

**PSCI 3603 B**  
**Strategic Thought and International Security**  
Thursdays 6:05 pm - 8:55 pm  
Southam Hall 518

**Instructor's Name:** Benjamin Zyla  
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**Office Hours:** Wednesdays 5 p.m. to 6 p.m.  
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**Course Objective:**

This course is designed to give the students a first understanding of the evolution and boundaries of the field of international security studies. We will look at some military strategic thinkers as well as current international security issues and debates. Students will examine the concept of security in its various forms, with particular attention to changes that have occurred since the end of the Cold War. This pursuit acts as a basis for examining a range of developments and ideas as well as levels of analysis. In addition, on completion of the course, students should have developed a strong basis of understanding of the national security approaches of Canada, the United States and the European Union.

**Course Structure:**

Students are expected to attend classes prepared and have read the readings assigned. Each session will start off with a student presentation of 15 min. max in which the students will highlight the main points of the readings and provide a critical analysis of the concepts discussed in it. This will be followed by a brief lecture of the instructor that will provide a general overview of the theme. Then, the group will commence into discussion in which thoughtful questions and contributions of the students are welcomed.

**Course Evaluation:**

**1. Research Paper proposal (25%):** The research proposal should not be more than 5 pages long in total and should provide the basis of the student's research paper, which should draw on the concepts and themes of the course. The proposal should (1) state the importance and relevance of the topic chosen, (2) have a clear research question, (3) have a clear thesis statement, and (4) give an indication of preliminary findings. At least three monographs, and three journal articles should be included in the bibliography. It is due in class on February 15<sup>th</sup>.

**2. Class Participation (10%):** Students are expected to attend all classes, to have prepared the readings prior to class, and to participate actively in the class discussion. Students earn class participation marks through thoughtful contributions to the discussions (quality not quantity!) and attendance.

**3. Group presentation (20%):** Each week a group of students (max 5 students) will have a short presentation that highlights the main points & key issues of the readings as well a critique of the readings. A brief handout of max 1 page will be distributed to the class electronically 2 days before the class. The presentation should be no longer than 15 minutes max. Further, the students will prepare discussion questions and lead the seminar discussions.

**4. Research Paper (45%):** The research paper should be approximately 15-20 max. in length (1.5 spaced Times New Roman) and is due no later than **April 7.** The topic must relate to the course and be approved by the instructor. It needs to show footnotes as well as a bibliography of at least 8 sources (excluding internet sources). Bonus points will be given for using and citing primary sources. Please send the paper to me electronically by email.

### **Late Paper Policy:**

Papers should be handed in by the due date. No late papers are accepted unless proven medical certificates are provided. Papers must be received by April 7 midnight. Late assignments will be deducted **one letter-grade category per day** [i.e. a B+ paper received two days late will be downgraded to B-]

### **Readings:**

The readings will be located in MacOdrum Library.

### **Course schedule:**

#### **1. Introduction to the course (January 4)**

No readings: Introduction into the course.

#### **2. Overview of the Field of International Security Studies: Strategic Thought and Security as a concept (January 11)**

- David A. Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War," *World Politics* 48, no. 1 (October 1995): 117-141.
- Richard K. Betts, "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics* 50, no. 1 (October 1997): 7-33.
- Helga Haftendorn, "The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (March 1991): 3-17.
- John Baylis, James Witz, Eliot Cohen and Colin S. Gray. *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction into Strategic Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Introduction, pp. 1-14.

#### **Additional Readings:**

- Arnold Wolfers, "'National Security' as an Ambiguous Symbol," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 4, December 1952, pp. 481-502.
- Richard H. Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Summer 1983): pp. 129-153.
- David A. Baldwin, "The concept of security," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 32, 1997, pp. 5-26.

#### **3. The development of military and strategic thought (January 18)**

- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, translated by Samuel Griffith (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963): Forword, pp. 39-44, 63-84, 102-110
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), Books I & VIII: selected pages in course pack.
- John Baylis, James Witz, Eliot Cohen and Colin S. Gray. *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction into Strategic Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Chapter 1 – "Strategic Theory and the history of war", p. 17 -44.

#### **4. Morality and the use of force (January 25)**

- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1994), chapter 2: 29-55.

- John Baylis, James Witz, Eliot Cohen and Colin S. Gray. *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction into Strategic Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Chapter 2, "Law, Politics and the Use of Force", p. 45-65.

Additional readings:

- William O'Brien, *The Conduct of Just and Limited War* (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1981), chapters 2 & 3.
- Thomas Pangle, "The Moral Basis of National Security: Four Historical Perspectives," in Klaus Knorr, ed., *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems* (Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 1976).

**5. The new security environment after the Cold War (February 1)**

- Barry Buzan, "Change and Insecurity' Reconsidered", *Contemporary Security Policy*, Volume 20 Number 3, December 1999, pp. 1-17.
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment", *Foreign Affairs* 70, Winter 1990/91.
- Michael Mastanduno, "Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and U.S. Grand Strategy after the Cold War," *International Security* 21, Spring 1997.
- Chester A. Crocker, "The Lessons of Somalia", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995, pp. 2-8.
- Lawrence Freedman, "The Changing Forms of Military Conflict", *Survival*, Winter 1998-99, pp. 39-56
- Lawrence Freedman, "Order and Disorder in the New World", in Glenn Hastedt (ed) *One World, Many Voices: Global Perspectives on Political Issues*, Prentice Hall 1995, pp. 60-76.
- John Mearsheimer, "Why we will soon miss the Cold War", in Mark Charlton and Elizabeth Riddel-Dixon (eds), *International Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*, Nelson Canada 1993, pp. 14-32.
- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?", *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, pp. 22-49.
- Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security", *Foreign Affairs*, pp. 162-177.

**Additional Readings:**

- Lawrence Freedman, *Deterrence* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004): 116-130.
- Henry A. Kissinger, "Balance of Power Sustained", in Graham Allison and Gregory F. Treverton (eds.), *Rethinking America's Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order*, Norton and Co. 1992, pp. 238-248.
- Francis Fukuyama, "Liberal democracy as a global phenomenon", in Mark Charlton and Elizabeth Riddel-Dixon (eds), *International Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*, Nelson Canada 1993, pp. 80-90.
- John Mueller, "The obsolescence of major war", in Mark Charlton and Elizabeth Riddel-Dixon (eds), *International Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*, Nelson Canada 1993, pp. 4-13.

**6. US National Security and the Bush Doctrine (February 8)**

- National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002. Available online at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>
- *The 9/11 Commission Report*, chapters 1, 11, 12. Online at: [www.gpoaccess.gov/911/](http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/) or in pdf at [www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf](http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf)
- Condoleezza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2000.
- Colin L. Powell, "A Strategy of Partnerships," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004.
- Robert S. Litwak, "The New Calculus of Pre-emption," *Survival*, vol. 44, no. 4, Winter 2002-2003, pp. 53-80.
- G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 81, no. 5, September/October 2002.

- Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Fall 2003). The Concept of

### **7. National Security: Canada (February 15)**

- Barry Buzan, *People, States & Fear*, chapters 1-3.

- Government of Canada, *Securing an Open Society*, available online at: [www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/docs/Publications/NatSecurnat/natsecurnat\\_e.pdf](http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/docs/Publications/NatSecurnat/natsecurnat_e.pdf)

- Department of Foreign Affairs, International Policy Review and the Defence Policy Statement in particular.

- Major General Andrew Leslie, "Boots on the Ground: Thoughts in the future of the Canadian forces," *The Canadian Military Journal* 6 (Spring 2005)

#### Additional Readings:

- Joseph N. Numez, "Canada's Global Role: A Strategic Assessment of its Military Power," *Parameters* 34 (fall 2004).

- Sean Maloney, Are We Really Just Peacekeepers? Perception Versus the Reality of Canadian Military Involvement in the Iraq War, IRPP Working Paper Series, No. 2003-02 (Montreal, Que.: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2003).

### **8. February 22: Winter break**

### **9. + 10. Regional Security: NATO and the European Union as security actors (March 1 + March 8)**

- Louise Fawcett, Regionalism in Historical Perspective, in Louise Fawcett, Andrew Hurrell, eds., *Regionalism in World Politics*, Oxford University Press, 1995. Chapter 2.

- Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers, The Structure of International Security*, chapter 3, Security Complexes, A Theory of Regional Security.

- Michael O'Hanlon, "Transforming NATO: The Role of European Forces", *Survival*, Autumn 1997, pp. 5-15.

- Kori Schake, Amaya-Bloch-Lainé, Charles Grant, "Building a European Defence Capability" *Survival*, Spring 1999, pp. 20-40.

- David Yost, "The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union," *Survival*, Winter 2000-01, pp. 97- 129.

- Philip H. Gordon, "NATO After 11 September", *Survival*, Winter 2001, pp. 89-106.

- Francois Heisbourg, "Europe and the Transformation of the World Order", *Survival*, pp. 143-147.

- Wallace, William, 'Europe, the Necessary Partner', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 3, May/June 2001

#### Additional readings:

- Joseph Nye, *Peace in Parts*, chapter 1.

- Andrew Hurrell, Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective, in *Regionalism in World Politics*, chapter 3.

- John Lewis Gaddis, "History, Grand Strategy and NATO Enlargement", *Survival*, Spring 1998, pp. 145-151.

- Karl-Heinz Kamp, "NATO Entrapped: Debating the Next Enlargement Round," *Survival*, Autumn 1998, pp. 170-186.

- *International Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 3, July 2000, Special Issue on 'Changing Patterns of European Security and Defence

### **11. + 12. Intrastate conflict, international peacekeeping and intervention (2 weeks: March 15 and March 22)**

- Michael E. Brown, "The Causes of Internal Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, ed. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001): 3-25.

- Tedd Robert Gurr, "Ethnic Warfare on the Wane," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 3 (May/June 2000): 52-60.

- Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (July/August 1999): 36-44.

- Jennifer Welsh et al., “The Responsibility to Protect: Assessing the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty,” *International Journal* 57, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 489-512.
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention, Changing Beliefs about the use of Force*, Cornell University Press, 2003: assigned chapters.

Additional readings:

- John Hillen, *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey’s, 2000), chapter 1: 7-31.
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2001): selected pages.
- Adam Roberts, “NATO’s ‘Humanitarian War’ Over Kosovo”, *Survival*, Autumn 1999, pp. 102-123

**13. Human Security (March 29)**

- Roland Paris, “Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 2, Fall 2001, pp. 87-102.
- Martin Shaw, “The contemporary mode of warfare? Mary Kaldor’s theory of new wars,” *Review essay from Review of International Political Economy*, 7, 1, 2000, 171-80. Online at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/hafa3/kaldor.htm>
- Mary Kaldor, “Iraq: understanding the handover”, online at: [http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-iraq/wrong\\_war\\_2591.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-iraq/wrong_war_2591.jsp)
- Prime Minister Tony Blair, Speech to the Economic Club of Chicago, 5 March 2004. (on Iraq) Available online in a variety of locations, including the BBC: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/3536131.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3536131.stm) and at the Prime Minister’s Office: <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page5.asp>
- Prime Minister Tony Blair, Speech to the Economic Club of Chicago, 22 April 1999. (on Kosovo). Available online: <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page5.asp> and [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair\\_doctrine4-23.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair_doctrine4-23.html) (and elsewhere).
- Jutta Brunnée, Stephen J. Toope, “Canada and the use of force: reclaiming human security,” *International Journal*, Spring 2004.

**Research Paper due: April 7<sup>th</sup>. Papers should be sent electronically to be email.**

**Academic Accommodations**

**For Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved.

Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: [www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf](http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf)

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean.*

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.