

# PIA 2303: Security and Intelligence Studies

Spring 2018

Thursdays, 6-9pm; 3911 Posvar Hall

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## **Course Description:**

Many argue that the 21<sup>st</sup> century security environment is fundamentally different from and more dangerous than that which existed in previous eras. There is some evidence to suggest this claim might be true; the security challenges absorbing the majority of states' time, money, and military efforts since the end of the Cold War – and especially since 9/11 – are notably different from those of the past and, at times, they seem more pervasive. However, it does not necessarily follow that such proximate differences are symptomatic of a deeper shift in the nature of the inherently dangerous international arena. This course explores the nature of the international security environment – past and present – and considers whether and to what degree the logics for coping with security challenges have changed over time. In doing so, students will be introduced to the arguments and debates in the academic literature on security and intelligence issues, and learn to apply them to contemporary challenges. We will spend the first third of the semester examining traditional security studies concepts and issues like war, coercion, effectiveness in nuclear and conventional warfighting, and the effects of regime type on security policies and achievements. The second third will then be dedicated to considering the utility of traditional concepts in understanding the nature of and strategically-preferable responses to security challenges pervasive in the current international arena like asymmetric warfare, nuclear proliferation and missile defense, terrorism, and space and cyber warfare. The last third of the course examines the nuts and bolts of the United States national security apparatus to better understand how theory is (or should be) transformed into policy. We conclude by considering the costs and benefits of different American grand strategies moving forward.

A few caveats:

1. This course, as an introductory survey of the academic security studies literature, is reading intensive. The average weekly reading load is approximately 180 pages. Because you will be expected to know the material covered in the readings, planning ahead is necessary to both ensure completion of assigned work and facilitate success in the course. To help you in this endeavor, the total number of pages required for each meeting is presented in brackets after the session title.

2. Our goal in this course is not to become expert in all aspects of national and international security. Rather, we seek to understand the logic driving security policy decision making and the ways in which several key disparate security concerns are linked and combine to form a comprehensive set of challenges that the United States must navigate in the coming years. As a consequence, and because the security studies literature is vast and growing rapidly, this course cannot cover every topic in as much detail as you (or I) might like. Indeed, there are some topics, like the international arms trade, drug wars and organized crime, and private security actors, which we will not be able to cover at all. Fortunately, there are several courses on offer at GSPIA that enable to you pursue topics we cover in more detail and others focusing exclusively on those that we do not address. I encourage you to seek them out.
  
3. As a further consequence of the growing nature of the security studies field and the tendency of scholars, policymakers, and public intellectuals to “securitize” ever more policy challenges, our limited time together in this course will be used to focus almost exclusively on those threats to national security that involve at least the possibility of resolution through the use of military force. This is not because phenomena like population migration, climate change, pollution and deforestation, and infectious disease that are not amenable to military solutions do not constitute viable threats to national security (broadly defined). To the contrary. We will be touching upon such issues in Week 10. Our focus that week, however, will be like that of many other weeks in that we will consider the ways in which more traditional concepts in the security studies literature do or do not help us understand the threats posed by and possible policy responses to such challenges. This approach will, at the very least, provide you with the conceptual tools necessary to critically assess the claims made about these challenges in other venues.

### **Course Expectations:**

Of me, you can expect:

1. Punctuality in arriving to, beginning, and ending our meetings.
2. A prepared and thought-out lesson plan that will facilitate (with your cooperation and diligent work) both understanding of the material and success in the course.
3. Reasonably prompt responses to email inquiries (usually within a couple hours, excepting the times at which normal people are asleep).
4. Accessibility in office hours or other scheduled meetings.

Of you, I expect:

1. Attendance. More than two absences will result in a zero for the attendance and participation portion of your grade. Consistent tardiness will also negatively impact your participation grade.

2. Completion of all readings and arrival in class prepared to discuss the topic assigned for the week. I realize that not everyone is comfortable speaking in front of a group the size of our class, but keep in mind that I value quality over quantity. That said, failure to participate on a regular basis will have a negative effect on your participation grade.
3. Timely completion of assignments. Work turned in after the designated time will be docked one full letter grade for each day – or portion thereof – that it is late.
4. Cognitive focus. If you use a laptop to take notes, turn off its wireless capacity (note that research indicates taking notes by hand is better for learning: <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/17/474525392/attention-students-put-your-laptops-away>). Do not use your phone to check emails or text during class.
5. Adherence to the University of Pittsburgh guidelines on academic integrity. Failure to cite external sources of ideas, concepts, and facts in written work will be penalized. Plagiarism will result in automatic failure of the course. For Pitt's written guidelines on academic integrity, visit: <http://www.provost.pitt.edu/info/acguidelinespdf.pdf>.
6. Respect for your fellow classmates, the opinions discussed in meetings, and the works we are considering.

### **Assignments and Grading:**

This course will be run as a combined lecture and seminar. I will spend the first portion of the class presenting material not covered or highlighting salient points contained in the assigned readings. We will then spend the remaining time in our meetings engaged in seminar-style discussions of the readings, interactive exercises, and multimedia activities.

Your grade will be based on the following four elements:

1. A **take-home midterm**, which will be distributed *in class* on Thursday, February 1<sup>st</sup>, and turned in *at the beginning of class* on Thursday, February 8<sup>th</sup>. The exam will consist of a single essay of no more than five pages. (25% of the total)
2. A **policy memo** of no more than five pages based on course readings and independent research, due *at the beginning of class* on Thursday, March 29<sup>th</sup>. Further details regarding appropriate topics, formatting, and content will be discussed in class on Thursday, February 8<sup>th</sup>. (25% of the total)
3. A **take-home final**, which will be distributed *during class* on Thursday, April 19<sup>th</sup> and turned in *at the beginning of class* on Thursday, April 26<sup>th</sup>. The exam will consist of two essays of no more than four pages apiece. Except for documented medical or family emergencies (or graduation), there will be no exceptions to the requirement of in-person submission of the final. (30% of the total)

4. **Class participation.** There are two parts to this aspect of your grade.
  - a. The first is **attendance and participation** in class discussions. Showing up to class is only part of this requirement; you must also do the readings and be prepared to discuss them in large- and small-group settings. Additionally, you are expected to be engaged and ask questions during your colleagues' presentations in Weeks 5-10. (10% of the total)
  - b. The second is that, for one meeting between February 8<sup>th</sup> and March 22<sup>nd</sup>, each student will participate in a **group presentation** of the readings and submit a 2-page **critical assessment** of the material covered for the week. More details about this requirement and a sign-up sheet will be circulated in class on Thursday, January 18<sup>th</sup>. (10% of the total)

Your final grade will be assigned on the following scale:

A	=	93-100	B+	=	87-89	C+	=	77-79	D+	=	67-69
A-	=	90-92	B	=	83-86	C	=	73-76	D	=	65-66
			B-	=	80-82	C-	=	70-72	F	=	Below 65

### **Required Books:**

The following books have been ordered and are (or will shortly be) available at The Book Center. They can also be purchased (usually for less) on Amazon or some other online site. If you purchase used copies of the books, please make sure that you get the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the Sagan and Waltz book and the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the Sapolsky et al. book.

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008 [1966]).

Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2012).

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *US Defense Politics: The Origins of National Security* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2017).

The other required readings for the course are available on CourseWeb. Reading questions to help guide you through the readings for the first five weeks will also be posted on CourseWeb.

In addition to completing the required readings for this course, you are expected to keep up with current events. Though much of our discussion will focus on the theoretical issues raised by the readings, we will often apply the academic insights to questions about current security policy challenges like Afghanistan, Syria, North Korea, Somalia, Yemen, Russia, and China. For this purpose, you should peruse a daily newspaper like *The New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or the *Financial Times*. The weekly magazine *The Economist* is also an excellent source of news and analysis. For daily digital updates on a variety of foreign policy and security topics, I highly recommend signing up for *Foreign Policy*'s daily emails (<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>).

## Course Schedule

### Traditional Topics in Security Studies

#### **Week 1 (January 11):** The Concepts of Security, Strategy, War, and Coercion [200 pages]

- Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962): Introduction, Chapter 10 (pp. xiii-xvii, 147-165).
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): Selections from Books 1 (pp. 75-99, 119-121)
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008 [1966]): 1-141.
- Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002): 26-33.

#### **Week 2 (January 18):** Nuclear Warfighting [177 pages]

- Lawrence Freedman, "The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategists," in *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, Peter Paret, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986): 735-778.
- Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 2 (January, 1959): 211-234.
- Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter," *Political Science Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter, 1979/1980): 617-633.
- Keir Lieber and Daryl Press, "The Nukes We Need," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 6 (November/December 2009): 39-51.
- Kier Lieber and Daryl Press, "Coercive Nuclear Campaigns in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," Report 2013-001, Naval Postgraduate School, Center on Contemporary Conflict, January 2013.
- Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino, "Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants," *International Security* 42, no. 1 (Summer, 2017): 41-79.

#### **Week 3 (January 25):** Conventional Warfighting [186 pages]

- Allan Millett, Williamson Murray, and Kenneth Watman, "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations," in *Military Effectiveness*, vol. 1, Allan Millett and Williamson Murray, eds. (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988): Chapter 1 (pp. 1-30).
- John Mearsheimer, "Why the Soviets Can't Win Quickly in Central Europe," *International Security* 7 no. 1 (Summer, 1982): 3-39.
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): Chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-77).
- Lawrence Freedman, "A Theory of Battle or a Theory of War?" *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 3 (June, 2005): 425-435.
- Ryan Grauer and Michael Horowitz, "What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System," *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (March, 2012): 83-112

**Week 4 (February 1):** Democratic Peace, Belligerence, and Strength [199 pages]

- John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, no. 2 (Fall, 1994): 87-125.
- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (November, 2003): 585-602.
- David Kinsella, "No Rest for the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 453-457.
- Branislav Slantchev, Anna Alexandrova, and Erik Gartzke, "Probabilistic Causality, Selection Bias, and the Logic of Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 459-462.
- Michael Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 463-466.
- Sebastian Rosato, "Explaining the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August, 2005): 467-472.
- Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003): Chapters 2, 3 (pp. 10-83).
- Alexander Downes, "How Smart and Tough are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War," *International Security* 33, no. 4 (April, 2009): 9-51.
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Prone to Violence: The Paradox of the Democratic Peace," *The National Interest* 82 (Winter, 2005/2006): 39-45.

*Contemporary Debates in Security Studies*

**Week 5 (February 8):** Nuclear Proliferation [187 pages]

- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2012): Chapters 1-4 (pp. 3-134).
- Uri Sadot, "Osirak and the Counter-Proliferation Puzzle," *Security Studies* 25, no. 4 (September, 2016): 646-676.
- Kier Lieber and Daryl Press, "Why States Won't Give Nuclear Weapons to Terrorists," *International Security* 38, no. 1 (Summer, 2013): 80-104.

**Week 6 (February 15):** Irregular Warfare [199 pages]

- Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: the Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January, 1975): 175-200.
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey Freidman, and Jacob Shapiro, "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer, 2012): 7-40.
- Jacqueline L. Hazelton, "The 'Hearts and Minds' Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare," *International Security* 42, no. 1 (Summer, 2017): 80-113.
- David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer, 2004): 49-91.

- Richard Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 (November/December, 1994): 20-33.
- Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (July/August, 1999): 36-44.
- Virginia Page Fortna, "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects," *World Politics* 56, no. 4 (July, 2004): 481-519.

**Week 7 (February 22):** Terrorism [208 pages]

- Bruce Hoffman, "Defining Terrorism," in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill, 2006): 3-23.
- Paul Pillar, "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism," in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill, 2006): 24-45.
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill, 2006): 54-66.
- Robert Pape, "Blowing Up an Assumption," *New York Times*, 18 May 2005.
- Michael Horowitz, "Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 64, no. 1 (Winter, 2010): 33-64.
- Jenna Jordan, "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes," *International Security* 38, no. 4 (Spring, 2014): 7-38.
- S. Paul Kapur, "Deterring Nuclear Terrorists," in *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age*, T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, and James Wirtz, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009): 109-130.
- Jesse Paul Lehrke and Rahel Schomaker, "Kill, Capture, or Defend? The Effectiveness of Specific and General Counterterrorism Tactics Against the Global Threats of the Post-9/11 Era," *Security Studies* 25, no. 4 (September, 2016): 729-762.
- John Mueller and Mark Stewart, "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer, 2012): 81-110.

**Week 8 (March 1):** New Technologies in War [203 pages]

- Andrew Krepinevich, "Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions," *National Interest* 37 (Fall, 1994): 30-42.
- P.W. Singer, *Wired for War* (New York: Penguin, 2010): Chapters 10, 11 (pp. 179-236).
- Michael C. Horowitz, Sarah E. Kreps, and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Separating Fact from Fiction in the Debate over Drone Proliferation," *International Security* 41, no. 2 (Fall, 2016): 7-42.
- Michael Sheehan, "Defining Space Security," in *Handbook of Space Security*, eds. Kai-Uwe Schrogl et al. (New York: Springer, 2015): 7-21.

- Everett C. Dolman, "U.S. Space Security Priorities: War, Policy, and Spacepower," in *Handbook of Space Security*, eds. Kai-Uwe Schrogl et al. (New York: Springer, 2015): 309-324.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace," *International Security* 41, no. 3 (Winter, 2016/2017): 44-71.
- Rebecca Slayton, "What is the Cyber Offense-Defense Balance? Conceptions, Causes, and Assessment," *International Security* 41, no. 3 (Winter, 2016/2017): 72-109.

### **No Class March 8 – Spring Break**

#### **Week 9 (March 15):** Energy, the Environment, and Disease [186]

- Charles L. Glaser, "How Oil Influences U.S. National Security," *International Security* 38, no. 2 (Fall, 2013): 112-146.
- Jeff D. Colgan, "Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War," *International Security* 38, no. 2 (Fall, 2013): 147-180.
- CNA Corporation, "National Security and the Accelerating Risks of Climate Change," (Alexandria: CNA Corporation, 2014).
- Ole Magnus Theisen, Helge Holtermann, Halvard Buhaug, "Climate Wars? Assessing the Claim that Drought Breeds Conflict," *International Security* 36, no. 3 (Winter, 2011/2012): 79-106.
- Sonia Ben Ouagrham-Gormley, "Barriers to Bioweapons: Intangible Obstacles to Proliferation," *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring, 2012): 80-114.
- Colin McInnes and Simon Rushton, "HIV, AIDS, and Security: Where Are We Now?" *International Affairs* 86, no. 1 (January, 2010): 225-245.

#### **Week 10 (March 22):** Collective Security [180 pages]

- Kenneth Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (October, 1985): 1-24.
- John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter, 1994/1995): 5-49.
- Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 39-51.
- Charles Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, "The Promise of Collective Security," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 52-61.
- David Lake, "Beyond Anarchy: The Importance of Security Institutions," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer, 2001): 129-160.
- Ian Hurd, "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *International Organization* 59, no. 3 (Summer, 2005): 495-526.
- Martha Finnemore, "Rules of War and War of Rules," in *Constructing World Culture*, ed. John Boli and George Thomas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999): 149-165).
- Steven Ratner, "Think Again: Geneva Conventions," *Foreign Policy* 165 (March/April, 2008): 26-32



*The American Security Apparatus*

**Week 11 (March 29):** Organizing for and Managing Security [199]

- Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (September, 1969): 689-718.
- Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *US Defense Politics*, Chapters 3-6, 9-10, 12 (pp. 33-116, 158-187, 204-223).
- John Rosenwasser and Michael Warner, "History of the Interagency Process for Foreign Relations in the United States: Murphy's Law?" in *The National Security Enterprise*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., edited by Roger George and Harvey Rishikof (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017): 13-31.
- Marc Grossman, "The State Department: Culture as Interagency Destiny?" in *The National Security Enterprise*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., edited by Roger George and Harvey Rishikof (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017): 81-96.

**Week 12 (April 5):** No Class; Professor Grauer at ISA Annual Convention

**Week 13 (April 12):** Intelligence [189 pages]

- Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *US Defense Politics*, Chapter 11 (pp. 188-203).
- Loch Johnson, "National Security Intelligence," in *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, ed. Loch Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 3-32.
- James J. Wirtz, "The Sources and Methods of Intelligence Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, ed. Loch Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 59-69.
- John A. Gentry, "Assessing Intelligence Performance," in *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, ed. Loch Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 87-103.
- John Ferris, "Signals Intelligence in War and Power Politics, 1914-2010," in *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, ed. Loch Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 155-171.
- Peter Jackson, "On Uncertainty and the Limits of Intelligence," in *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, ed. Loch Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 452-471.
- Mark M. Lowenthal, "Intelligence in Transition: Analysis after September 11 and Iraq," in *Analyzing Intelligence: Origins, Obstacles, and Innovations*, Roger George and James Bruce, eds. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008): 226-237.
- Richard Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): Chapters 2, 3, and 8 (pp. 19-65, 183-193).
- Robert Jervis, "Review Essay: The Torture Blame Game," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 3 (May/June 2015): 120-127.

**Week 14 (April 19):** Funding Security [169 pages]

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *US Defense Politics*, Chapters 7, 8 (pp. 117-157)  
Gordon Adams and Cindy Williams, *Buying National Security* (New York: Routledge, 2010): Chapters 1, 2, 5-7, 9 (pp. 1-31, 93-161, 193-220).

**Week 15 (April 26):** What is to be done? [95 pages]

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *US Defense Politics*, Chapters 2 (pp. 13-32).  
Stephen Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William Wohlforth, "Lean Forward," *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February, 2013).  
Barry Posen, "Pull Back," *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February, 2013).  
Donald Trump, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, (Washington, DC: White House, 2017).