTOR).
- Scott D. Sagan, "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability," *International Security* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 151-175 (online: JSTOR).

9. Causes of the Iraq War (111)

February 8

*Take-home midterm question handed out 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: Project Muse).
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2003): 50-59 (online: Proquest).
- James Fallows, "Blind Into Baghdad," *The Atlantic Monthly* (January/February 2004): 52-74 (online: InfoTrac OneFile).

**II. Nuclear Deterrence and Proliferation**10. Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Deterrence (57)

February 13

- Joseph Cirincione, Jon B. Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threats*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 45-55 (e-res).
- 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: JSTOR).

11. Nuclear Proliferation: Causes (58) February 15  
*Take-home midterm due at start of lecture*
- Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97): 54-86 (online: JSTOR).
  - Sonali Singh and Christopher R. Way, "The Correlates of Nuclear Proliferation: A Quantitative Test," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 859-885 (online: ABI/Inform Complete).
12. Nuclear Proliferation: For Better or For Worse? (84) February 20
- Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, pp. 3-87.
13. Dealing with a Nuclear Iran (93) February 22
- Cirincione, Wolfsthal, and Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenal*s, 294-313 (e-res).
  - Mark Fitzpatrick, "Assessing Iran's Nuclear Program," *Survival* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 2006): 5-26 (online: Metapress Routledge).
  - Kenneth Timmerman, "The Day After Iran Gets the Bomb," in Henry D. Sokolski and Patrick Clawson, ed., *Getting Ready for a Nuclear-Ready Iran* (Carlisle Barracks, Penn.: Strategic Studies Institute, 2005), 113-129 (e-res).
  - Scott D. Sagan, "How to Keep the Bomb from Iran," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 5 (September/October 2006): 45-59 (online: Proquest).
  - Barry R. Posen, "A Nuclear-Armed Iran: A Difficult but not Impossible Policy Problem," A Century Foundation Report (online: Blackboard).
- For details on the potential of military strikes to retard Iran's nuclear program, see:
- Whitney Raas and Austin Long, "Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities," SSP Working Paper, April 2006, [http://web.mit.edu/ssp/Publications/working\\_papers/wp\\_06-1.pdf](http://web.mit.edu/ssp/Publications/working_papers/wp_06-1.pdf)
- Nuclear Proliferation Simulation February 22-24
- 2/22, Times TBA: Meet with Head of State
  - 2/23, 9AM-5PM: UNSC Plenary Sessions, resolution drafting sessions, and ongoing negotiations
  - 2/24, 9AM-5PM: Plenary and drafting sessions, negotiations, ending with vote on resolution
  - *Take-home midterm question distributed by email*
14. Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia (99) February 27
- Cirincione, Wolfsthal, and Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenal*s, 220-258 (e-res).
  - Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, pp. 88-124.
  - S. Paul Kapur, "India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia is Not Like Cold War Europe," *International Security* 30, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 127-152 (online: Project Muse).
15. Nuclear Weapons and Terrorists (106) March 1
- Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (New York: Times Books, 2004), 19-120 (e-res; 3 parts).
  - Jasen J. Castillo, "Nuclear Terrorism: Why Deterrence Still Matters," *Current History* (December 2003): 426-431 (online: Proquest).

### III. Military Effectiveness

16. Military Effectiveness: Causes of Victory and Defeat (120) March 6
- Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1948): 280-315 (online: JSTOR).
  - Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), read 10-38 and 58-74; skim 38-57 and 74-83 (e-res; 2 parts).
  - Stephen Biddle and Robert Zirkle, "Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (June 1996): 171-212 (e-res).
17. Operation Michael, March 1918 (85) March 8  
*Take-home midterm due at start of lecture*
- Jonathan M. House, *Combined Arms Warfare in the Twentieth Century* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 31-64 (e-res).
  - Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 28-51 and 78-107 (e-res; 2 parts).

**\*\*\* MARCH 13 & MARCH 15 = SPRING BREAK \*\*\***

18. The Battle of France, May 1940 (78) March 20
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 99-133 (e-res).
  - Jasen J. Castillo, "The Will to Fight: Explaining the Staying Power of German and French Armies in World War II" (Unpub. ms., RAND Corporation, 2006; Blackboard).
19. The Persian Gulf War (77) March 22
- Stephen Biddle, "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us About Future Conflict," *International Security* 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 139-179 (online: JSTOR).
  - Responses to Biddle by Daryl G. Press, Thomas A. Keaney, and Thomas A. Mahnken and Barry D. Watts, and Biddle's rejoinder, in *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 137-174 (online: JSTOR).

### IV. Coercion

20. Military Coercion (86) March 27
- Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 1-86.
21. Coercion in Practice: World War II (108) March 29
- Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 87-136, 254-313 (Japan and Germany)
22. Coercion in Practice: Recent Conflicts (89) April 3
- Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 211-253 (Iraq, 1991).
  - 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: Project Muse).
  - Robert A. Pape, "The True Worth of Air Power," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (March/April 2004): 116-130 (online: Proquest).

23. Coercion by Non-State Actors: Suicide Terrorism (65) April 5

- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361 (online: Cambridge University Press).
- Scott Atran, "The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism," *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 127-147 (online: Project Muse).
- Mia M. Bloom, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 61-88 (online: Ingenta Connect).

**V. Contemporary Conflict: Civil War, Insurgency, and Iraq**24. Civil War and State Failure (98) April 10

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90 (online: Cambridge University Press).
- *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Part I and Part V (14-59 and 146-158; online: Blackboard).
- Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 92-118 (e-res).

25. Stopping Civil Wars and Building Functional States (125) April 12

- Caroline Hartzell, "Explaining the Stability of Negotiated Settlements to Intrastate Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43, no. 1 (February 1999): 3-22 (online: JSTOR).
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175 (online: JSTOR).
- Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-364 (online: JSTOR).
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* 28, no. 4 (Spring 2004): 5-43 (online: Project Muse).

26. Insurgency and Civil War in Iraq (70) April 17

- Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 5 (September/October 2004): 34-56 (online: Proquest).
- Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (September/October 2005): 87-104 (online: Proquest).
- Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 2-14 (online: Proquest).
- "What to do in Iraq: A Roundtable," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 4 (July/August 2006): 150-169 (online: Proquest).

## Recommended:

- David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 49-91 (online: Project Muse).
- Melvin R. Laird, "Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 6 (November/December 2005): 22-43 (online: Proquest).

27. Iraq Options (62) April 19

- *The Iraq Study Group Report*, James A. Baker III and Lee H. Hamilton, Co-Chairs (online at [www.usip.org/isg](http://www.usip.org/isg)).

28. Iraq Fallout: Soft Balancing (74)

April 24

- Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing Against the United States," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 7-45 (online: Project Muse).
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 72-108 (online: Project Muse).

29. Final Examination

May 4, 2-5PM

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**SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS FOR HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Larry H. Addington, *The Patterns of War Since the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

P. M. H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Harlow: Longman, 1992).

Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994).

Michael R. Gordon and Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995).

Michael R. Gordon and Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006).

Michael Howard, *War in European History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia* (Harlow: Longman, 1987).

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, 2nd ed. (Harlow: Longman, 1992).

John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Penguin, 1989).

Michael S. Neiberg, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1898 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente* (New York: Henry Holt, 1934/1962).

Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (London: Routledge, 1983).

L.C.F. Turner, *Origins of the First World War* (New York: Norton, 1970).

Geoffrey Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe 1792-1914* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).