

International Security

Description:

This lecture course introduces students to the subfield of international security or strategic studies. In order to grasp the usefulness of the theoretical ideas presented in readings and lectures, abstract concepts are linked with a study of the national security policies states have adopted in the decades since World War II. Among the questions the course explores are the following: What are the requirements for ensuring a nation's security? What are the fundamental distinctions among the alternative strategies available to states and to their adversaries? What have been the various strategies the U.S. and others have adopted? To what extent have these strategic choices reflected a clearly defined national interest, domestic political and economic pressures, international constraints, and the state of military technology? What lessons, if any, does the history of international security relations during the Cold War suggest about security in the 21st century? Among the many topics we examine are current debates about nuclear proliferation, terrorism, the Iraq war, Europe's changing international role, the rise of China, Asian "flashpoints" (Korea, the Taiwan Strait), and US security policy for the 21st century-- considering some of the main strategic alternatives available to the US as well as their implications for the types of forces deployed (the impact of the "revolution in military affairs," the future of missile defense, and the economic burden to be shouldered).

Caveat: This course examines the intersection of political, military, and strategic affairs. Many important topics in international relations are set aside. Students seeking a broader focus should plan on taking Political Science 150, International Relations in Theory and Practice. Students looking for a course covering the full range of U.S. foreign policy issues are encouraged to take a class on American foreign policy. Those interested in exploring specific regional rivalries in depth are encouraged to consider classes more narrowly focused on a single region (e.g., Middle East, Balkans, Northern Ireland, East Asia, South Asia). This course does include discussion of both history and contemporary conflicts, but mainly to illuminate the usefulness of enduring strategic principles and to provide lessons that may be instructive for grasping the security challenges ahead.

Books available for purchase:

- Goldstein, Avery. *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).
- Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).
- Smoke, Richard. *National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1993).

Course requirements

Readings

All readings are found in the 3 paperback books available for purchase at the University of Pennsylvania bookstore or on-line (through the library's website or the Blackboard website for this class). If there is sufficient demand, hard copies of the on-line readings will be prepared as a bulk pack for purchase.

All readings should also be available on reserve at Penn's library. Many of these readings are from journals that can also be accessed via Penn's library website.

Website and Listserv

The Blackboard website for the class is accessed through <http://courseweb.upenn.edu/> I will post topics to be covered in each lecture, course announcements, supplemental materials, and links to useful resources available online. I will also send out announcements via the course listserv. Please be sure that you are receiving these email messages. If you are not, tell us and we will add you to the list the university automatically generates.

Exams: assess mastery of key concepts presented in lectures, recitations, *and* readings.

1. Midterm take-home essay (4-5 pages): Question distributed February 7, essay due February 14.
Note: This is not a research paper and in writing it you need only draw on the readings and lectures for this course.
2. In-class Midterm exam: March 2
3. Final exam: Friday, May 5, 9am-11am

Recitations

Students are expected to participate in a weekly recitation where there will be ample opportunity to discuss the lectures and readings, raise questions for clarification, and, especially during the last half of the course, explore contemporary debates about international security.

Grades:

Take-home essay (25%), In-class midterm exam (25%), Final exam (40%), Recitation (10%).

Outline of Course Topics

I. Basic Concepts: (January 12, 17)

II. Cold War Era: Strategy, Experience, Legacy

A. US Security Policy

- 1. Formative Years: Truman and Containment (Jan. 19)**
- 2. Eisenhower's New Look and Massive Retaliation (Jan. 24)**
- 3. Kennedy/Johnson's Flexible Response: Cuba and Vietnam (Jan. 26, 31)**
- 4. Nixon/Ford's Détente and Nuclear Anxieties (February 2)**
- 5. Reagan Revolution: Deterrence Denounced and "Star Wars" (February 7)**

B. Extended Deterrence and Defense: The European Theater (February 9)

C. Deterrence of the Strong by the Weak-- China, Britain, and France (February 14)

D. Arms Racing and Arms Control (February 16)

E. Command and Control Issues (Feb. 21)

III. New and Enduring Security Challenges in the Post-Cold War World

A. Existing Nuclear Weapons States (Feb 23)

B. Nuclear Proliferation (Feb. 28)

C. Terrorism (Mar. 14)

D. War against Terrorism after 9-11

- 1. The Home Front (Mar. 16)**
- 2. Afghanistan ("Operation Enduring Freedom") (Mar. 21)**
- 3. Iraq ("Operation Iraqi Freedom") (Mar. 23, 28)**

E. Europe's Changing Role (Mar. 30)

F. Asia: Echoes of the Cold War

- 1. Korean Challenge (April 4)**
- 2. Rise of China (April 6)**
- 3. Taiwan Strait (April 11)**

G. Rethinking US Strategy and Forces for the New Era

- 1. The "Revolution in Military Affairs" (April 13)**
- 2. Missile Defenses**
- 3. Economics of Defense Spending (April 18)**
- 4. US Grand Strategy (April 20)**

Lecture Topics and Reading Schedule

I. *Basic Concepts*: (January 12, 17)

Smoke, Richard. *National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma* (hereafter *National Security*), pp. 1-21.

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

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

II. *Cold War Era: Strategy, Experience, Legacy*

A. *US Security Policy*

1. *Formative Years: Truman and Containment* (January 19)

2. *Eisenhower's New Look and Massive Retaliation* (January 24)

3. *Kennedy/Johnson's Flexible Response: Cuba and Vietnam* (January 26, 31)

Smoke, *National Security*, pp. 22-124.

Welch, David A., James G. Blight, and Bruce J. Allyn. "The Cuban Missile Crisis," (in *Bulk Pack*), from Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 5th ed., pp. 189-212.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment*, from Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 5th ed., pp. 213-238.

4. *Nixon/Ford's Détente and Nuclear Anxieties* (February 2)

5. *Reagan Revolution: Deterrence Denounced and "Star Wars"* (February 7)

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

Smoke, *National Security*, pp. 175-216, 236-263.

TAKE-HOME MIDTERM ESSAY

Distributed February 7

B. *Extended Deterrence and Defense: The European Theater* (February 9)

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

TAKE-HOME MIDTERM ESSAY

Due February 14

C. *Deterrence of the Strong by the Weak-- China, Britain, and France* (February 14)

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

D. *Arms Racing and Arms Control* (February 16)

Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, pp. 221-286
Smoke, *National Security*, pp. 125-148, 264-312 (pp. 149-174, 217-235 are
optional).

E. *Command and Control* (February 21)

III. *New and Enduring Security Challenges in the Post-Cold War World*

A. *Existing Nuclear Weapons States* (Feb. 23)

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

B. *Nuclear Proliferation* (Feb. 28)

Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, pp. 257-298.
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.

MIDTERM EXAM

In- class March 2

C. *Terrorism* (March 14)

Pillar, Paul R., "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism," (in *Bulk
Pack*), from Russell D. Howard 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.
Pape, Robert A. "Dying To Kill US," *New York Times*, September 22, 2003,
p.A17.

D. War against Terrorism after 9-11

1. The Home Front (Mar. 16)

Flynn, Stephen E. "America the Vulnerable," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81, No. 1 (January-February 2002), pp. 60-74.

2. Afghanistan ("Operation Enduring Freedom") (Mar. 21)

O'Hanlon, Michael E. "A Flawed Masterpiece," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81, No.3 (May-June 2002), pp. 47-63.

3. Iraq ("Operation Iraqi Freedom") (Mar. 23, 28)

Pollack, Kenneth M. "Next Stop Baghdad?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81 No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 32-47

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (Jan/Feb 2003), pp. 50-59.

Laird, Melvin R. "Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 6 (Nov/Dec2005), pp. 22-43.

Mueller, John. "The Iraq Syndrome," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 6, (Nov/Dec2005), pp. 44-54

Krepinevich, Jr., Andrew F. "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 5, (Sep/Oct2005), pp. 87-104.

Gause III, F. Gregory. "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 5, (Sep/Oct2005), pp. 62-76.

E. Europe's Changing Role (Mar. 30)

Kagan, Robert "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June-July 2002), pp. 3-28; <http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.html>.

F. Asia: Echoes of the Cold War

1. Korean Challenge (April 4)

Cha, Victor D. and David C. Kang. "The Korea Crisis (Think Again)," *Foreign Policy*, No. 136 (May-June 2003), pp. 20-28.

Goldstein, Avery. "The North Korean Nuclear Challenge and American Interests: Getting the Priorities Right," *Foreign Policy Research*

Institute, E-Notes (October 31, 2003);
<http://fpri.org/enotes/20031031.asia.goldstein.koreapriorities.html>

2. *Rise of China* (April 6)

- Zheng Bijian. "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 5, (Sep/Oct2005), pp. 18-24.
- Wang Jisi. "China's Search for Stability With America." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 5, (Sep/Oct2005), pp. 39-48.
- Medeiros, Evan S. "Strategic Hedging and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter 2005-06), pp. 145-67.

3. *Taiwan Strait* (April 11)

- Christensen, Thomas J. "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Autumn 2002), pp. 7-21.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. "Preventing a War Over Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 2, (Mar/Apr2005), pp. 53-63.

G. *Rethinking US Strategy and Forces for the New Era*

1. *The "Revolution in Military Affairs"* (April 13)

- Boot, Max. "The New American Way of War," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 82, No. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 41-73.

2. *Missile Defenses*

- 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.

3. *Economics of Defense Spending* (April 18)

begin readings in next section

4. *US Grand Strategy* (April 20)

- Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth. "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81, No. 4 (July-August 2002), pp. 20-33.
- Ikenberry, G. John. "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5 (Sept-Oct 2002), pp. 44-60.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2005), pp. 2-15.
- Haass, Richard N. "Regime Change and Its Limits," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 4, (Jul/Aug 2005), pp. 66-78.
- Walt, Stephen M. "Taming American Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84 No. 5, (Sep/Oct2005), pp. 105-120.

FINAL EXAM: FRIDAY, MAY 5, 9:00-11:00 AM