

PSCI 5806W
Strategic Thought and Issues in International Security
Tuesdays 8:35 a.m. to 11:25 p.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Elinor Sloan
Office: Loeb B640
Office Hours: Tuesdays & Thursdays 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. or by appointment
Email elinor.sloan@carleton.ca
Email is for admin questions only. For substantive issues please see me during office hours.
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext. 2782

A research seminar on the evolution of classical and contemporary strategic thought, and on current issues in international security.

Course scope

This is a seminar class 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.

Learning outcomes

For students to be able to:

- 1) Verbally articulate the key arguments made in the readings, as well as one's own perspective on the arguments made;
- 2) Present material in a logical manner, comprehensively yet concisely, such that listeners can readily grasp key themes; and
- 3) Write in a manner that engages the material in a comprehensive, concise and analytical fashion.

Admin points:

Laptops and tablets are not permitted in this class. 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.

Phones are to be put away during this class. There will be a break midway through class during which students can check messages. For urgent messages, students are welcome to briefly leave the class.

Grading summary

1. Participation 35% (5% for attendance; 30% for contributions)
2. Presentation 15% (10% for content; 5% for how the material is presented)
3. Two analytical papers 25% each. *Due at the beginning of class on the day of the topic.*

Grading details

1. Participation

You are expected to attend class, read the required readings prior to class meetings and actively participate in class discussions. Participation 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. All readings are on reserve in the main library or available online. (Please note that some readings have a * beside the page numbers. In these cases, the entire article does not have to be read, just the pages indicated.)

2. Presentation

You are expected to present a short analysis (approximately 15 minutes) of one of the required readings during sessions 4 to 12. You do not have to submit any written material and please do not use power point. Your contribution is to be presented; *please do not read from a sheet of paper*. It is best to practice your presentation in advance to ensure you can stay within the 15-minute limit.

Choices can be made in class on January 14th. During the analysis you should:

- (1) Identify and briefly discuss the article's key argument(s). Do not list (i.e., 'the author says this, and then s/he says that...'). Start with an overall statement of the author's core argument(s) and then organize your presentation around key themes. The goal is to present the material in such a manner that the listener comes away with a 'snapshot' of what the article is all about;
- (2) Critically (positive and negative) assess the validity of the arguments; and
- (3) Draw some linkages with other articles on the week's reading list.

3. Analytical papers

You are required to write two analytical papers of 10-12 pages. All written material is to be submitted in 12-point Times New Roman font, one-inch margins, double-spaced, left justified, using Chicago style footnotes. 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. You do not need to tell the prof which weeks you choose. The papers are *due as hard copies at the beginning of class on the day the readings will be discussed*. Papers will be graded and handed back the following week.

Your paper should:

- (1) In comprehensive yet concise manner, identify the core arguments contained within each reading. Do not summarize the article (i.e., 'the author says this, and then s/he says that...');
- (2) Analytically demonstrate points of agreement, disagreement and/or distinction among the articles; and
- (3) Give your own perspective and assessment on the readings and on the topic of the week.
- (4) Draw some linkages with other articles on the course reading list (previous weeks).

Late policy: Late papers will be subject to a 1/3 grade reduction per day.

Course schedule:

1. Course introduction (Jan 7)

2. Defining the field of international security studies (Jan 14)

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.

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 (Jan 21)

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 (444-477).

Tzu, Sun. *The Art of War*, translated by Samuel Griffith (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963): v-vii; 39-44; 63-84; 102-106.

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 (485-503).

4. Morality and the use of force (Jan 28)

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 (13-59).

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).

5. Peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention (Feb 4)

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

Rudolf, Peter. "UN Peace Operations and the Use of Military Force," *Survival* 59, no. 3 (June-July 2017): 161-174.

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

Amitav Acharya, "Human Security: East Versus West," *International Journal* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 442-460.

Cockayne, James and David M. Malone. "Peace Operations Then and Now," *Global Governance* 11 (2005): 331-346.

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.
https://www.rusi.org/downloads/assets/WHR_1-12.pdf

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The Responsibility to Protect: Synopsis (xi-xiii). responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf

6. Terrorism (Feb 11)

Lewis, Bernard. "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic Monthly* (September 1990): 47-60.

Pape, Robert A. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-357.

Patrick, Stewart. "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?" *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2006): 27-53.

Stevenson, Jonathan. "Right-Wing Extremism and the Terrorist Threat," *Survival* 61, no. 1 (February-March 2019): 233-239.

Recommended

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004): 47-54.

No class February 18th - reading week

7. Preventive and pre-emptive war (Feb 25)

Arend, Anthony Clark. "International Law and the Preemptive Use of Military Force," *Washington Quarterly* (Spring 2003): 89-103.

Dombrowski, Peter and Rodger A. Payne. "The Emerging Consensus for Preventive War," *Survival* 48, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 115-136.

Evans, Gareth. "When is it Right to Fight?" *Survival* 46, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 59-78.

Sofaer, Abraham D. "The Best Defense? Preventive Force and International Security," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 1 (January/February 2010): 109-118.

Recommended

High-level Panel on Threats Challenges and Change. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* (New York: United Nations, 2004): http://www.unrol.org/files/gaA.59.565_En.pdf pp. 53-58.

8. Proliferation and nuclear policy (Mar 3)

Allison, Graham. "Nuclear Disorder," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 1 (January/February 2010): 74-85.

Gavin, Francis J. "Same as it Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War," *International Security* 34, no. 3 (Winter 2009/10): 7-21; 31-37.

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.

Lieber, Keir A. and Daryl G. Press. "The Nukes We Need: Preserving the American Deterrent," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 6 ((November/December 2009): 39-51.

Recommended

Lieber, Keir A. and Daryl G. Press. "The Rise of U.S. Nuclear Primacy," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 42-54.

Monteiro, Nuno and Alexandre Debs. "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation," *International Security* 39, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 7-51.

9. Cyberwar (Mar 10)

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

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

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.

Sharma, Amit. "Cyber Wars: A Paradigm Shift from Means to Ends," *Strategic Analysis* 34, no. 1 (January 2010): 62-73.

Recommended

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

Lynn, William J. III. "Defending a New Domain: The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 5 (September/October 2010): 97-108.

10. Climate and the Environment (Mar 17)

Fetzek, Shiloh and Jeffrey Mazo. "Climate, Scarcity and Conflict," *Survival* 56, no. 5 (October-November 2014): *143-159.

Goldstein, Joshua S. "Climate Change as a Global Security Issue," *Forum on the Future of Global Security Studies* (2016) <https://academic.oup.com/jogss/article/1/1/95/1841791>

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.

Recommended

Podesta, John and Peter Ogden. "The Security Implications of Climate Change," *Washington Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2007-08): 115-138.

No class March 24th, professor away

11. Contenders to the global order (Mar 31)

Goldstein, Avery. "First Things First: The Pressing Danger of Crisis Instability in U.S.-China Relations," *International Security* 37, no. 4 (Spring 2013): 49-73; 88-89.

Ikenberry, G. John. "The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May/June 2014): 80-90.

Mead, Walter Russell. "The Return of Geopolitics: The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May/June 2014): 69-79.

Shambaugh, David and Ren Xiao. "China," in Henry R. Nau and Deepa M. Ollapally, *Worldviews of Aspiring Powers* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 2: 36-67.

12. U.S. power and grand strategy (Apr 7)

Dunn, David Hastings and Mark J.L. McClelland. "Shale Gas and the Revival of American Power: Debunking the Decline?" *International Affairs* 89, no. 6 (2013): 1411-1428.

Haas, Mark L. "A Geriatric Peace? The Future of U.S. Power in a World of Aging Populations," *International Security* 32, no. 1 (Summer 2007): 112-115 & 126-147.

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.

Nye, Joseph. *The Paradox of American Power* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002): 39.

Zakaria, Fareed. "The Future of American Power: How America Can Survive the Rise of the Rest," *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 3 (May/June 2008): 18-43 (skim).

Academic Accommodations

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 obligation

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, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

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, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic 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, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its 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

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform 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. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

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

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- 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;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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

Approval of final grades

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 cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

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/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

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