

## International Security

### GRS IR 703

Fall 2014

v1.00

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Mondays, 5–8 p.m., IRB102

Office hours: Tuesdays, 10–11:30 a.m., Wednesdays 9–10:30 a.m..

## International Security

This course aims to explore the contemporary evolution of international security as an area of analytical interest and practical concern. The course interleaves historical examples of challenges to international security with the efforts of practitioners, philosophers, and theorists to understand and explain those challenges. The course is divided into roughly two halves. In the first half of the course we focus on *war* as a core issue of international security. World war, limited war, unconventional or small war, and nuclear war are all engaged with a combination of theoretical and historical material. In the second half of the course, we shift to focus on emerging threats to international security, often within states and from non-state actors. In particular, we explore challenges to international security posed by civil and ethnic conflict, terrorism, global environmental changes, transnational crime, the global environment, demographics, communicable disease, and cyber. Students will end the course with a firm grasp of the core security issues and challenges facing states, groups, and people in the contemporary world.

## Course Requirements

There are four course requirements: (1) class participation (15%); (2) weekly readings memos (15%); an issue analysis paper (25%); and (4) a final research paper (45%).<sup>1</sup>

Assigned readings for this course are heavy. Students are expected to have done the readings *before* attending seminar. Participation—which includes being seated on time—is a major component of any seminar experience. As a result, students should be prepared to advance the seminar’s core objectives by regular attendance, and by actively contributing to discussions.

In addition to participation, students will be required to submit weekly memos on course readings. The course also requires two papers. First, a **six-page issue analysis paper** in which participants analyze any one of three contemporary issues in international security and make a policy recommendation regarding that issue (topics will be provided by the instructor, papers will be due in seminar on **17 November**). Second, each participant will submit a more in-depth **fifteen-page research paper** on a topic of concern in international security *during the current semester*. Topics will be chosen by participants, but must be approved by the instructor (students will be required to submit a one-page topic proposal in seminar on **10 November**). Participants are therefore strongly encouraged

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<sup>1</sup> All paper assignments must be formatted double-spaced, with a twelve-point (or equivalent) font, and one-inch margins on all sides. Page limits are to be strictly observed. Title pages, bibliographies, and endnotes will not count against page limits. Double-sided printing encouraged but not required. Weekly readings memos may be single-spaced, but may *never* exceed one page in length.

to keep abreast of international affairs by subscribing to any of a number of reliable news services or publications (e.g. The New York Times, The Financial Times, The Economist, The Washington Post, The Christian Science Monitor, and so on), either online or in print. Final research papers are due **8 December**. Details on all written assignments will be posted on our course web site as needed.

## Readings

### Books<sup>2</sup>

- Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, *The World in Flames: A WWII Sourcebook* (New York: Oxford, 2010).
- John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986). 978-0394751726
- Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy, 3rd Ed* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003). 978-0333972397
- Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). 978-0198782513
- Efraim Karsh, *The Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002). 978-1841763712
- Carter Malkasian, *The Korean War, 1950-53* (Oxford: Osprey, 2001). 978-1841762821
- Richard A. Matthew, Jon Barnett, Bryan McDonald, and Karen L. O'Brien, Eds., *Global Environmental Change and Human Security* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010). 978-0262513081
- Richard Rhodes, *Masters of Death: The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage, 2003). 978-0375708220
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). 978-0300143379
- Hew Strachan, *The First World War* (New York: Penguin, 2004). 978-0143035183
- Kimberly L. Thachuk, *Transnational Threats: Smuggling and Trafficking in Arms, Drugs, and Human Life* (New York: Praeger, 2007). 978-0275994044
- Martin van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Force* (New York: Public Affairs, 1998). 978-1586481551
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Peter Paret and Michael Howard, eds. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976). 978-0691018546
- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations, 4th Ed.* (New York: Basic Books, 2006). 978-0465037070

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<sup>2</sup> These are required, and may be purchased at the University bookstore or online.

### Articles or Book Chapters<sup>3</sup>

- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security*, 31:2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.
- Louise Amoore, "Algorithmic Warfare," *Antipode*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2009): 49-69.
- Ivan Arreguín-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security*, 26:1 (Summer 2001), pp. 93-128.
- Ivan Arreguín-Toft, "Tunnel at the End of the Light: A Critique of U.S. Counter-Terrorist Grand Strategy," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 15:3 (2002), pp. 549-563.
- Mark Bowden, *Blackhawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999): excerpts.
- Michael Brown, "Introduction," in Michael Brown, Ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-29.
- Joshua W. Busby, Todd G. Smith, Kaiba L. White, and Shawn M. Strange, "Climate Change and Insecurity: Mapping Vulnerability in Africa," *International Security*, 37:4 (Spring 2013), pp. 132-172.
- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56:4 (October 2004), pp. 563-595.
- Kenneth Cukier and Viktor Mayer-Schoenberger, "The Rise of Big Data: How It's Changing the Way We Think About the World," *Foreign Affairs*, 92.x (May/June 2013), pp. 28-40.
- Richard Falk, "Hard Choices and Tragic Dilemmas: Intervention Revisited," *The Nation*, 257:21 (1993), pp. 755-762.
- Bernard Fall, *Street Without Joy* (New York: Stackpole Books, 2005), excerpts. 978-0811732369
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97:1 (February 2003), pp. 75-90.
- Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), chapter 18.
- Neal Gabler, "Politics as Religion in America," *The L.A. Times*, 2 October 2009.
- Laurie Garrett, "Biology's Brave New World: The Promise and Perils of the Synbio Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 6 (November/December 2013): 28-46.
- Erik Gartzke, "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth," *International Security*, 38:2 (Fall 2013), pp. 41-73.
- Jack Goldstone, "The New Population Bomb: The Four Megatrends that Will Change the World," *Foreign Affairs*, 89:1 (2010), pp. 31-43.
- Michael Howard, "Men Against Fire: Expectations of War in 1914," *International Security*, 9:1 (Summer 1984), pp. 41-57.
- Valerie Hudson, and Andrea Den Boer, "A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratio in Asia's Largest States," *International Security*, (Spring 2002), 26:4, pp. 5-38.
- Robert Jervis, "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment," *International Security*, 13:2 (1988), pp. 80-90.
- Audrey Kurth-Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, 27:3 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 30-58.
- Karl Lautenschlager, "Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare," *International Security*, 8:2 (Autumn, 1983), pp. 3-51.
- T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* (New York: Doubleday, 1926), chapter 33.

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<sup>3</sup> available on-line via course web site or BU e-journals

- Kier A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The End of MAD?: The Nuclear Dimension of US Primacy," *International Security*, 30:4 (2006), pp. 7-44.
- Andrew Mack, "Civil War: Academic Research and the Policy Community," *Journal of Peace Research*, 39:5 (September 2002), pp. 515-525.
- John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security*, 13:2 (1988), pp. 55-79.
- John Mueller, "The Obsolescence of Major War," *Security Dialogue*, 21:3 (1990), pp. 321-328.
- John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War,'" *International Security*, 25:1 (Summer 2000), pp. 42-70.
- George Orwell, Appendix: The Principles of Newspeak. in *1984* (1949).
- Steven Pinker, "Why Violence is Vanishing," *The Wall Street Journal*, 24 September 2011 (<http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424053111904106704576583203589408180>)
- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, 35:1 (Spring 1993), pp. 27-47.
- Stephen P. Rosen, "Vietnam and the American Theory of Limited War," *International Security*, 7:2 (Autumn 1982), pp. 83-113.
- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 288, No. 2 (September 2001): 84-108.
- Geoffrey D.T. Shaw, "Policemen versus Soldiers, the Debate Leading to MAAG Objections and Washington Rejections of the Core of the British Counter-Insurgency Advice," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 12:2 (Summer 2001), pp. 51-58.
- Timothy Samuel Shaw and Monica Duffy Toft, "Why God is Winning," *Foreign Policy*, (July-August 2006), pp. 38-43.
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," *Security Studies*, 12:2 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 82-119.
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Differential Demographic Growth in Multinational States: Israel's Two-Front War," *Journal of International Affairs*, 56:1 (Fall 2002), pp. 71-94.
- Barbara Tuchman, *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War, 1895-1914* (New York: Ballantine, 1996), chapter 2.
- Edward Warner, "Douhet, Mitchell, Seversky: Theories of Air Warfare" in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Edward Mead Earle, ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1943), pp. 485-503.
- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, "Indian and Pakistani Nuclear Weapons: For Better or Worse?" in *Essential Readings in World Politics, 2nd Ed.*, Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder, eds. (New York: W.W. Norton), pp. 322-338.
- Marc Sageman, "The Global Salafi Jihad," Statement of Marc Sageman to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (July 9, 2003).
- Edward Warner, "Douhet, Mitchell, Seversky: Theories of Air Warfare" in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Edward Mead Earle, ed. (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 1943), pp. 485-503.

## Sessions

### 8SEP Session 1: On War, Part I: A Nomenclature of Strategy and Organized Violence

#### Issues

- Key terms and concepts: strategy and war on land, sea, and air.
- What is the relationship between politics, the state, international security, and war?

#### Assigned Readings

1. Clausewitz, *On War*, Book I; Book II, chapters 1-4; Book III, chapters 1-5, 11, 14, 17; Book VI, chapters 1-8, 26; Book VII, chapters 1-8;
2. Gray, *Modern Strategy*, chapters 8-9;
3. Lautenschlager, "Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare;"
- bl** 4. Warner, "Douhet, Mitchell, Seversky: Theories of Air Warfare."
- bl** 5. Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War*, Chapter 18.

#### Recommended

Jan S. Breemer, "The Burden of Trafalgar: Decisive Battle and Naval Strategic Expectations on the Eve of World War I," in Geoffrey Till, ed., *Seapower: Theory and Practice*, pp. 33-62.

### 15SEP Session 2: On War, Part II: Major Conventional War: WWI in Europe and the Middle East

#### Issues

- Actors, interests, the fight, the outcome.
- The rise of the machine.
- Impact of WWI on international security.

#### Assigned Readings

1. Strachan, *The First World War*;
2. Howard, "Men Against Fire;"
- bl** 3. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, chapter 33.

#### Recommended

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

### 22SEP Session 3: On War, Part II, Continued: WWII in Europe and the Pacific

#### Issues

- What caused WWII?
- Actors, interests, the fight, the outcome.

#### Assigned Reading

Coetzee and Shevin-Coetzee, *A World in Flames*.

### 29SEP Session 4: Barbarism

#### Issues

- Race and war.
- The laws of war: murder most fair?

#### Assigned Readings

1. Rhodes, *Masters of Death*, chapters 1-12; epilogue.
2. Dower, *War Without Mercy*.

## 6OCT Session 5: On War III: Limited and Unconventional War

### *Issues*

- The problem (?) of “limited” war.
- Obstacles to learning from past/others’ experience.
- *The dynamics of asymmetric conflict.*

### *Assigned Readings*

- bl** 1. Fall, *Street Without Joy* (excerpts);
2. Malkasian, *The Korean War, 1950–53*;
3. Gray, *Modern Strategy*, chapter 10;
4. Arreguín-Toft, “How the Weak Win Wars;”
5. Shaw, “Policemen Versus Soldiers;”
6. Rosen, “Vietnam and the American Theory of Limited War.”

## 13OCT [Columbus Day, class meets the 14th]

## 14OCT Session 6: On War IV: War in the Middle East

### *Issues*

- A new state.
- Regional and international security.
- Grievance and war.
- Religion and war.

### *Assigned Readings*

1. van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive*, parts I and II;
2. Karsh, *The Iran-Iraq War*.

### *Recommended*

Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents, 7th Ed.* (New York: St. Martin’s, 2010).

## 20OCT Session 7: Nuclear War

### *Issues*

- Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 1945.
- The possibility of coercion through nuclear violence.
- Deterrence, nuclear and conventional.
- Is nuclear proliferation a good or a bad thing?

### *Assigned Readings*

1. Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy, Third Ed.*;
2. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*;
- bl** 3. Sagan and Waltz, “Indian and Pakistani Nuclear Weapons: For Better or Worse?;”
4. Lieber and Press, “The End of MAD?”

### *Recommended*

Albert Wohlstetter, “The Delicate Balance of Terror” (abridged version), *Foreign Affairs*, 37:2 (January 1959), pp. 211–234.

## 27OCT Session 8: Extended Discussion: Security, War, Power, and Legitimacy

### *Issues*

- Might *makes* right? might *for* right? might *as* right?
- What put the “cold” in Cold War?
- Should we continue to study major conventional war?

### *Assigned Readings*

1. Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*;
2. Mueller, “The Obsolescence of Major War;”
- bl** 3. Pinker, “Why Violence is Vanishing.”

## 3NOV Session 9: Civil War and International Security

### *Issues*

- Why study civil wars?
- How does internal war differ from interstate war?
- When, if ever, should third parties be prepared to intervene in civil wars?

### *Assigned Readings*

1. Mack, “Civil War: Academic Research and the Policy Community;”
2. Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict;”
- bl** 3. Brown, “Introduction,” in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*;
4. Toft, “Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War;”
5. Collier and Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War;”
6. Fearon and Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War;”
7. Mueller, “The Banality of ‘Ethnic War’.”

## 10NOV Session 10: Transnational Terrorism, Old and New

### *Issues*

- What’s the same and what’s different about contemporary and pre-2001 terrorism?
- How, if at all, is terrorism a threat to international security?

### *Assigned Readings*

- bl** 1. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, chapter 2;
2. Kurth-Cronin, “Behind the Curve;”
3. Arreguin-Toft, “Tunnel at the End of the Light;”
- bl** 4. Sageman, “The Global Salafi Jihad;”
5. Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work.”

## 17NOV Session 11: Intervention and Non-Intervention

### *Issues*

- How does intervention challenge security and legitimacy?

- bl** 1. Bowden, *Black Hawk Down*, excerpts;
2. Power, “Bystanders to Genocide;”
3. Falk, “Hard Choices and Tragic Dilemmas;”
4. Pape, “When Duty Calls.”

### *Recommended*

Alan J. Kuperman, “A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO’s Libya Campaign,” *International Security*, 38:1 (Summer 2013), pp. 105–136.

## 24NOV Session 12: Transnational Challenges to International Security

### *Issues*

- What's a bigger threat, resource corruption or resource consumption?
- How do solutions to global environmental challenges differ, if at all, from solutions to more traditional security challenges?
- How, if at all, are demographic shifts and pandemics challenges to international security?
- How do solutions to demographic and pandemic challenges differ, if at all, from solutions to more traditional security challenges?

### *Assigned Readings*

1. Busby, et. al, "Climate Change and Insecurity;"
2. Matthew, et. al, eds., *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, chapters 1-7.
3. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy;"
4. Hudson and Den Boer, "Sex Ratios;"
5. Goldstone, "The New Population Bomb;"
6. Toft, "Differential Demographic Growth in Multinational States."

## 24NOV Session 13: Emerging Threats to [International] Security

### *Issues*

- How, if at all, is transnational crime a threat to international security?
- How do solutions to transnational criminal activity differ, if at all, from solutions to more traditional security challenges?
- In what ways do you think organized religion might affect international security?

### *Assigned Readings*

1. Thachuk, *Transnational Crime*, chapters 1-5, 14; choose any single chapter from 6-13;
2. Shaw and Toft, "Why God is Winning."
- bl** 3. Gabler, "Politics as Religion in America."

## 1DEC [no class]

## 8DEC Session 14: Emergent [in]Security?

### *Issues*

- What in your view is the most pressing set of challenges to international security?
- Which and whose "security" is most relevant now?
- How likely is this to change and what is most likely to be the basis of that change?

### *Assigned Readings*

1. Gartzke, "The Myth of Cyberwar;"
2. Garrett, "Biology's Brave New World;"
3. Cukier and Mayer-Schoenberger, "The Rise of Big Data;"
- bl** 4. Orwell, "The Principles of Newspeak;"
5. Amore, "Algorithmic Warfare."