

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, we will consider their usefulness for understanding relevant events in international politics since World War II. Although the course emphasizes the distinctive features of great power strategy in the nuclear age, we will also look at the continuing role of conventional forces and the strategic choices of lesser powers. Guiding thematic questions for the course include 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? We will address these and other questions in four sections. First, we will briefly explore some of the subfield's basic concepts. Second, we will look at strategic policy during the Cold War. Third, we will consider the lessons that scholars have drawn from this recent historical experience. Fourth, building on the preceding theoretical and empirical background, we will analyze selected security problems that have become prominent at the turn of the century.

Books available for purchase:

- Freedman, Lawrence. *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).
- 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).
- Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- O'Hanlon, Michael. *How to Be a Cheap Hawk* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1998).
- Sagan, Scott D. and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995).
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

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Course Requirements

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 and a *final* exam. Each will be a take-home exam.

Presentation: In addition each student will undertake a mini-research project on and lead the seminar in discussion of a selected topic about a contemporary problem in international security. Presentations will begin during week 9. Details about this requirement (exact schedule and selection of topics) will be worked out after the first seminar session and will depend on enrollment and student interests.

Grades: Midterm Exam (30%)
Presentation (20%)
Participation (10%)
Final Exam (40%).

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Required Readings

Basic Concepts in Strategic Studies

Week One (January 17)

- * Art, Robert. "The Four Functions of Force." Robert Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *the Use of Force*, 4th ed., (Lanham, MD: Univ. Press of America, 1993), pp. 3-11.
- Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 1-34, 69-189.

Strategic Theory, Policy, and History During the Cold War

Weeks Two and Three (January 24, January 31)

Deterrence Embraced (1945-1968)

Freedman, Lawrence. *Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, pp. 1-172, 227-272.

Crisis Management

- * 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.
- *Gottfried, Kurt and Bruce G. Blair. *Crisis Stability and Nuclear War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 161-198.

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Weeks Four and Five (February 7, 14)

Deterrence Questioned (1969-1980)

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

Freedman. *Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, pp. 333-400.

*Nitze, Paul. "Deterring Our Deterrent," *Foreign Policy*, No. 25 (Winter 1976/1977), pp. 195-210.

*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].

Extended Deterrence and Defense: The Cold War in Europe

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

Freedman. *Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, pp. 285-329.

*Mearsheimer, John. "Why the Soviets Can't Win Quickly in Europe," *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 1982), pp. 3-39.

Deterrence Denounced, The Reagan Revolution (1981-1989)

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

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Lessons from the Cold War

Week Six (February 21)

Legacy of Theory and Practice during the Cold War (I)

Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution*, chaps. 1,3,7; the rest are recommended.

*Gaddis, John Lewis. "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," *International Security*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Spring 1986), pp. 99-142 [also in Sean Lynn Jones and Steven Miller (eds.), *The Cold War and After*, expanded edition (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994)].

*Mueller, John, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 55-79. [Also in Sean Lynn Jones and Steven Miller (eds.), *The Cold War and After*, expanded edition (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994)].

Week Seven (February 28)

Legacy of Theory and Practice during the Cold War (II)

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).

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Week Eight (March 7)

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Arms Control and Controlled Arms

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

*Blair, Bruce G. *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1993), chapters 1 and 2.

Strategic Theory and Policy in the Post-cold War World

Week Nine (March 21)

New Threats: Proliferation

Sagan, Scott and Kenneth Waltz. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*

*Hagerty, Devin T. "Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: The 1990 Indo-Pakistani Crisis," *International Security* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Winter 1995/1996), pp. 79-114.

New Threats: Terrorism

*Deutch, J. "Terrorism." *Foreign Policy* No. 108 (Fall 1997), pp. 10-22.

*Betts, R. "Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* 77:1 (January/February 1998), pp. 26-41.

*Sprinzak, Ehud. "Rational Fanatics," *Foreign Policy*, no. 120 (September/October 2000), pp. 66-73.

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Weeks Ten and Eleven (March 28, April 4)

Revolution in Military Affairs (Concept)

- *Cohen, Eliot A. "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (March/April 1996), pp. 37-54.
- *O'Hanlon, Michael. "Can High Technology Bring U.S. Troops Home?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 113 (Winter 1998-99), pp. 72-86.
- *Berkowitz, Bruce D. "War Logs On," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 79, No. 3 (May/June 2000), pp. 8-12.

Revolution in Military Affairs (Air Power)

- *Biddle, Stephen. "Victory Misunderstood." *International Security* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 139-179.
- *Press, Darryl. "Lessons from Ground Combat in the Gulf: The Impact of Training and Technology." *International Security* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 137-46.
- *Keaney, Thomas. "The Linkage of Air and Ground Power in the Future of Conflict." *International Security* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 147-50.
- *Mahnken, Thomas. and Barry Watts. "What the Gulf War Can (and Cannot) Tell Us about the Future of Warfare." *International Security* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 151-62.
- *Biddle, Stephen. "The Gulf War Debate *Redux*: Why Skill and Technology Are the Right Answer." *International Security* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 163-74.
- *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.

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Revolution in Military Affairs (BMD)

- *O'Hanlon, Michael. "Star Wars Strikes Back," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 6. (November/December 1999), pp. 68-82
- *Lewis, George, Lisbeth Gronlund, and David Wright, "National Missile Defense: An Indefensible System," *Foreign Policy*, no. 117 (Winter 1999-2000), pp. 120-137
- *Deutch, John, Harold Brown, and John P. White, "National Missile Defense: Is There Another Way?" *Foreign Policy*, no. 119 (Summer 2000), pp. 91-100.
- *Ivanov, Igor. "The Missile-Defense Mistake," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79. No. 5 (Sept.-Oct 2000), pp. 15-20.

Week Twelve (April 11)

Europe and International Security in the Post-Cold War World

- * Mearsheimer, John J. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56.
- * Kupchan, Charles A., and Clifford A. Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," Vol. 16, No. 1 (Summer 1991), pp. 114-161.
- * Betts, Richard K., "Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe," Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992), pp. 5-43.
- *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.
- *Mandelbaum, Michael. "A Perfect Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No.5 (September/October 1999), pp. 2-8.
- *"Letters," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 6 (November/December). pp. 167-168.

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Week Thirteen (April 18)

East Asia and International Security in the Post-Cold War World

- *Friedberg, Aaron. "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1993/94), pp. 5-33. [Also in Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds. *East Asian Security* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996)]
- *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. "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999), pp. 49-80. [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)].

Week Fourteen (April 25)

US Security Policy in the Post-Cold War World

- *Posen, Barry and Andrew Ross. "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 96/97), pp. 5-53 [Also in Michael Brown, et al., eds., *America's Strategic Choices* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997)].
- O'Hanlon, Michael. *How to Be A Cheap Hawk*
- *Rice, Condoleeza. "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January/February 2000), pp. 45-62.
- *Korb, Lawrence. "Money for Nothing," and Rice/Zoellick replies, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (March /April 2000), pp. 149-152.
- *Cohen, Eliot A. "Defending America in the Twenty-first Century," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 6 (November/December 2000), pp. 40-56.