

PIA 3303: Advanced Seminar in Security Studies

Spring 2017

Thursdays, 12-3pm; 3600 Posvar Hall

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Course Description:

This advanced seminar is designed to introduce and guide graduate students through the basics of the large and complex security studies literature. It is intended primarily to help prepare GSPIA PhD students for the Security Studies comprehensive exam, but other students are welcome. Students in this seminar will develop familiarity with the foundations of the academic literature on the balance of power and its effects, causes of war and peace, coercion, foreign policy decision making, nuclear and conventional warfighting, security institutions, terrorism, violent non-state actors, military and humanitarian intervention, and civil wars. Due to the vast nature of the security studies field and the limited timeframe of a single semester, we will not be able to cover many of the topics and debates in the literature (e.g. unmanned technologies and conflict in the cyber realm, the economic dimensions of security, and intelligence studies). By the end of the semester, however, students will have the theoretical frameworks and analytical toolkit necessary to identify, read, and assess the quality of divergent positions on topics we do not cover.

Assignments and Grading:

This course will be run as a true seminar; I will not spend class time lecturing on the material we cover. Our meetings will consist of discussions in which we focus on teasing out both the precise arguments and counterarguments present in the literature and the utility and validity of research designs adopted by different scholars.

The reading load in this course is, by necessity, very heavy. I expect that every student will read pieces marked with an asterisk (*), but not necessarily that they will have read every item on the syllabus in detail prior to class. I do, however, expect all members of the seminar to have some familiarity with each of the arguments presented in the assigned material. Accordingly, it will be necessary for members of the seminar to both skim all readings and coordinate a division of labor with respect to the reading and some means of sharing information prior to class.

Your grade will be based on three elements:

1. **Class participation**, which consists of regular contribution to seminar discussions and sending weekly emails to all seminar participants by 7pm on Wednesdays before

meetings listing 3-5 questions about the material you would like to discuss. (25% of the total)

2. Three **reaction papers** (3-4 double-spaced pages) in which students respond to ideas, debates, conflicts, and contradictions in the material read. Students will have some choice with respect to the week during which they turn in their papers. One must address material covered in weeks 1-5, one must address material covered in weeks 6-10, and one must address material covered in weeks 11-14. Papers are to be turned in the week *after* we discuss the topic covered in class. (25% of the total)
3. A **mock comprehensive exam**, which will be administered during our last meeting, on April 27. (50% 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:

There are no books that are technically required for this course. However, there are a number of books that are foundational texts in security studies and from which we will be reading a substantial portion. As such, I recommend you consider purchasing them. If you have questions about particular texts, ask. Online sources like Amazon are the best choice for acquiring these books if you wish to own them. Alternatively, all of the books we read in the course should be easily procured from Hillman Library or through inter-library loan.

Relatedly, there is no CourseWeb site for this class. Students are responsible for tracking down the assigned readings through the various resources made available through Hillman Library.

Recommended texts:

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport: Praeger, 2006 [1964]).

Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000 [1985]).

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).

Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Mineola: Dover, 2005 [1961]).

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001).

Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson, *Politics Among Nations*, 6th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1985).

Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

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

Carl Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan* (New York: Telos Press, 2007).

Peter W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979).

Course Schedule

Week 1 (January 5): Introduction to Security/Levels of Analysis

Introduction to Security:

*Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962): xiii-xvii, 147-165.

Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8, no. 1 (Summer, 1983): 129-153.

David Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (January, 1997): 5-26.

Peter Katzenstein, "Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 1-32.

Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Introduction, Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-65).

Levels of Analysis:

*Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), all.

J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics* 14, no. 1 (October, 1961), 77-92.

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 13-31.

Week 2 (January 12): Realism and (Some) Critics

*Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson, *Politics Among Nations*, 6th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1985), Chapters *1, 8-10 (pp. 1-17, 117-183).

John H. Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 2, no. 2 (January, 1950): 157-180.

*Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), Chapters 5, 6, 8 (pp. 79-128, 161-193).

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), Chapters 1-5 (pp. 1-167).

Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17 (January, 1991), 67-85.

*Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring, 1992): 391-425.

James N. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): Chapter 1 (pp. 3-21).

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24, no. 2 (Fall, 1999): 5-55.

Week 3 (January 19): Security Cooperation and Institutions

Security Cooperation:

- *Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002 [1971]), Chapters 1-2 (pp. 5-65).
- *Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January, 1978): 167-214.
- Kenneth Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (October, 1985): 1-24.

Alliances:

- *Glenn H. Snyder, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," *World Politics* 36, no. 4 (July, 1984): 461-495.
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization* 44, no. 2 (Spring, 1990): 137-168.
- Michael Beckley, "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts," *International Security* 39, no. 4 (Spring 2015): 7-48.

Multilateral Institutions:

- Robert Jervis, "From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation," *World Politics* 38:1 (October 1985), 58-79.
- *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 Institutionalist 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.
- John Gerard Ruggie, "The False Promise of Realism," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 62-70.
- Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 71-81.
- John Mearsheimer, "A Realist Reply," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1995): 82-93.
- Inis L. Claude, "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations," *International Organization* 20, no. 3 (Summer, 1966): 367-379.
- Ian Hurd, "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *International Organization* 59, no. 3 (Summer, 2005): 495-526.
- David Lake, "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations," *International Organization* 50, no. 1 (December, 1996): 1-33.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Week 4 (January 26): Causes of War

- *Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 188 [1973]), Chapters 1-11 (pp. 3-174)
- Robert Gilpin, "The Theory of Hegemonic War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 591-613.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 615-628.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "The Contribution of Expected Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 629-652.
- Robert Jervis, "War and Misperception," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 675-700.
- George H. Quester, "Crises and the Unexpected," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 701-719.
- *James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer, 1995), 379-414.
- Robert Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization* 60, no. 1 (Winter, 2006), 169-203.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), Chapter 9 (pp. 334-359).
- Dominic Johnson and Dominic Tierney, "The Rubicon Theory of War," *International Security* 36, no. 1 (Summer, 2011), 7-40.
- Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), Chapter 6 (pp. 117-192).

Week 5 (February 2): Domestic Politics and War

- *Jack Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1988): 653-673.
- *Immanuel Kant: *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, from I. Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, trans. T. Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983), 107-143.
- David Lake: "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *American Political Science Review* 86, no. 1 (March, 1992): 24-37
- *Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett: "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986," *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September, 1993): 624-638.
- Michael R. Tomz and Jessica L.P. Weeks, "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (November, 2013): 849-865.
- Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), Chapters *1-2, 7 (pp. 1-57, 164-192)
- 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, *Electing to Fight* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-68).
- Vipin Narang and Rebecca Nelson, "Who Are These Belligerent Democratizers? Reassessing the Impact of Democratization on War," *International Organization* 63, no. 2 (Spring, 2009): 357-379.
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Pathways to War in Democratic Institutions," *International Organization* 63, no. 2 (Spring, 2009): 381-390.
- Jessica Weeks, "Strongmen and Straw Me: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (May, 2012): 326-347.
- Jeff D. Colgan, "Domestic Revolutionary Leaders and International Conflict," *World Politics* 65, no. 4 (October, 2013): 656-690.
- Rachel M. Stein, "War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies," *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 3 (August, 2015): 556-573.
- *Elizabeth N. Saunders, "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force," *Security Studies* 24, no. 3 (September, 2015): 466-501.

Week 6 (February 9): War and Coercion

- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971): Biography, Books 1-13 (pp. 57-149).
- *Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Book 1, all; Book 2, chapters 1, 2; Book 3, chapters 1-5; Book 7, Chapter 22; Book 8, chapters 1-8. (pp. 75-123, 127-147, 177-189, 566-573, 577-616).
- Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), chapters 1, 2, 8, 9 (pp. 3-52, 187-229).
- *Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 1-141.
- Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002): 26-32.

Week 7 (February 16): Nuclear Weapons

The Cold War:

- 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.
- *David Alan Rosenberg, "The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy, 1945-1960," *International Security* 7, no. 4 (Spring, 1983): 3-71.
- Marc Trachtenberg, "The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Security* 10, no. 1 (Summer, 1985), 136-163.
- *Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter," *Political Science Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter, 1979/1980): 617-633.

Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), Chapters 1 and 2, skim either 3-4 or 5-6 (pp. 1-61)
Mueller, John. "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 55-79.

Nuclear Proliferation:

*Scott D. Sagan, "The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 14 (2011): 225-244.

Erik Gartzke, Jeffrey M. Kaplow, and Rupal N. Mehta, "The Determinants of Nuclear Force Structure," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 3 (April, 2014): 481-508.

Michael C. Horowitz and Neil Narang, "Poor Man's Atomic Bomb? Exploring the Relationship between 'Weapons of Mass Destruction'," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 3 (April, 2014): 509-535.

New Research on Nukes:

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

Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (Winter, 2013): 141-171.

Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail," *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (Winter, 2013): 173-195.

Daryl G. Press, Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino, "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 1 (February, 2013): 188-206.

Mark S. Bell, "Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy," *International Security* 40, no. 1 (Summer, 2015): 87-119.

Week 8 (February 23): No Class – Prof. Grauer at ISA Annual Convention

Begin Reading for Next Week!

Week 9 (March 2): Conventional Warfighting

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

Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security* 18, no. 2 (Autumn, 1993): 80-124.

*Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), Chapter 3 (pp. 58-83)

Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long: "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:4 (August, 2004), 525-546.

Michael Beckley: "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 1 (February, 2010), pp. 43-79.

- *Stephen Peter Rosen, "Military Effectiveness: Why Society Matters," *International Security* 19, no. 4 (Spring, 1995): 5-31.
- Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the *Wehrmacht* in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer, 1948): 280-315.
- Jasen C. Castillo, *Endurance and War: The National Sources of Military Cohesion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014): 16-43.
- *Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): Chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-77).
- Ryan Grauer and Michael Horowitz, "What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System," *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (February, 2012): 83-112.
- Risa Brooks, "An Autocracy at War: Explaining Egypt's Military Effectiveness, 1967 and 1973," *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (July-September, 2006): 396-430.
- Caitlin Talmadge, "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War," *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (May, 2013): 180-221.
- #Ryan Grauer, "Uncertain Victory: Information Management and Military Power," *Journal of Global Security Studies*, forthcoming.

I will distribute.

No Class March 9: Spring Break

Week 10 (March 16): Insurgency and Counterinsurgency

- *Carl Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan* (New York: Telos Press, 2007).
- *#T.E. Lawrence, "Science of Guerrilla Warfare," *Encyclopedia Britannica: Fourteenth Edition*, Volume 10: Game to Gun-Metal (1929): 950-953.
- Mao Tse-tung, "The Three Stages of the Protracted War," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume II (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), 134-145.
- *Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Mineola: Dover, 2005 [1961]).
- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer, 2012): 142-177.
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport: Praeger, 2006 [1964]).
- Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: the Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January, 1975): 175-200.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter, 2009): 67-106.
- Jason Lyall, "Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents? Reassessing Democracy's Impact on War Outcomes and Duration," *International Organization* 64, no. 1 (Winter, 2010): 167-192.

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.

I will distribute.

Week 11 (March 23): Terrorism

- *Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, revised and expanded ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), Chapters 1, 8 (pp. 1-42, 229-256).
- *Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (2003): 473-507.
- *Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer, 2006): 49-80.
- James Piazza, "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous? An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21, no. 1 (Autumn, 2009): 62-88.
- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall, 2006): 42-78.
- Michael Horowitz, "Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 64, no. 1 (Winter, 2010): 33-64.
- Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapters 1-2, 9-10 (pp. 1-52, 259-311).
- 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.
- *Peter R. Neumann, "The Trouble with Radicalization," *International Affairs* 89, no. 4 (2013): 873-893.
- *Marc Sageman, "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 565-580.
- Max Taylor, "If I Were You, I Wouldn't Start From Here: Response to Marc Sageman," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 581-586.
- Alex P. Schmid, "Comment on Marc Sageman's Polemic," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 587-595.
- David H. Schanzer, "No Easy Day: Government Roadblocks and the Unsolvable Problem of Political Violence," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 596-600.
- Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko, "Some Things We Think We've Learned Since 9/11," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 601-606.
- Jessica Stern, "Response to Marc Sageman," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 607-613.
- Marc Sageman, "Low Return on Investment," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 607-620.

Week 12 (March 30): Violent Non-State Actors

Bad Guys:

- *Louise Shelley, "Identifying, Counting, and Categorizing Transnational Criminal Organizations," *Transnational Organized Crime* 5, no. 1 (1999): 1-18.
- *Phil Williams, *Violent Non-State Actors and National and International Security* (Zurich: ETH, 2008).
- Stewart Patrick, *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), Chapter 4 (pp. 135-173).
- John Sullivan and Robert Bunker, "Drug Cartels, Street Gangs, and Warlords," in *Non-State Threats and Future Wars*, ed. John Sullivan and Robert Bunker (London: Frank Cass, 2002): 40-53.
- *Robert A. Blair and Pablo Kalmonovitz, "On the Rights of Warlords: Legitimate Authority and Basic Protection in War-Torn Societies," *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 3 (August, 2016): 428-440.
- Emil Aslan Souleimanov, "Making Jihad or Making Money? Understanding the Transformation of Dagestan's Jamaats into Organised Crime Groups," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2015.1121871> (2015): 1-25.
- James Cockayne, "The Futility of Force? Strategic Lessons for Dealing with Unconventional Armed Forces from the UN's War on Haiti's Gangs," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no. 5 (June 2014): 736-769.
- Sarah Percy and Anja Shortland, "The Business of Piracy in Somalia," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 4 (February, 2014): 541-578.
- Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann, *Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapters 5-6 (pp. 189-253).

Good Guys?

- *Peter W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), Chapters 1-6, 15, Postscript (pp. 1-100, 230-260).
- Deborah Avant and Lee Sigelman, "Private Security and Democracy: Lessons from the US in the Iraq War," *Security Studies* 19, no. 2 (May, 2010): 230-265.
- Scott Fitzsimmons, "Wheeled Warriors: Explaining Variations in the Use of Violence by Private Security Companies in Iraq," *Security Studies* 22, no. 4 (November, 2013): 707-739.

Week 13 (April 6): Human Security

Definitional Issues:

- *United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report, 1994*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), Chapter 2 (pp. 22-46).
- Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26, no. 2 (Fall, 2001): 87-102.

- Gary King and Christopher J. L. Murray: "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 4 (Winter, 2001-2002): 585-610.
- Taylor Owen, "Human Security – Conflict, Critique, and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition," *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 3 (September, 2004): 373-387.
- David Chandler, "Human Security: the Dog that Didn't Bark," *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 4 (August, 2008): 427-438.
- *Berma Klein Goldewijk, "Why Human? The Interlinkages between Security, Rights and Development," *Security and Human Rights* 19, no. 1 (2008): 24-36.
- *Mary Martin and Taylor Owen, "The Second Generation of Human Security: Lessons from the UN and EU Experience," *International Affairs* 86, no. 1 (January, 2010): 211-224.

Responsibility to Protect:

- *International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001). Available at: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>.
- *United Nations, "2005 World Summit Outcome," (New York: United Nations, 2005): paragraphs 138-139. Available at: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf?OpenElement>.
- Alex Bellamy, "The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention," *International Affairs* 84, no. 4 (Summer, 2008): 615-639.
- James Pattison, "Introduction: Libya, RtoP, and Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 2011): 251-254.
- Jennifer Welsh, "Civilian Protection in Libya: Putting Coercion and Controversy Back Into RtoP," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 2011): 255-262.
- Alex Bellamy, "Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 2011): 263-269.
- James Pattison, "The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Libya," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 2011): 271-277.
- Simon Chesterman, "'Leading from Behind': The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and Humanitarian Intervention after Libya," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 2011): 279-285.
- Thomas Weiss, "RtoP Alive and Well After Libya," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 2011): 287-292.

Humanitarian Intervention:

- *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.
- Mary Kaldor, *Human Security* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), Chapters 1 (pp. 16-72).
- Taylor Seybolt, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapters 1-2, 8 (pp. 1-45, 267-281).
- Alan Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (March, 2008): 49-80.

- *Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, "On the Limits of Moral Hazard: The Responsibility to Protect, Armed Conflict, and Mass Atrocities," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 3 (September, 2012): 539-571.

Week 14 (April 13): Civil War

- *Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000 [1985]), Chapters 3-6 (pp. 95-290).
- Jack Levy and William Thompson, *Causes of War* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2010), Chapter 7 (pp. 186-204).
- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35, no. 1 (Spring, 1993): 27-47.
- Rui J.P. de Figueiredo, Jr. and Barry R. Weingast, "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," in Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds, *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999): 261-302.
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- Stathis Kalyvas, "The Ontology of Political Violence: Action and Identity in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 3 (September, 2003): 475-494.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min, "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?" *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (January, 2010): 87-119.
- Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapters 6-7 (pp. 146-209).
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Week 15 (April 20): Foreign Policy Decision Making

- *Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (September, 1969), 689-718.
- Alexander George, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980), Read Introduction, Part One (Chapters 1-6), skim Part Two (Chapters 7-14) (pp. 1-136).
- Morton Halperin and Priscilla Clapp, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2006), Chapters 13-16 (pp. 243-344).
- *Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), Skim Part II, Read Parts III and IV (pp. 319-424).
- *William Inboden, "Statecraft, Decision-Making, and the Varieties of Historical Experience: A Taxonomy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no. 2 (February, 2014): 291-318.

Week 16 (April 27): Mock Comprehensive Exam