

Strategic Studies Seminar

Description

This seminar offers graduate students an introduction to the subfield of international relations labeled strategic studies (or security studies). In addition to exploring key theoretical issues, it considers their usefulness for understanding relevant events in international politics since World War II. Although the course closely considers the distinctive features of great power strategy in the nuclear age, it also looks at the strategic choices of lesser powers, the continuing role of conventional forces, and the strategic significance of recent developments in military technology. Guiding thematic questions for the course includes the following: What are the fundamental logical and practical distinctions among the alternative strategies available to states for ensuring their national security? To what extent does the choice among these alternatives reflect a clearly defined national interest, domestic political and economic pressures, international constraints, or the state of military technology? The course addresses these and other questions in three sections. First, it briefly explores some of the subfield's basic concepts. Second, it looks at strategic policy during the Cold War and considers the lessons that scholars have drawn from this recent period in the history of international politics. Third, drawing on the theoretical and empirical background developed early in the course, students examine selected security problems that are prominent at the dawn of the 21st century (including new concerns about interstate conflicts, the implications of pursuing missile defenses, the meaning of the revolution in military affairs, and the special challenges that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism pose).

Books available for purchase:

Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century: China, Britain, France and the Enduring Legacy of the Nuclear Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

Kaplan, Fred. *Wizards of Armageddon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991)

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

Course Requirements

Readings:

Required readings are found directly beneath each section heading. All required books should be available at the University of Pennsylvania bookstore. Readings from sources other than the required books are preceded by an asterisk(*). Because of the high cost of copyright clearance, enrollment and student demand will determine whether these readings will be put into a course pack.

Exams:

There will be a *midterm* exam covering weeks 1-7 (distributed **February 17, due February 24**) and a *final* exam (distributed last class). Each will be a take-home exam consisting of a single essay (5-7pages).

Presentation/Critique:

No later than **February 10**, each student will choose one of the topics introduced after the midterm about which he/she will prepare a written critique, deliver an oral presentation, and lead class discussion.

Grades:

Midterm Essay (25%)
Written Critique (15%)
Presentation/discussion (15%)
Seminar Participation, including responsiveness to questions from peer presentations (20%)
Final Essay(25%)

Guidelines for presentation/critique

1. *written critique of reading(s)*
3-5pp., to be submitted day of presentation; penalty for lateness
2. *oral presentation on topic*
general comments (5-7 minutes)
3. *lead discussion*
 - [a] no later than Saturday night prior to class, circulate questions for discussion to follow presentation (use class listserve);
 - [b] pose questions to classmates then manage the subsequent discussion.

Topics, Weeks 9-14

1. Nuclear proliferation
2. Terrorism
3. War against terrorism
4. Iraq
5. Revolution in Military Affairs
6. Missile Defense
7. European Security
8. Asian Security
9. US National Military Strategy

Seminar Topics and Reading Schedule

Week One (January 13): **Basic Concepts in Strategic Studies**

Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 1-34, 69-189.

Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, pp. 26-32.

Week Two (January 20): **Deterrence Embraced (1945-1968)**

NOTE: *reading only, no class held; MLK Day observed*

*Freedman, Lawrence. *Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, pp. 3-44.

*Rosenberg, David Alan, "The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy 1945-1960," *International Security* Vol. 7, No.4 (Spring 1983), pp. 3-71. [Also in Miller, Steven, ed., *Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)]

Kaplan, Fred. *Wizards of Armageddon*, pp. 185-355.

Week Three (January 27): **Crisis Management in the Era of Deterrence**

* Trachtenberg, Marc. "The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Security*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Summer 1985), pp. 136-163. [Also in Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), ch. 6].

Schelling. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 221-259.

Week Four (February 3): **Deterrence Under Fire (1969-1989)**

Schelling. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 190-220.

Kaplan, Fred. *Wizards of Armageddon*, pp. 356-391.

*Gray, Colin. "Nuclear Strategy: A Case for a Theory of Victory," *International Security*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 1979), pp. 54-87. [Also in Miller, Steven, ed., *Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)].

*Smoke, Richard. *National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma*, 3rd edition, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1992), chapter 13.

Week Five (February 10): **Extended Deterrence and Defense: The Cold War in Europe**

Schelling. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 35-69.

*Mearsheimer, John. "Why the Soviets Can't Win Quickly in Europe," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 3rd edition, pp. 442-463; original in *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 1982), pp. 3-39.

Week Six (February 17): ***Deterrence of the Strong by the Weak: China Britain and France during the Cold War***

Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, pp. 1-57, and either pp. 62-138 (China) or pp. 139-216 (Britain and France)

Distribute Midterm Question

Week Seven (February 24): ***Arms Racing, Arms Control and Controlled Arms***

Schelling. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 260-286.

*Brodie, Bernard. "On the Objectives of Arms Control," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 3rd edition, pp. 618-636; original in *International Security*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 1976), pp. 17-36.

*Blair, Bruce G. *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1993), pp. 1-37.

Midterm Essay Due

Week Eight (March 3): ***Legacy of Theory and Practice from the Cold War***

*Mueller, John. "The Obsolescence of War in the Modern Industrialized World," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 4th edition, pp. 411-426; originally "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 55-79.

*Jervis, Robert. "The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 4th edition, pp. 437-446; originally "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment," *International Security* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 80-90.

Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, pp. 217-256.

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Week Nine (March 17): Nuclear Proliferation

- *Waltz, Kenneth N. "Peace, Stability, and Nuclear Weapons," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 5th edition, pp.357-371.
- *Sagan, Scott D. "Why Nuclear Spread Is Dangerous," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 5th edition, pp. 372-384.
- *Sagan, Scott and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003), 2nd edition, pp. 88-124.
- Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, pp.257-298.

Week Ten (March 24) Terrorism

- * Pillar, Paul R., "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism," in Howard, Russell D. and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Guilford, Conn: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2003), pp. 24-46.
- *Betts, Richard. "The New Threat of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (January /February 1998), pp. 26-41.
- *Flynn, Stephen E. "America the Vulnerable," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81, No. 1 (January-February 2002), pp. 60-74.
- *Betts, Richard K. "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," in Howard, Russell D. and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Guilford, Conn: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2003), pp. 338-353.
- *Robbins, James S. "Bin Laden's War," in Howard, Russell D. and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Guilford, Conn: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2003), pp. 354-366.

Week Eleven (March 31): War Against Terrorism and the Iraq Question

- * O'Hanlon , Michael E. "A Flawed Masterpiece," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81, No.3 (May-June 2002), pp. 47-63.
- *Pollack, Kenneth M. "Next Stop Baghdad?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81 No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 32- 47.
- *Isherwood, Michael W. "U.S. Strategic Options for Iraq: Easier Said than Done," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 145-159.
- *Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy*, (Jan/Feb 2003), No. 134, pp. 50-59.

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*Betts, Richard K. "Suicide from Fear of Death?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1
(January/February 2003), pp. 34-43.

Week Twelve (April 7): **Revolution in Military Affairs**

- *Cohen, Eliot A. "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (March/April 1996), pp. 37-54.
- *Press, Darryl G. "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 5-44 *or* *Byman, Daniel A. and Matthew C. Waxman. "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Spring 2000), pp. 5-38.
- *Lindsay, James M. and Michael E. O'Hanlon, "Missile Defense after the ABM Treaty," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 163-176.
- *Perry, William J. "Preparing for the Next Attack," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 6 (November/December 2001), pp. 31-45.

Week Thirteen (April 14): **Old Regions, New Issues: Europe and Asia**

- *Hunter, Robert E. "Maximizing NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No.3 (May June 1999), pp. 190-203.
- *Brown, Michael E. "Minimalist NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No.3 (May/June 1999), pp. 204-218.
- *Goldstein, Avery. "Great Expectations," *International Security* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 36-73. [Also in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *The Rise of China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000)].
- *Christensen, Thomas J. and Richard K. Betts. "China: Getting the Questions Right," *The National Interest* (Winter 2000-01), pp. 17-29.
- *Cha, Victor D., "Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula," *International Security* Vol. 27, No. 1 (Summer 2002), pp. 40-78.

Week Fourteen (April 21): **US Grand Strategy and Security in the 21st Century**

- *Waltz, Kenneth N. "America As a Model for the World," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *The Use of Force*, 4th edition, pp. 461-464, originally in *PS: Political Science and Politics*, December 1991, pp. 667-670.
- *Cohen, Eliot A. "Defending America in the Twenty-first Century," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 6 (November-December 2000), pp. 40-56.
- *Rice, Condoleezza. "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, Vo. 79, No. 1 (January/February 2000), pp. 45-62.

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- * Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth. "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81, No. 4 (July-August 2002), p.20-33.
- * Ikenberry, G. John. "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5 (Sept-Oct 2002), pp. 44-60.