

PSCI 5806A
Strategic Thought and Issues in International Security
Wednesdays 8:35 a.m. to 11:25 p.m.
Loeb A602

I General information

Professor: Elinor Sloan
Office: Loeb D692
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Wednesdays 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. or by appointment
Email: elinor.sloan@carleton.ca

Email is for short administrative questions only. For all other queries, please meet with the Prof. All email communication is to be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts not personal emails.

Electronic devices are not permitted in this class. All phones, laptops, tablets are to be put away. During class the most important thing is your thoughtful attention to, contribution to, and engagement in the ongoing discussion. It is not necessary to take notes. Students are welcome to use pen and paper to jot down ideas you do not want to forget. There will be a 15-minute break halfway through the class.

II Course description

This is a research seminar on the evolution of classical and contemporary strategic thought, and on current issues in international security. The class is designed to give students an understanding of:

- The evolution and boundaries of the field of international security studies;
- The ideas of key military strategists and political theorists in the field; and
- A selection of important international security issues and debates. Most of the course focuses on this third area.

III Course Format

This is an in-person course. Hybrid options will not be offered.

IV Learning outcomes

By the end of this course, apart from having a strong knowledge and understanding of the subject material, the goal is for students to be able to:

- 1) Identify and articulate the key arguments made in the readings, both orally and in written form;
- 2) Formulate one's own perspective on the arguments made;
- 3) Write in a manner that engages the material in a comprehensive, concise, and analytical fashion; and

- 4) Present material in a logical manner, comprehensively yet concisely, such that listeners can readily grasp key themes.

V Texts

All readings are available on Brightspace. Readings are in pdf format.

VI Evaluation at a glance

1. Participation 35% (5% for attendance; 30% for contributions)
2. Presentation 15%
3. Two analytical papers 25% each

VII Evaluation in detail

1. Participation

You are expected to attend class, read the required readings prior to class, and actively participate in class discussions. The participation grade is based on the quality and quantity of contributions, with a greater emphasis on quality. Quality contributions are those that directly reflect on the central ideas found in the readings under discussion that day (i.e. that demonstrate you have read the readings).

All readings are required readings unless otherwise indicated.

Listed below are some guidelines on the sorts of things that you can contribute to the class discussion:

- First, you can outline what it is that an author is arguing. This is the first thing that we want to get on the table, so to speak. What is it that these people are saying?
- Second, you can relate what the author is arguing to what some of the other authors are saying. Compare and contrast. Often there are different perspectives. The readings have been chosen with a view to providing contending perspectives as much as possible.
- Third, you can give your own perspective on the topic of the day. *Here it is important that you relate your perspective to, or place it in the context of, the readings you have read.*

2. Presentation

You are expected to present a 12-15-minute analysis of one of the required readings during sessions 4 to 12. Choices can be made in class on September 13th. Articles with a * are options. You do not have to submit any written material. The time limit will be strictly enforced.

In your analysis you should:

- a) Start with an overall statement of the author's core argument(s);
- b) Outline/briefly discuss how the author backs up their argument(s);

- c) As you go along, draw some linkages between the argument(s) in the article you are presenting, and the argument(s) made in other articles on the week's reading list; and
- d) Assess the validity of author's argument(s) (i.e., give your perspective).

3. Analytical papers

You are required to write two analytical papers of 10-12 pages each, excluding bibliography. Papers are to be submitted in 12-point Times New Roman font, one-inch margins, double-spaced, left justified. Students can choose Chicago or MLA. Papers must have page numbers.

Each paper will cover the entire set of required readings for a specific week. You can choose whichever two weeks you like but the weeks must be different from the week in which you are presenting a reading.

Papers are due by email to the professor no later than midnight of the day before the class takes place. **At least one paper must be submitted by midnight November 21st**. Late papers—those submitted after the class takes place—will be subject to a one third grade reduction per day late.

Your paper should:

- a) Identify up front the core argument—that is, the overall argument—of each reading;
- b) Analytically demonstrate aspects of agreement, disagreement and/or distinction among the points the authors have made in their articles. A more nuanced assessment will draw out comparative aspects as you go along;
- c) Draw linkages with other articles on the course reading list (from previous weeks). A more nuanced assessment will draw out comparative aspects as you go along; and
- d) Give your own perspective and assessment of the readings and on the topic of the week.

VIII Course schedule

1. **Course introduction** (Sept 6)

2. **Defining the field of international security studies** (Sept 13)

Baldwin, David A. "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War," *World Politics* 48, no. 1 (October 1995): 117-141.

Betts, Richard K. "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics* 50, no. 1 (October 1997): 7-33.

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997): pp. 1-5 & 21-26.

Haftendorn, Helga. "The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (March 1991): 3-17.

3. **Military strategy** (Sept 20)

Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*, ed. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976): Books I & VIII (75-123; 577-637).

Crowl, Philip. "Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Naval Historian," in Peter Paret, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986): chapter 16 (pp. 444-477).

Tzu, Sun. *The Art of War*, translated by Samuel Griffith (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963): v-vii; 39-44; 63-84; 102-110.

Warner, Edward. "Douhet, Mitchell, Seversky: Theories of Air Warfare," in Edward Meade Earl, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943): chapter 20 (pp. 485-503).

4. Morality and the use of force (Sept 27)

*Kennan, George F. "Morality and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 64, no. 2 (Winter 1985/86): 205-218.

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

O'Brien, William. *The Conduct of Just and Limited War* (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1981): chapters 2 & 3 (13-60 – selected pages in pdf).

Pangle, Thomas. "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): introduction (307-363 – selected pages in pdf).

5. Power in international relations (October 4)

*Beckley, Michael. "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters," *International Security* 43, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 7-19; 40-44.

Mazarr, Michael J. "What Makes a Power Great: The Real Drivers of Rise and Fall," *Foreign Affairs* 101, no. 4 (July/August 2022): 52-63.

Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 5th edition, 1973): chapter 9 - Elements of National Power (pp. 117-155).

*Nye, Joseph. "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy* 80 (Autumn 1990): 153-171.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Rex Warner (London: Penguin Books, 1954): 400-408 (Book Five, paras 84-116, The Melian Dialogue).

6. Debating humanitarian intervention (October 11)

*Evans, Gareth, and Mohamed Sahnoun. "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 99-110.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001): pp. XI-XIII (synopsis) & 31-37.

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

*Welsh, Jennifer 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.

Western, Jon and Joshua S. Goldstein. "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 6 (November/December 2011): 48-59.

Recommended

Eyal, Jonathan. "The Responsibility to Protect: A Chance Missed," in Adrian Johnson and Saqeb Mueen, eds., Short War, Long Shadow: The Political and Military Legacies of the 2011 Libya Campaign (London: Royal United Services Institute, Whitehall Report 1-12, 2012): 53-62.

7. Climate change as a security issue (October 18)

Dumaine, Carol and Irving Mintzer. "Confronting Climate Change and Reframing Security," *SAIS Review* 35, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2015): 5-14.

Goldstein, Joshua S. "Climate Change as a Global Security Issue," *Forum on the Future of Global Security Studies* (2016): 95-97.

*Homer-Dixon, Thomas. "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," *International Security* 16, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 76-79; 83, 85-98; 104-116.

Kelley, Colin. "Climate Change in the Fertile Crescent and Implications of the Recent Syrian Drought," *PNAS* (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences), 112 no. 11, 17 March 2015: 1-5.

*Theisen, Ole Magnus et al. "Climate Wars?: Assessing the Claim That Drought Breeds Conflict," *International Security* 36, no. 3 (Winter 2011/12): 79-91; 97-106.

October 25th, no class, Reading Week

8. Cyberwar (November 1)

*Gartzke, Eric. "The Myth of Cyberwar," *International Security* 38, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 41-60; 63-73.

Farwell, James P. and Rafal Rohozinski. "Stuxnet and the Future of Cyber War," *Survival* 53, no. 1 (February-March 2011): 23-36.

*Rid, Thomas. "Cyber War Will Not Take Place," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 2012): 5-32.

*Willett, Marcus. "The Cyber Dimension of the Russia–Ukraine War," *Survival* 64, no. 5 (October-November 2022): 7-26.

Recommended

Schmitt, Michael N., Editor. *Tallinn Manual on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 42-64; 75-76; 106-107.

9. Nuclear policy (November 8)

*Gerson, Michael S. "No First Use: The Next Step for U.S. Nuclear Policy," *International Security* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 7-32; 39-47.

*Roberts, Brad. "Debating Nuclear No-First Use, Again," *Survival* 61, no. 3 (June-July 2019): 39-47; 50-54.

Schneider, Mark B. "Russian Nuclear 'De-escalation' of Future War," *Comparative Strategy* 37, no. 5 (2018): 361-372.

*Stålhane Hiim, Henrik, M. Taylor Fravel & Magnus Langset Trøan. "The Dynamics of an Entangled Security Dilemma: China's Changing Nuclear Posture," *International Security* 47, no. 4 (Spring 2023): 147-151; 156-187.

November 15th, no class, professor away

10. Debating NATO expansion (November 22)

*Doris, Andrew, and Thomas Graham. "What Putin Fights For," *Survival* 64, no. 4 (August-September 2022): 75-88.

*Mearsheimer, John. "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (September/October 2014): 77-89.

Person, Robert, and Michael McFaul. "What Putin Fears Most," *Journal of Democracy* 33, no. 2 (April 2022): 18-27.

*Shifrinson, Joshua R. Itzkowitz. "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security* 40, no 4 (Spring 2016): 7-44.

Recommended

MccGwire, Michael. NATO Expansion: 'A Policy Error of Historic Importance'," *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 1 (1998): 23-42.

11. Security dynamics in the Arctic (November 29)

*Blunden, Margaret. "Geopolitics and the Northern Sea Route," *International Affairs* 88, no. 1 (2012): 115-129.

Depledge, Duncan. "NATO and the Arctic: The Need for a New Approach," *RUSI Journal* 165, no. 5-6 (January 2021): 80-90.

*Lajeunesse, Adam and Timothy Choi. "Here There be Dragons? Chinese Submarine Options in the Arctic," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 45, no. 6-7 (2022): 1044-1070.

*Pincus, Rebecca. "Three-Way Power Dynamics in the Arctic," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Spring 2020): 40-58.

12. U.S. power and grand strategy (December 6)

*Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth. "The Myth of Multipolarity: American Power's Staying Power," *Foreign Affairs* 102, no. 3 (May/June 2023): 76-91.

Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel H. Nexon. "How Hegemony Ends," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (July/August 2020): 143-156.

*Mearsheimer, John and Stephen Walt, "The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 4 (July/August 2016): 70-83.

*Posen, Barry R. and Andrew L. Ross. "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97): 5-23 & 32-43.

Recommended

Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 4 (July/August 2002): 20-33.

Appendix

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- **Carleton Resources:**

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

- **Off Campus Resources:**

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation, or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring

accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more information, please [click here](#).

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

Plagiarism

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- Any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- Using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;

- Using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- Submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments, and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.