

## POL 358: Strategy, War, and Politics

Preliminary Battle Plan, rev. 2016-01-24; Total pages: 2377

Prof. Alex Montgomery

[ahm@reed.edu](mailto:ahm@reed.edu)

(503) 517-7395

---

Class	Office
TuTh 10:30-11:50 AM Eliot 103 <a href="https://moodle.reed.edu/course/view.php?id=826">https://moodle.reed.edu/course/view.php?id=826</a>	We 1:30-3:30 PM or by appointment Vollum 241 <a href="http://www.reed.edu/~ahm/">http://www.reed.edu/~ahm/</a>

---

### Course Description and Goals

This course examines contemporary problems of war and peace from a historical and theoretical perspective. What were the causes of war in the past and what can we learn from that experience? What strategies do actors in the international system use to employ force, and how have they changed in the nuclear age? What are the current problems facing decisionmakers today? The course begins with a review of political, psychological, organizational, cultural, and economic theories of the causes of war, then uses these theories to examine the origins and character of both historical and contemporary conflicts, including the First and Second World Wars and the Iraq War. It continues by examining the effects on conflict of the nuclear revolution. The course concludes by examining the major contemporary threats to national and international security that may be faced in the coming decade. Conference.

Students will learn to perform basic research and analysis through writing and thinking about conflict from multiple different perspectives. Readings are drawn from historic and contemporary scholars of strategy, war, and politics, cover a wide variety of issues, and are presented in context with historical and contemporary events. Assignments are a mixture of analysis, research, and experiential learning.

### Requirements

#### *Class Participation*

Students are required to actively participate in the class; they will have the opportunity to do so both during and outside of classroom hours. Beginning the third week of class, each student will be assigned to three days during the semester in which they will author a short reaction memo (300-400 words) expressing an opinion about that day's readings. These are NOT summaries; rather, they should attempt to agree or disagree with or compare and contrast the readings. This should be posted in the forums on the course website by 8 PM the day before the readings are to be discussed. ALL students are required to read the memos and be prepared to respond to them the next day in class. Students are encouraged to respond to the postings online as part of their participation. Students that miss class for whatever reason may make up the class by posting a summary of each of the readings to the course website for the day they missed. In order to make up missed days from the first half of the semester, these must be posted before the first day of classes after the break; from the second half, by the end of reading period.

#### *Readings*

Readings for the course are drawn from books available at the bookstore as well as E-Readings, which can be downloaded off the course website. Readings marked "Cases" are required, but should be read after any more theoretical articles. These are best used in conjunction with [Endnote](#) or [Zotero](#), both of which are supported by the library. Students are expected to bring a copy of the readings to class every day for reference. Laptops are not permitted in class; tablet devices may be used. Readings marked "Further" are other relevant articles; they are not required for class. Students who have a particular interest in the topics in question are encouraged to read these articles and to incorporate them into their assignments.

Two books are for sale at the bookstore and are also on reserve at the library; Note that either the (black) 2002 second edition, the (red) 2005 update second edition of Betts are fine. Two additional books are recommended, but not at all required (and not at the bookstore). The relevant part (that is, all of it minus the initial commentary) of *The Art of War* is available on E-Readings as well, so purchasing the book is recommended, not required. Finally, those who are generally interested in the study of war classics may wish to purchase a copy of Clausewitz; make sure that you get the version edited by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, not the bowdlerized version by Anatol Rapoport.

### *Required*

- Richard K. Betts, editor (2005) *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*. 2nd edition. New York, NY: Pearson/Longman <<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/54852967>>, ISBN 032120946X
- Robert J Art and Kenneth Neal Waltz (2009) *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers <<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/261204381>>, ISBN 9780742556706

### *Recommended (not at bookstore)*

- Sun Tzu; Samuel B. Griffith, editor (1971) *The Art of War*. Oxford University Press <<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/8425879>>, ISBN 0195014766
- Carl von Clausewitz; Michael Eliot Howard and Peter Paret, editors (1976) *On War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press <<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/71729075>>, ISBN 0691056579

### *Course Website*

Frequent reading of the course website will be helpful for success in the class. Discussion and collaboration with your peers is available to you through the website as well as in class; supplemental and core readings will be made available there; and assignments will be turned in electronically using the site.

### *Assignments and Quizzes*

There are two formal assignments for this course. More details regarding the assignments will be available later. If you intend to qualify in this course, you must let me know the first day. In general, I look for four things in an essay: A clear argument in the introductory paragraph, an explanation of the theories that you will be using, an illustration of your argument with direct examples, and a conclusion that discusses the implications of your findings. Note that word counts *include* your bibliography.

- The first assignment (due Fri, March 11, the end of week 7) will be a short (1500-2000 word) essay
- The second assignment (due Thu, May 5, the end of week 15) will be a longer (2000-3000 word) essay

### *Citation and Plagiarism*

A major goal of this course is to encourage good reading, research, and citation habits. Good research requires good documentation of sources and the ability to put one's own analysis and thoughts into a paper rather than relying on others. When in doubt as to whether you should cite something, always do it. Citations are required for ideas as well as facts, and are imperative even if you are not directly quoting authors. Make sure that you provide as specific a citation as possible; if an author discusses an idea in one section or one page, cite the specific section or page instead of the full article or book. I usually recommend that students use in-text author-date citation with full Chicago Manual of Style citations; see their Citation Quick Guide: <[http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)>.

However, style is less important than the citations being present. If you use an idea or a fact without attribution, you are plagiarizing someone else's work. Plagiarism and cheating are violations of academic integrity and thus violations of Reed's Honor Principle. As specified by Reed's academic conduct policy, such violations will result in disciplinary actions, including suspension or permanent dismissal from the College. Plagiarism is submitting a piece of work which in part or in whole is not entirely the student's own work without attributing those same portions to their correct source. For examples of plagiarism and how to avoid it, see <<http://www.csub.edu/ssric-trd/howto/plagiarism.htm>>. If nothing else, you should avoid "sinister buttocks" syndrome. For more information on Reed's policies see: <[http://www.reed.edu/academic/gbook/comm\\_pol/acad\\_conduct.html](http://www.reed.edu/academic/gbook/comm_pol/acad_conduct.html)>.

Plagiarism often comes as the result of a student being up against a deadline without being able to meet it. If you are having trouble meeting a deadline for whatever reason, please contact me. Because every assignment is a paper that will be handed out well in advance, I have no problem giving extensions. It is always better to ask for more time than to plagiarize. When you ask for an extension, you should a) explain what events are causing you to miss the deadline and b) request an amount of time proportional to the interfering events. You may ask for an extension up to, but not exceeding, the amount of time remaining for the assignment, except for cases of emergencies or unanticipated circumstances.

### *Accommodations*

If you'd like to request academic accommodations due to a disability, please contact Disability Support Services. If you have a letter from Student Services, please let me know so we can discuss those accommodations.

### **1/26/16: 01.1. Introduction (17 Pages)**

- Kenneth N. Waltz (1979) Chap. 1 in *Theory of International Politics*. 1st edition. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1–17, ISBN 0201083493

#### *Review*

- J. David Singer (1960) *International Conflict: Three Levels of Analysis*. *World Politics*. 12(3)April, 453–461  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2009401>>, ISSN 00438871

### **1/28/16: 01.2. Is War Inevitable? (33 Pages)**

- Richard K. Betts (2005) *International Realism: Anarchy and Power*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 51–54
- Niccolò Machiavelli (1512) *Doing Evil in Order to Do Good*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 60–64
- Norman Angell (1913) *The Great Illusion*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 226–227
- Edward Hallett Carr (1939) *Realism and Idealism*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 69–85
- Margaret Mead (1940) *Warfare is only in Invention - Not a Biological Necessity*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 176–180

#### *Review*

- Thucydides (0400 BC) *The Melian Dialogue*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 55–59
- Thomas Hobbes (1651) *The State of Nature and the State of War*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 65–68
- Immanuel Kant (1795) *Perpetual Peace*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 121–127
- Hans J. Morgenthau (1948) *Six Principles of Political Realism*. In Art and Jervis *IP*, 16–23
- J. Ann Tickner (1991) *A Critique of Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism*. In Art and Jervis *IP*, 24–36

## **Part I: The Causes of War: WWI and Iraq**

### **2/2/16: 02.1. History: World War I and Iraq (154 Pages)**

- Barbara W. Tuchman (1962) Chap. 1-9 in *The Guns of August*. New York, NY: Macmillan, 88. Read chapters 2-4, 6-7, + 9, skim 1, 5, + 8
- Thomas E Ricks (2006) Chap. 4-6 in *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. New York: Penguin Press, 46–111, ISBN 159420103X

#### *Further*

- Bob Woodward (2004) Chap. 24-25 in *Plan of Attack*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 253–274, ISBN 074325547X

### **2/4/16: 02.2. Grand Theories of War (112 Pages)**

- B. H. Liddell Hart (1971) *Foreword*. In Tzu *The Art of War*, v–vii
- Sun Tzu; Samuel B. Griffith, editor (1971) Chap. I-XIII In Tzu *The Art of War*, 63–149
- Carl von Clausewitz; Michael Eliot Howard and Peter Paret, editors (1976) Chap. 1.1-1.2 In von Clausewitz *On War*, 75–99

#### *Further*

- Robert J. Art (1996) *The Fungibility of Force*. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 3–22

### **2/9/16: 03.1. International Politics-Power Balancing (83 Pages)**

- Geoffrey Blainey (1973) *Power, Culprits, and Arms*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 105–116
- Kenneth N. Waltz (1988) *The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory*. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 86–92
- John J. Mearsheimer (2001) *The Causes of Great Power War*. In *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York, NY: Norton, ISBN 0393020258. chapter 9, 334–359

#### *Cases*

- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2000) *Balance of Power and World War I*. In Nye *Understanding international conflicts*. chapter 3, 54–80
- Robert Jervis (2003) *The Compulsive Empire*. *Foreign Policy*.(137)July-August, 82–87  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3183700>>, ISSN 0015–7228

- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2004) *Interview with Saddam Hussein*. June 11  
<<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB279/24.pdf>>

*Further*

- Scott D. Sagan (1986) 1914 Revisited. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 398–410

*Review*

- Stephen M. Walt (1987) Alliances: Balancing and Bandwagoning. In Art and Jervis *IP*, 127–134
- Randall L. Schweller (1994) Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In. *International Security*. 19(1)Summer, 72–107 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539149>>, ISSN 01622889

**2/11/16: 03.2. International Politics-Power Transitions (80 Pages)**

- Robert Gilpin (1981) Hegemonic War and International Change. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 93–104
- Jack S. Levy (1987) Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War. *World Politics*. 40(1)October, 82–107  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2010195>>

*Cases*

- James A. Russell and James J. Wirtz (2002) Preventive War against Iraq. *Strategic Insights*. 1(9)November, 1–3  
<<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/nov02/middleEast.asp>>
- Frederick W. Kagan (2003) War Sooner Rather than War Later. *Weekly Standard*. March 3, 19–20
- Keir A. Lieber (2007) The New History of World War I and What it Means for International Relations Theory. *International Security*. 32(2)Fall, 155–191 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/isec.2007.32.2.155>>

*Further*

- Imanuel Geiss (1966) The Outbreak of the First World War and German War Aims. *Journal of Contemporary History*. 1(3)July, 75–91
- Paul M. Kennedy (1984) The First World War and the International Power System. *International Security*. 9(1)Summer, 7–40 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2538634>>
- Richard Ned Lebow (1984) Windows of Opportunity: Do States Jump Through Them? *International Security*. 9(1)Summer, 147–186 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2538638>>

**2/16/16: 04.1. International Politics-Money (100 Pages)**

- Richard K. Betts (2005) Economic: Interests and Interdependence. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 219–222
- Joseph Schumpeter (1919) Imperialism and Capitalism. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 243–251
- V. I. Lenin (1939) Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 236–242
- Geoffrey Blainey (1973) Paradise is a Bazaar. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 228–235
- Kenneth N. Waltz (1979) Structural Causes and Economic Effects. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 264–273
- Richard Rosecrance (1986) Trade and Power. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 274–286

*Cases*

- David M. Rowe (1999) World Economic Expansion and National Security in Pre-World War I Europe. *International Organization*. 53(2)Spring, 195–231 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/002081899550869>>
- Michael T. Klare (2003) The Coming War With Iraq: Deciphering the Bush Administration's Motives. *Foreign Policy In Focus*. January 16, 1–6 <[http://www.fpiif.org/commentary/2003/0301warreasons\\_body.html](http://www.fpiif.org/commentary/2003/0301warreasons_body.html)>
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2004) *Interview with Saddam Hussein*. February 24  
<<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB279/10.pdf>>

*Further*

- Niccolò Machiavelli (1517) Money is Not the Sinews of War, Although it is Generally so Considered. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 223–225
- Alan S. Milward (1977) War as Policy. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 252–263
- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye (2005) Power and Interdependence. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 139–145

## 2/18/16: 04.2. International Politics-Technology (123 Pages)

- Richard K. Betts (2005) Strategy, I: Military Technology, Doctrine, and Stability. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 357–360
- Robert Jervis (1978) Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 382–397
- Jack S. Levy (1984) The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 411–422
- Stephen van Evera (1998) Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War. *International Security*. 22(4)Spring, 5–43 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539239>>

### Cases

- Keir A. Lieber (2000) Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security. *International Security*. 25(1)Summer, 71–104 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016228800560390>>
- Max Boot (2003) The New American Way of War. *Foreign Affairs*. 82(4)July/August, 41–58 <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=10030007>>, ISSN 00157120

## 2/24/16: 05.1. Domestic Politics (95 Pages)

- Jack S. Levy (1988) Domestic Politics and War. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 18(4)Spring, 653–673 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/204819>>
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder (1995) Democratization and War. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 318–330

### Cases

- Jack Snyder (1984) The Cult of the Offensive in 1914. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 135–151
- Chaim Kaufmann (2004) Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War. *International Security*. 29(1)Summer, 5–48 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/0162288041762940>>

### Further

- Arno J. Mayer (1967) Domestic Causes of the First World War. In Leonard Krieger and Fritz Stern, editors *The Responsibility of Power: Historical Essays in Honor of Hajo Holborn*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, ISBN 0333015193, 286–300
- Michael W. Doyle (2005) Liberalism and World Politics. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 291–306

## 2/26/16: 05.2. Organizations (115 Pages)

- Barry R. Posen (1984) The Sources of Military Doctrine. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 23–43
- Jack S. Levy (1986) Organizational Routines and the Causes of War. *International Studies Quarterly*. 30(2)June, 193–222 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2600676>>

### Cases

- Marc Trachtenberg (1990-1991) The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914. *International Security*. 15(3)Winter, 120–150 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2538909>>
- Seymour M. Hersh (2003) Selective Intelligence: Donald Rumsfeld has his own special sources. Are they reliable? *New Yorker*. 79(11)May 12, 44–53 <[http://www.newyorker.com/printables/fact/030512fa\\_fact](http://www.newyorker.com/printables/fact/030512fa_fact)>
- Michael J. Mazarr (2007) The Iraq War and Agenda Setting. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. 3(1), 1–23 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00039.x>>

## 3/1/16: 06.1. Culture (95 Pages)

- Hedley Bull (1968) Society and Anarchy in International Relations. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 128–138
- Ernest Gellner (1983) Nations and Nationalism. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 307–317
- Alexander Wendt (1992) Anarchy is What States Make of it. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 181–201

### Cases

- Ido Oren (1995) The Subjectivity of the "Democratic" Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany. *International Security*. 20(2)Autumn, 147–184 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539232>>, ISSN 01622889



- Marc Lynch (2003) Taking Arabs Seriously. *Foreign Affairs*. 82(5)September/October, 81–94  
<<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=10580765>>

Further

- Stephen van Evera (1994) Hypotheses on Nationalism and War. *International Security*. 18(4)Spring, 5–39  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539176>>, ISSN 01622889

Review

- Stephen Van Evera (1984) The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War. *International Security*. 9(1)Summer, 58–107 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2538636>>
- Alexander Wendt (1995) Constructing International Politics. *International Security*. 20(1)Summer, 71–81  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539217>>
- Lauren Wilcox (2009) Gendering the Cult of the Offensive. *Security Studies*. 18(2), 214–240  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09636410902900152>>, ISSN 09636412

**3/3/16: 06.2. Psychology (87 Pages)**

- Richard K. Betts (2005) Psychology and Culture: Unconscious Sources of Conflict and Conscious Norms. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 159–162
- Sigmund Freud (1932) Why War? In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 163–170
- Franco Fornari (1966) The Psychoanalysis of War. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 171–175
- Robert Jervis (1988) War and Misperception. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 18(4)Spring, 675–700  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/204820>>

Cases

- Kaiser Wilhelm, II and Tsar Nicholas, II (1914) *The “Willy-Nicky” Telegrams*. July  
<<http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/willynicky.htm>>
- Jerrold M. Post (1991) Saddam Hussein of Iraq: A Political Psychology Profile. *Political Psychology*. 12(2)June, 279–289 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3791465>>
- James Fallows (2004) Blind into Baghdad. *Atlantic*. 293(1)January/February, 52–74  
<<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=11922917>>, ISSN 1072–7825
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2004) *Interview with Saddam Hussein*. February 13  
<<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB279/05.pdf>>

Review

- Richard Ned Lebow (1981) Chap. 5 in *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 101–147, ISBN 0801823110

**3/8/16: 07.1. Terrorism (132 Pages)**

- Mark Juergensmeyer (2005) Religious Radicalism and Political Violence. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 505–519
- Martha Crenshaw (1998) The Strategic Logic of Terrorism. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 491–504
- Paul R. Pillar (2001) Dealing with Terrorists. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 501–508
- Robert A. Pape (2003) The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 79–98
- Jenna Jordan (2014) Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark. *International Security*. 38(4)April, 7–38  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/ISEC.a.00157>>, ISSN 0162–2889

Cases

- David C. Rapoport (1984) Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions. *American Political Science Review*. 78(3)September, 658–677 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1961835>>
- Audrey Kurth Cronin (2006) How Al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 509–531

Further

- Jenna Jordan (2009) When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation. *Security Studies*. 18(4)December, 719–755 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09636410903369068>>, ISSN 0963–6412

Review

- Valdis E. Krebs (2002) Mapping Networks of Terrorist Cells. *Connections*. 24(3)March, 43–52  
<[http://www.insna.org/PDF/Connections/v24/2001\\_I-3-7.pdf](http://www.insna.org/PDF/Connections/v24/2001_I-3-7.pdf)>

**3/8/16: 7.1.1. 7–8:30 PM, Vollum Lecture Hall: Jenna Jordan, “Does Leadership Targeting Work?”**

**3/10/16: 07.2. Deterrence (104 Pages)**

- John J. Mearsheimer (1983) Conventional deterrence. In *Conventional deterrence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, ISBN 0801415691. chapter 2, 23–66

*Cases*

- Sir George Sansom (1948) Japan’s Fatal Blunder. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 167–178
- John J. Mearsheimer (1983) Hitler and the Blitzkrieg Strategy. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 152–166
- Janice Gross Stein (1992) Deterrence and Compellence in the Gulf, 1990-91: A Failed or Impossible Task? *International Security*. 17(2)Autumn, 147–179 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539171>>

*Further*

- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2000) The Failure of Collective Security and World War II. In Nye *Understanding international conflicts*. chapter 4, 81–107

*Review*

- Scott D. Sagan (1988) The Origins of the Pacific War. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 18(4)Spring, 893–922 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/204828>>, ISSN 00221953

**Part II: From WWII to Nuclear Weapons**

**3/15/16: 08.1. Compellence (89 Pages)**

- Alexander L. George (1991) Coercive Diplomacy. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 72–78
- Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin (2003) The U.S. and Coercive Diplomacy. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 272–293

*Cases*

- Louis Morton (1957) The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 179–194
- Robert A. Pape (1990) Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War. *International Security*. 15(2)Autumn, 103–146 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2538867>>

*Further*

- Robert A. Pape (1993) Why Japan Surrendered. *International Security*. 18(2)Autumn, 154–201 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539100>>
- Robert Anthony Pape (1996) Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Cornell studies in security affairs, All, ISBN 0801431344

*Review*

- Robert J. Art (2003) Coercive Diplomacy. In Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, editors *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 8th edition. New York, NY: Pearson/Longman, ISBN 0321436032, 163–176

**3/17/16: 08.2. No Class**

**3/22/16: 09.1. Spring Break**

**3/24/16: 09.2. Spring Break**

**3/29/16: 10.1. Nuclear Diplomacy (104 Pages)**

- McGeorge Bundy (1984) The Unimpressive Record of Atomic Diplomacy. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 99–107
- Robert Jervis (1988) The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 108–115
- Kenneth N. Waltz (1990) Nuclear Myths and Political Realities. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 116–132

*Cases*

- Roger Dingman (1988-1989) Atomic Diplomacy during the Korean War. *International Security*. 13(3)Winter, 50–91 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2538736>>

- Jutta Weldes (1999) The Cultural Production of Crises: U.S. Identity and Missiles in Cuba. In Jutta Weldes, editor *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, ISBN 081663307X, 35–62

#### Further

- Morton H. Halperin (1963) The Korean War. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 195–210
- David A. Welch, James G. Blight, and Bruce J. Allyn (1989) The Cuban Missile Crisis. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 211–234
- William Burr and Jeffrey T. Richelson (2000/2001) Whether to "strangle the baby in the cradle" - The United States and the Chinese Nuclear Program, 1960–64. *International Security*. 25(3)Winter, 54–99  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016228800560525>>
- Scott D. Sagan (2000) The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapons Attacks. *International Security*. 24(4)Spring, 85–115  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016228800560318>>

#### Review

- Graham T. Allison (1969) Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *American Political Science Review*. 63(3)September, 689–718 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1954423>>

### 3/31/16: 10.2. Nuclear Proliferation (89 Pages)

- Kenneth N. Waltz (2005) The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May be Better. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 433–444
- Samuel P. Huntington (1958) Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 361–381
- Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr. and Abram N. Shulsky (1987) Arms Control: The Historical Experience. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 423–432
- Lynn Eden (2004) City on Fire. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. 60(1)January/February, 33–43  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2968/060001011>>

#### Cases

- Ehsaneh I. Sadr (2005) The Impact of Iran's Nuclearization on Israel. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 371–381
- Scott D. Sagan (2005) Nuclear Instability in South Asia. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 382–393
- Kenneth N. Waltz (2005) Nuclear Stability in South Asia. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 394–405

#### Further

- Charles Glaser and Steve Fetter (2001) National Missile Defense and the Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy. *International Security*. 26(1)Summer, 40–92 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016228801753212859>>
- George N. Lewis and Theodore A. Postol (2010) A Flawed and Dangerous U.S. Missile Defense Plan. *Arms Control Today*. 40(3)May, 10 <[http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2010\\_05/Lewis-Postol](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2010_05/Lewis-Postol)>

#### Review

- Robert Jervis (1978) Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 44–71

### 3/31/16: 10.2.1. 7–8:30 PM, Vollum Lecture Hall: Lynn Eden, "Whole World on Fire: Organizations, Knowledge and Nuclear Weapons Devastation"

## Part III: Contemporary Problems

### 4/5/16: 11.1. Insurgencies (109 Pages)

- T. E. Lawrence (1929) Science of Guerrilla Warfare. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 449–456
- Mao Tse-tung (1937) On Guerrilla Warfare. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 457–466
- Barbara F. Walter (1997) The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 448–461
- David Kilcullen (2006-7) Counter-Insurgency Redux. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 486–500
- Department of the Army Headquarters (2006) *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*. Department of the Army Headquarters Field Manual 3-24, 1-29 pages <<http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24fd.pdf>>



- Patrick B. Johnston (2012) Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns. *International Security*. 36(4), 47–79 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/ISEC.a.00076>>, ISSN 0162–2889

#### Further

- Michael E. O’Hanlon (2002) The Afghani War: A Flawed Masterpiece. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 261–271
- David M. Edelstein (2004) Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 462–485
- Samuel P. Huntington (2005) Patterns of Violence in World Politics. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 467–490
- Andrew F. Krepinevich (2005) How to Win in Iraq. *Foreign Affairs*. 84(5)September/October, 87–104
- Stephen Biddle (2006) Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon. *Foreign Affairs*. 85(2)March/April, 2–14 <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=19895473>>
- Larry Diamond et al. (2006) What to do in Iraq: A Roundtable. *Foreign Affairs*. 85(4)July/August, 150–169 <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=21326451>>
- Andrew J Enterline and J. Michael Greig (2007) Surge, Escalate, Withdraw and Shinseki: Forecasting and Retro-casting American Force Strategies and Insurgency in Iraq. *International Studies Perspectives*. 8(3), 245–252 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1528-3585.2007.00287.x>>
- Afghan Islamic Emirate (2009) *Rules and Regulations for Mujahidin*.
- Stanley A. McChrystal (2009) *Commander’s Initial Assessment (Redacted)*. August 30 . Read 5-30 (1-1 through 2-22) <[http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment\\_Redacted\\_092109.pdf?hpid=topnews](http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf?hpid=topnews)>
- Michael Hastings (2011) King David’s War. *Rolling Stone Politics*. February 2, 13

#### Review

- Tarak Barkawi (2004) On the pedagogy of ‘small wars’. *International Affairs*. 80(1)January, 19–38 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2004.00363.x>>, ISSN 00205850

### 4/7/16: 11.2. Insurgencies–ISIS (99 Pages)

- Terrence McCoy (2014) How the Islamic State Evolved in an American Prison. *The Washington Post*. November 4, 3 <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/11/04/how-an-american-prison-helped-ignite-the-islamic-state/>> – visited on 2016-01-25, ISSN 0190–8286
- Andrew Thompson and Jeremi Suri (2014) How America Helped ISIS. *The New York Times*. October 1, 4 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/02/opinion/how-america-helped-isis.html>> – visited on 2016-01-25, ISSN 0362–4331
- Anonymous (2015) The Mystery of ISIS. *The New York Review of Books*. August 13, 7 <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2015/08/13/mystery-isis/>> – visited on 2016-01-24
- Tim Arango (2015) ISIS transforming into functioning state that uses terror as tool. *The New York Times*. July 21, 6, ISSN 0362–4331
- Audrey Kurth Cronin (2015) ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won’t Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat. *Foreign Affairs*. 94(2)March/April, 87–98 <<http://search.proquest.com/docview/1658669066/abstract>> – visited on 2016-01-25, ISSN 00157120
- Costantino Pischedda (2015) A Provocative Article Says the Islamic State is a Mystery. Here’s Why That’s Wrong. *The Washington Post*. August, 4 <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/08/27/the-islamic-state-is-no-mystery/>> – visited on 2016-01-24, ISSN 0190–8286
- Christoph Reuter (2015) The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State. *Spiegel Online*. April 18, 11 <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html>> – visited on 2016-01-25

- Eric Schmitt and Ben Hubbard (2015) ISIS leader takes steps to ensure group's survival. *The New York Times*. July 20, 5, ISSN 0362-4331
- Graeme Wood (2015) What ISIS Really Wants. *The Atlantic*. March, 47  
<<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>> – visited on 2016-01-24, ISSN 1072-7825

#### 4/12/16: 12.1. Ethnic Conflict (107 Pages)

- Chaim Kaufmann (1996) Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 406-426
- Radha Kumar (1997) The Troubled History of Partition. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 349-356
- Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl (2009) What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War? *International Security*. 34(2)Fall, 82-118 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/isec.2009.34.2.82>>, ISSN 0162-2889

#### Cases

- Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher (2007) Ethnic Cleavages and Irregular War: Iraq and Vietnam. *Politics and Society*. 35(2)June, 183-223 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329207302403>>

#### Further

- Barry R. Posen (1993) The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict. *Survival*. 35(Spring), 27-47
- V. P. Gagnon (1994-1995) Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia. *International Security*. 19(3)Winter, 130-166 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539081>>
- Vali Nasr (2006) When the Shiites Rise. *Foreign Affairs*. 85(4)July/August, 58-74  
<<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=21326398>>

#### Review

- S. P. Huntington (1993) The Clash of Civilizations. *Foreign Affairs*. 72(3), 22-49  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/20045621>>, ISSN 00157120
- Chaim Kaufmann (1996) Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 331-348
- Samantha Power (2001) Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen. *Atlantic Monthly*. 288(2)September, 84-108 <<http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&an=5050892>>, ISSN 1072-7825

#### 4/14/16: 12.2. Civilian Protection (118 Pages)

- Martha Finnemore (2005) Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 202-218
- Barry R. Posen (1996) Military Responses to Refugee Disasters. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 427-447
- R. Charli Carpenter (2003) 'Women and Children First': Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95. *International Organization*. 57(4)Autumn, 661-694  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S002081830357401X>>
- Charli Carpenter (2010) Collateral Damage Control. *The New York Times*. August 12, 4  
<<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/12/opinion/12iht-edcarpenter.html>> – visited on 2016-01-25, ISSN 0362-4331
- Charli Carpenter (2011) Fighting the Laws of War: Protecting Civilians in Asymmetric Conflict. *Foreign Affairs*. 90(2), 146-152 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25800465>> – visited on 2016-01-25, ISSN 0015-7120
- Roland Paris (2014) The 'Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention. *International Peacekeeping*. 21(5)October, 569-603  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2014.963322>>, ISSN 1353-3312

#### Further

- R. Charli Carpenter (2005) "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups": Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue. *International Studies Quarterly*. 49(2), 295-334  
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2005.00346.x>>, ISSN 00208833

#### Review

- Martha Finnemore (1996) Norms and War: The International Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions. In *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Cornell studies in political economy, ISBN 0801483239. chapter 3, 69–88
- Richard K. Betts (2005) The Delusion of Impartial Intervention. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 597–607
- Jennifer Lobasz (2009) Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking. *Security Studies*. 18(2), 319–344 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09636410902900020>>, ISSN 09636412

**4/14/16: 12.2.1. 7–8:30 PM, Vollum Lecture Hall: Charli Carpenter, “Gender, Civilian Protection and the Paradox of War Law”**

**4/19/16: 13.1. Grand Strategy (110 Pages)**

- John Lewis Gaddis (1982) Implementing Flexible Response: Vietnam as a Test Case. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 235–260
- Christopher Layne (1997) From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 311–326
- Robert J. Art (1998/1999) The Strategy of Selective Engagement. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 327–348
- Richard K. Betts (2000) Is Strategy an Illusion? *International Security*. 25(2)Autumn, 5–50 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016228800560444>>

*Further*

- Christopher Layne (2006) The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States’ Unipolar Moment. *International Security*. 31(2)Fall, 7–41 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/isec.2006.31.2.7>>
- Christopher Layne (2009) The Waning of U.S. Hegemony—Myth or Reality? A Review Essay. *International Security*. 34(1)Summer, 147–172 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/isec.2009.34.1.147>>

**4/21/16: 13.2. US Grand Strategy (88 Pages)**

- Richard K. Betts (2002) The Soft Underbelly of Primacy. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 520–536
- Stephen M. Walt (2005) Taming American Power. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 349–357
- Benjamin H. Friedman, Harvey M. Sapolsky, and Christopher Preble (2008) Learning the Right Lessons from Iraq. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 294–308
- Department of Defense (2014) *Department of Defense Strategy for Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction*. June Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction <[http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/DoD\\_Strategy\\_for\\_Countering\\_Weapons\\_of\\_Mass\\_Destruction\\_dated\\_June\\_2014.pdf](http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/DoD_Strategy_for_Countering_Weapons_of_Mass_Destruction_dated_June_2014.pdf)>
- National Security Council (2015) *National Security Strategy*. February <[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf)> – visited on 2015-02-10

*Further*

- G. John Ikenberry (2002) America’s Imperial Ambition. *Foreign Affairs*. 81(5)September-October, 44–60 <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=7215158>>, ISSN 00157120

*Review*

- J. Ann Tickner (2002) Feminist Perspectives on 9/11. *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(4)November, 333–350 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1528-3577.t01-1-00098>>, ISSN 15283577
- Jack Snyder (2003) Imperial Temptations. *National Interest*.(71)Spring, 29–40
- John J. Mearsheimer (2014) America Unhinged. *National Interest*.(129)January/February, 9–30 <<http://nationalinterest.org/article/america-unhinged-9639?page=show>> – visited on 2014-01-11

**4/26/16: 14.1. Future Causes (56 Pages)**

- Richard K. Betts (2005) Transnational Tensions: Migration, Resources, and Environment. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 537–540
- John K. Cooley (1984) The War over Water. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 557–566
- Myron Weiner (1990) Security, Stability, and Migration. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 541–556
- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon (1991) Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 567–582

- Benjamin R. Barber (1992) Jihad Vs. Mcworld. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 618–627

*Review*

- Robert D. Kaplan (1994) The Coming Anarchy. *Atlantic Monthly*. 273(2)February, 44–76  
<<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AN=9404280908>>, ISSN 1072–7825

**4/28/16: 14.2. Future of War (78 Pages)**

- Richard K. Betts (2005) Introduction: Does War Have a Future? In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 1–4
- Richard K. Betts (2005) Conclusion: The Future between Contending Forces. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 583–584
- Francis Fukuyama (1989) The End of History? In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 5–16
- John Mueller (1989) The Obsolescence of Major War. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 146–158
- John J. Mearsheimer (1990) Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 17–32
- Samuel P. Huntington (1993) The Clash of Civilizations? In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 33–50
- Gregory Koblenz (2003-2004) Pathogens as Weapons: The International Security Implications of Biological Warfare. In Art and Waltz *The Use of Force*, 358–370

*Further*

- Eliot A. Cohen (1996) A Revolution in Warfare. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 585–596
- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye (2001) Power, Interdependence, and the Information Age. In Betts *Conflict after the Cold War*, 608–617