# **Government 329: International Security** Fall 2021

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Virtual office hours by appointment for at least the beginning of the semester

# **Course Description**

This course examines key issues in international security—the threat and use of force among states. It has three main parts. First, we will consider the causes of conflict between states and the characteristics of individuals and states that make conflict more or less likely. Next, we will look at a number of strategies that countries employ to prevent or manage international conflict. Finally, we will examine the changing nature of international security and a variety of specific threats to world peace—including civil conflict, terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and cyberattack. Throughout the course, we will discuss academic contributions to the study of international security and apply this work to contemporary policy challenges. We will consider several important cases of actual or potential international conflict, including the dispute over control of the South China Sea, Iran's nuclear program, and the risk of cyberwar. And we

# **Objectives**

The course has two broad goals: to introduce you to academic scholarship in the field of international security, and to help you apply this scholarship to real-world policy challenges. When you complete this course, you will be educated consumers of both new scholarship and policy developments in international security. You will be able to:

- Critically evaluate cutting-edge theoretical and empirical research on international conflict.
- Apply insights from the class to a variety of issues in international security policy.
- Understand the complex decision-making process and significant uncertainty facing international policymakers.
- Deploy a number of analytic tools that will help you think clearly about policy issues.

#### Be safe

Another important goal for this class is to keep everyone as healthy and as COVID-free as possible. I appreciate your cooperation and flexibility in helping to minimize the COVID risk we all face from attending classes in person. The three COVID-related policies below are subject to change based on changes in the public health situation and university policy.

• Wear a mask. Masks are required in class at least through September. Please leave the classroom if you must remove your mask for any reason. If you don't feel you can wear your mask for the entire class session, please do not attend class that day. Wearing a mask is about caring for each other and helping to protect the vulnerable members of our community; I appreciate your willingness to put up with this inconvenience for the benefit of the group.

- *Don't eat or drink in class*. At least through September, please do not eat or drink in class. If you must eat or drink during class time, please leave the classroom to do so.
- Don't come to class if you have COVID, have been exposed to COVID, or are not feeling well. If you have COVID, please do not attend class. Report your case to the university at <a href="https://reportcovid.wm.edu/">https://reportcovid.wm.edu/</a> and follow their instructions about isolating. If you are a close contact of someone with COVID, please do not attend class. Report your case to the university at <a href="https://reportcovid.wm.edu/">https://reportcovid.wm.edu/</a> and follow their instructions about isolating. If you are not feeling well, please do not attend class. Even if you think your symptoms are due to allergies, please do not attend. In each of these situations, I will provide additional resources and work with you to make sure that your performance in class is not affected by your COVID-related absence.

Thank you for helping to keep your classmates and professor safe!

# **Requirements and Policies**

I expect you to attend class to the extent that you're able (given the COVID-related policies above), complete the readings or engage with other resources before the class session for which they are assigned, participate in class discussion and exercises, and complete course assignments on time.

# Attendance and participation

As discussed above, you should not come to class if you have COVID, have been exposed to COVID, have any COVID symptoms, or just are not feeling well. To make this decision a little easier on you, I will not be grading your participation in class this semester. If you have to miss class, please don't worry—it will not affect your grade.

However, if you are feeling up to it, coming to class is a good idea. That's partly because a significant portion of class time will be devoted to discussion. Discussions in class are designed to achieve learning goals that lectures cannot—helping you think through international security challenges, understand alternative perspectives, and gain practice expressing your views to others in a constructive way. In addition, discussions will help clarify the readings and introduce new material and tools.

Preparing for class will help you effectively participate in class discussion. Please complete the readings and engage with other resources before their assigned class session. The discussion questions listed in the schedule for each class session will help you focus your preparation on the most important issues. These questions will frequently come up in the discussion. If you find you are having trouble speaking up in class, please let me know so we can discuss how to help you participate effectively in the course.

While in-class participation will not be graded, you can earn extra credit toward your course grade by serving as a research subject for the Government Department's Omnibus Project. This is an opportunity to be involved with political science research conducted by students and faculty. There will be an alternative writing assignment for those who don't want to participate in the Omnibus Project or who aren't old enough to participate.

#### Readings

There are no books assigned for this course. Assigned readings include a mix of academic literature and policy documents. We will also make use of other resources, such as podcasts and

videos. All materials will be linked from the course Blackboard site. The reading list is subject to change—check Blackboard for the latest. I have included additional resources below the list of required readings for some course lectures. These readings are not required, but you may find them helpful to refer to when engaging in online discussion or writing your policy memo.

Readings connect to class sessions and other course activities in several different ways. Some readings will be the subject of class sessions. Other readings are a starting point for class lectures, and others expand on or apply concepts from class sessions; these readings might not be discussed explicitly in lectures, but they are still important to your learning in this course. All the required readings will be fair game for the final exam.

Some of the assigned readings from the academic literature use statistics or the language of game theory to make their arguments. Don't worry about the details of the methodology or mathematical proofs in these papers—although we will spend some time discussing this—instead, focus on the broader arguments and findings.

## Some tips for the readings:

- For empirical articles (whether they use statistics or historical case studies), consider the set of data or facts that the findings are based on. Would we expect these findings to hold up for other cases or data? Does the research really constitute a test of the theory?
- For theoretical articles (whether they use game theory or more informal language), consider the assumptions that lead to the article's conclusions. Is the logic of the argument internally consistent? What facts in the world would cause us to doubt the article's conclusions?
- For policy documents, consider the political, bureaucratic, and security context of the document. Who is the author? What is the author's purpose in writing and releasing the document? What message does the document send to foreign and domestic audiences?
- I have provided discussion questions for each course topic in the schedule below. Look at these first, and then consider the readings, videos, and other resources with those questions in mind. You will find it helpful to write down short responses to these questions to refer to during class discussion.

I have posted to Blackboard a <u>more extensive guide to reading political science journal articles</u> by Leanne Powner. I recommend looking through it at the beginning of the course, especially if you are not already familiar with reading journal articles in the social sciences.

We will frequently apply concepts from the course to current issues in international security. I encourage you to keep up with international news. Good options are the <u>New York Times</u>, <u>Washington Post</u>, <u>The Economist</u>, and <u>Foreign Policy</u>. All of these have daily or weekly email digests that can keep you up to date. W&M libraries kindly offer us free access to the <u>New York Times</u>, <u>Washington Post</u>, and the <u>Wall Street Journal</u> (follow the links to sign up). You should also occasionally check out the following academic or policy blogs: <u>Monkey Cage</u>, <u>Political Violence</u> @ <u>a Glance</u>, <u>War on the Rocks</u>, <u>ArmsControlWonk</u>.

#### **Podcast**

Most weeks, you will have an episode of the Cheap Talk podcast to listen to, in addition to readings and other materials. I started recording these podcasts with Professor Marcus Holmes

last year to provide students another way to engage with fully remote courses. But I think the podcast also helps learning goals in traditional in-person classes in three ways.

- 1. *It is not reading*. There's a sizable reading load in this course, and the podcast gives you a little break from preparing for class by reading complicated (and, yes, sometimes boring) journal articles.
- 2. It is applied. In the podcast, Professor Holmes and I tend to talk about real-world events and how they relate to international relations theory and empirics. You'll have many chances to apply the IR theories that you learn in class, but the podcast episodes provide a useful example of how these theories might matter to real issues in international security.
- 3. *Professor Holmes and I often disagree*. While you are stuck with me as your professor for this class, I think it is important for you to see multiple perspectives on international security. Our disagreements in the podcast mirror debates among academics and policymakers more generally—these are complicated issues, and reasonable people can disagree. Of course, I hope you'll see that I'm right and (most importantly) that Professor Holmes is wrong, but that's not required.

All podcast episodes will be made available at <a href="http://www.ikaplow.net/cheaptalk">www.jkaplow.net/cheaptalk</a>. You can also listen in any podcast player by entering this custom URL into the app:

http://www.ikaplow.net/cheaptalk?format=rcs.(for Apple Podcasts on iPhone, tap Library on

http://www.jkaplow.net/cheaptalk?format=rss (for Apple Podcasts on iPhone, tap Library on the bottom row, tap Edit in the upper-right corner, and choose "Add a Show by URL...").

#### Written Memos

Three written memos are required for this course:

In an **empirical memo** of no more than 5 double-spaced pages, due October 4, you will formulate a hypothesis about international security, examine a data source related to your hypothesis, and describe how the data does or does not support your hypothesis. No statistics are required for this assignment!

In a **policy memo** of 5-7 double-spaced pages, due November 8, you will examine an international security challenge of your choice, argue for the importance of addressing this challenge, and provide concrete advice to a US or international policymaker on how to meet this challenge.

In a **background memo** of no more than 2 pages, due November 22, you will describe a particular case of cyber-attack and highlight the potential international security implications of your case.

You must submit your written assignments through Blackboard before class on the day they are due. I will provide more information about each of these assignments later in the course, and those handouts will be available on Blackboard.

The Writing Resources Center is a free service provided to W&M students. Trained consultants offer individual assistance with writing, presentation, and other communication assignments across disciplines and at any stage, from generating ideas to polishing a final product. To make an appointment for an online session, visit

https://www.wm.edu/as/wrc/appointments/index.php.

#### Final Exam

The course also has a **final exam** during the regularly scheduled exam period. If you are enrolled in the class section that meets at 10am, your final exam is December 17 at 2pm. If you are enrolled in the class section that meets at 11am, your final exam is December 15 at 9am. The exam will be a combination of identification questions, in which you are asked to describe a key concept and its significance in international security, and essay questions. I will provide more information about the final exam later in the course.

#### Grades

Your grade will be based on the following:

Empirical memo: 20 % Policy memo: 30 % Background memo: 15 % Final exam: 35 %

You must submit all three memos and the final exam to pass this course.

I reserve A's for excellent work. I give B's for good, above-average performance in the course. C's are for work of average quality, and D's indicate below-average performance. Those students whose work is substantially below average will receive an F.

		100-93	Α	92-90	A-
89-87	B+	86-83	В	82-80	B-
79-77	C+	76-73	C	72-70	C-, etc.

## Late work

You must take the final exam on the indicated day and time. Rescheduling an exam requires documentation from the Dean of Students. Please turn your memos in on time. Please get in touch with me—before the due date—if you are having trouble. Late memos will be reduced by a third of a grade for each day (or portion of a day) that they are late.

#### Academic Honesty

Your work in this class is governed by the Honor Code. You should feel free to discuss course material with others, but you cannot work together on assignments—these must be solely your own work. It is a violation of the honor code to share exam questions with others or to discuss exams before the testing window closes. Please don't do that.

Do not plagiarize. If you use someone else's words in written work, you must put them in quotes and cite the source. If you use someone else's ideas in written work, you must cite the source, even if you don't use the source's exact words. Always err on the side of citing other work. If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please ask me before you submit the assignment.

For guidance on appropriate sourcing, see the following resources:

http://guides.swem.wm.edu/writingandciting http://library.duke.edu/research/plagiarism

#### Accommodations

William & Mary accommodates students with disabilities in accordance with federal laws and university policy. Any student who may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis should contact Student Accessibility

Services staff at 757-221-2512 or at <a href="mailto:sas@wm.edu">sas@wm.edu</a> to determine if accommodations are warranted and to obtain an official letter of accommodation. See <a href="https://www.wm.edu/sas">www.wm.edu/sas</a> for more information.

#### Mental Health

Students juggle many different responsibilities and can face challenges that make learning difficult. There are many resources available at W&M to help students navigate physical/medical, emotional/psychological, material/accessibility concerns. Asking for help is a sign of courage and strength.

If you or someone you know is experiencing any of these challenges, I encourage you to reach out to the following offices:

- For psychological/emotional stress, please consider reaching out to the <u>W&M Counseling</u> Center (757-221-362), 240 Gooch Dr. 2<sup>nd</sup> floor. Services are free and confidential.
- For physical/medical concerns please consider reaching out to the <u>W&M Health Center</u> at (757) 221-4386, 240 Gooch Drive.
- If you or someone you know is in need of additional supports or resources, please contact the Dean of Students by submitting a care report (<a href="https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/caresupportservices/index.php">https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/caresupportservices/index.php</a>), by phone at 757-221-2510, or by email at deanofstudents@wm.edu.

You can always reach out to me if you are facing challenges inside or outside the classroom; I will guide you to appropriate resources on campus.

#### Communication

The best way to reach me is via email (<u>jkaplow@wm.edu</u>). I'm also happy to meet with you in virtual office hours. Please email me to set up an appointment for a Zoom meeting.

## Technology in class

A number of studies suggest that we learn more when we put down our electronic devices and take notes on paper. I won't require you to do this, but I would encourage you to try a couple of classes without your computer or tablet—just as an experiment. You might find it makes a big difference. Whatever technology you use, please turn off the sound on your devices and do not use them for anything beyond note-taking or referring to readings. Do not check your phone or any other electronic device during the final exam.

#### Video/Audio Recordings

Students may not make video recordings of class, including live streaming of video. Audio recordings may be made with prior consent—please contact me if you think audio recordings are necessary for you to succeed in class. You may not repost, stream, or distribute audio or video from the class without the instructor's permission.

## **Course Outline**

After an introduction to the study of international security, we turn to explanations for international conflict, strategies for managing conflict, and specific threats to peace.

We will touch on two broad themes throughout the course: race and racial inequality, and the COVID-19 pandemic.

#### II. Introduction

# **III. Explaining Conflict**

Bargaining models of war Individual-level factors State-level factors

## IV. Managing Conflict

Deterrence Alliances Institutions Negotiation and peacekeeping

# V. Security Threats

Intrastate conflict Terrorism Nuclear weapons Cyberwar

#### VI. Conclusion

US strategy Thinking clearly about international security

# **Detailed Schedule and Readings**

This schedule is subject to change, and it will be updated continuously throughout the course. The version posted on Blackboard will always be up to date.

Note that some of the links below will not work unless you are logged onto Blackboard. If you're having trouble with a link, log into Blackboard and try again. If you're still having trouble, please email me so I can fix the problem.

## Key Dates

Add/drop deadline and last day to select pass/fail option: September 10

Last day to withdraw: November 1

Final exam dates: December 17 at 2pm (10am section); December 15 at 9am (11am section)

<sup>\*\*</sup> We will not meet Friday, October 1 \*\*

I. Introduction			
Wednesday, September 1  Introduction	Friday, September 3  Meta-questions		
	What is international security? Why should we study it? Can we take a scientific approach to international security? Are the big international relations paradigms useful for the study of international security?		
Read the syllabus carefully	M. A. Schwartz. 2008. "The Importance of Stupidity in Scientific Research."  Journal of Cell Science 121(11): 1771.		
Leanne Powner. 2007. "Reading and Understanding Political Science."	David A. Lake. 2011. "Why 'isms' Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress." International Studies Quarterly 55(2): 465–80.  John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt. 2013. "Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing Is Bad for International Relations." European Journal of International Relations 19(3): 427–457.  If you need a refresher on the "isms" (and you probably don't), read: Jack Snyder. 2004. "One World, Rival Theories."		
	Read the syllabus carefully  Leanne Powner. 2007.  "Reading and Understanding Political		

II. Explaining Conflict			
	Monday, September 6  The big picture I	Wednesday, September 8  The big picture II	Friday, September 10  Data workshop (add/drop deadline)
Discussion questions	Is the world getting more or less dangerous? Why is this such a difficult question? Why is this question important?	How do race and racism affect our understanding of international and national security? Has the pandemic changed international security? In what ways?	Where does international security data come from? How can we identify trends in these data? What are some effective ways to visualize data?
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Steven Pinker's TED Talk, "The Surprising Decline of Violence" Explore the CFR Global Conflict Tracker	On race and international security: Race and National Security, Horns of a Dilemma Podcast On COVID and international security: COVID-19 and Global Affairs: Crisis Diplomacy	Stephen Few. 2009.  "Analytic Patterns." Now You See It. Oakland, CA: Analytics Press, Chapter 6, 127–139.  Browse the data sources available on the following pages:  Correlates of War UCDP ICB Project START Project International Studies Data
Additional resources	Håvard Strand, Siri Aas Rustad, Henrik Urdal, and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård. 2019. Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946–2018. Peace Research Institute Oslo.  Jay Ulfelder. 2015. "A Note on Trends in Armed Conflict." Dart-Throwing Chimp.  Page Fortna. 2013. "Has Violence Declined in World Politics?" Perspectives on Politics 11(2): 566–70.	Kelebogile Zvobgo and Meredith Loken. 2020. "Why Race Matters in International Relations." Foreign Policy, June 19. Kevin Rudd. 2020. "The Coming Post-COVID Anarchy." Foreign Affairs, May 6.  Joseph Nye. 2020. "No, the Coronavirus Will Not Change the Global Order." Foreign Policy, April 16.	William Trochim. "Construct Validity." Research Methods Knowledge Base.

II. Expl	II. Explaining Conflict			
	Monday, September 13	Wednesday, September 15	Friday, September 17	
	The bargaining model of war	Bargaining failure	Applying the bargaining model	
Discussion questions	Why can't states avoid costly conflict? Should we think of states as rational actors? What does this model of conflict tell us about how to make war less likely? What are the assumptions of this model? Are they always valid?	What are the forms of bargaining failure that lead to war? What conflicts are most likely to experience each form of bargaining failure?	What would constitute a test of bargaining theories of war? What does it mean if the Iraq War or another conflict does not seem consistent with this model?	
Required readings	James D. Fearon. 1995.  "Rationalist Explanations for War." International Organization 49(3): 379–414.  Try the online bargaining simulator	Barbara F. Walter. 1997.  "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement."  International Organization 51(3): 335–64.	David A. Lake. 2010. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War." International Security 35(3): 7–52.	
Additional resources	Dan Reiter. 2003. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War." Perspectives on Politics 1(1): 27–43.	Cheap Talk Podcast. 2020. "Their Own Weird Physics Language."  Jeffrey M. Kaplow and Erik Gartzke. 2021. "The Determinants of Uncertainty in International Relations." International Studies Quarterly 65(2): 306–319.	Michael G. Findley and Joseph K. Young. 2011. "Terrorism, Democracy, and Credible Commitments." International Studies Quarterly 55(2): 357–78.	

II. F	II. Explaining Conflict			
	Monday, September 20 Misperception	Wednesday, September 22 <b>Leaders</b>	Friday, September 24  Gender and security	
Discussion questions	How might psychological processes contribute to the onset of conflict? How are psychological theories of conflict different from the rationalist models we just examined?	Does the likelihood of conflict depend on who is in charge?	What is the relationship between gender and security? Does gender inequality contribute to conflict?	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Búzás, Zoltán I. 2013. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." Security Studies 22(4): 573–606.	Michael Horowitz. 2016. "Why Leaders Fight." TEDX Talk.	Dara Kay Cohen and Sabrina Karim. 2021. "Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence." International Organization. Karen E. Smith. 2019. "Missing in Analysis: Women in Foreign Policy— Making." Video Abstract.	
Additional resources	Robert Jervis. 1988. "War and Misperception." The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 18(4): 675–700.  Arthur A. Stein. 1982. "When Misperception Matters." World Politics 34(04): 505–26.	Michael C. Horowitz and Allan C. Stam. 2014. "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders." International Organization 68(03): 527–59.  Whitlark, Rachel Elizabeth. 2017. "Nuclear Beliefs: A Leader-Focused Theory of Counter-Proliferation." Security Studies 26(4): 545–74.	Richard C. Eichenberg. 2016. "Gender Difference in American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force, 1982–2013." International Studies Quarterly 60(1): 138–148.  Patrick E. Shea and Charlotte Christian. 2017. "The Impact of Women Legislators on Humanitarian Military Interventions." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61(10): 2043–2073.	

II. E	II. Explaining Conflict			
	Monday, September 27  The democratic peace	Wednesday, September 29  Alternatives to the democratic peace	Friday, October 1  ** No Class **  Work on your empirical memo!	
Discussion questions	What set of empirical observations make up the "democratic peace?" Is the democratic peace a theory? What explains the democratic peace? Are these explanations consistent with other models of conflict?	What are other potential explanations for the democratic peace?		
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Bruce Russett. 1996. "Why Democratic Peace?" In Debating the Democratic Peace, eds. Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 82–115.  James D. Fearon. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." American Political Science Review 88(3): 577–92.	Srdjan Vucetic. 2011. "A Racialized Peace? How Britain and the US Made Their Relationship Special." Foreign Policy Analysis 7(4): 403–22.		
Additional resources	Jessica L. Weeks. 2008.  "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." International Organization 62(1): 35–64.	Duncan Bell. 2014. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." European Journal of International Relations 20(3): 647–70.  Allan Dafoe. 2011. "Statistical Critiques of the Democratic Peace: Caveat Emptor." American Journal of Political Science 55(2): 247–62.		

III. N	III. Managing Conflict			
	Monday, October 4	Wednesday, October 6	Friday, October 8	
	Deterrence	Alliances	Negotiation	
Assignments	Empirical memo due via Blackboard			
Discussion questions	What is the purpose of military strength? How does the "diplomacy of violence" change the way states interact? What kinds of military strength would be more useful for coercive diplomacy?	What is the purpose of alliances? What factors lead states to form alliances? How could the existence of an alliance prevent a conflict that would otherwise take place?	Why do some states refuse to negotiate? Why do some conflicts have no negotiations, while others have frequent negotiations? How would you encourage states to come to the table? Are international efforts to convince states to talk worthwhile?	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Thomas C. Schelling. 1966. "The Diplomacy of Violence." In Arms and Influence, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1–34.  Ash Carter interview on coercive diplomacy with North Korea, CBS This Morning, Sept. 6, 2017	Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2002. "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism."  International Organization 56(3): 575–607.	Jeffrey M. Kaplow. 2016. "The Negotiation Calculus: Why Parties to Civil Conflict Refuse to Talk?" International Studies Quarterly 60(1): 38–46.	
Additional resources	To get in the mood to discuss deterrence, watch Dr. Strangelove (streaming on HBO Max) or Fail Safe (streaming for free with ads on Crackle)	Mira Rapp-Hooper, CFR Fellows Book Launch Series. James D. Morrow. 2000. "Alliances: Why Write Them Down?" Annual Review of Political Science 3(1): 63–83. Brett Ashley Leeds. 2003. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." American Journal of Political Science 47(3): 427–439.	Kyle Beardsley. 2008.  "Agreement without Peace? International Mediation and Time Inconsistency Problems." American Journal of Political Science 52(4): 723–40.	

III. Managing Conflict			
	Monday, October 11  Institutions	Wednesday, October 13  Hotspot: South China Sea I	Friday, October 15  Hotspot: South China Sea II
Discussion questions	Are international institutions worth considering when it comes to peace and security? How might institutions work to keep the peace?		
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	John J. Mearsheimer. 1994.  "The False Promise of International Institutions." International Security 19(3): 5–49.  Cheap Talk Podcast. 2020.  "Our Expectations Are Too High."	IISS Sounds Strategic Podcast. 2020 "Caught in shifting tides: ASEAN, Australia and the geopolitics of the South China Sea," 16 June. Oriana Skylar Mastro. 2020. "Military Confrontation in the South China Sea." Council on Foreign Relations.	"Alternative Futures Analysis." In A Tradecraft Primer: Structured Analytic Techniques for Improving Intelligence Analysis. 2009. CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, 34–36.
Additional resources	David A. Lake. 2001. "Beyond Anarchy: The Importance of Security Institutions." International Security 26(1): 129–60.  John S. Duffield. 2008. "International Security Institutions: Rules, Tools, Schools, or Fools?" In The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions, eds. Bert A. Rockman, Sarah A. Binder, and R. A. W. Rhodes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Explore CSIS interactive maps.  Browse resources available on Council on Foreign Relations conflict page.  Watch "Virtual Roundtable: Growing Risk of a Military Confrontation in the South China Sea." 2020. Council on Foreign Relations.	Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Morjé Howard. 2008.  "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature." Annual Review of Political Science 11(1): 283–301.

IV. Security Threats			
	Monday, October 18  ** No Class **  Fall Break	Wednesday, October 20 Revisiting empirical patterns in international conflict	Friday, October 22  Civil War
Discussion questions			What causes civil wars? Are civil wars more frequent now than they used to be? Should we even be talking about civil wars in this class?
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings		Re-read your empirical memos and be prepared to discuss your findings.	Barbara Walter on civil wars and terrorism  James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War."  American Political Science Review 97(1): 75–90.
Additional resources			Kristin Bakke's TEDx talk, "When the Enemy of My Enemy Is Not My Friend"  IISS Sounds Strategic Podcast, "COVID-19 in fragile states: fighting conflict in the midst of a pandemic."  David E. Cunningham and Douglas Lemke. 2013. "Combining Civil and Interstate Wars." International Organization 67(03): 609–27.

IV.	IV. Security Threats			
	Monday, October 25  Peacekeeping	Wednesday, October 27  Counterinsurgency	Friday, October 29 <b>Hotspot: Yemen</b>	
Discussion questions	Does peacekeeping work? Why is this such a difficult question to answer? Should the international community push for more peacekeeping to stabilize internal conflicts?	What is counterinsurgency? What makes counterinsurgency successful? What recommendations would you make to US policymakers based on the reading?		
Required videos/ podcasts/ reading	Virginia Page Fortna. 2004.  "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." International Studies Quarterly 48(2): 269–92.  Richard Gowan and Louise Riis Andersen. 2020.  "Peacekeeping in the shadow of Covid-19 era." Danish Institute for International Studies.	Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." International Organization 63(01): 67–106.	Watch International Crisis Group. 2020. "Rethinking Approaches to Peacebuilding in Yemen." OR read International Crisis Group. 2020. "Rethinking Peace in Yemen."  Zachary Laub and Kali Robinson. 2020. "Yemen in Crisis." CFR Backgrounder.  Katariina Mustasilta. 2020. "From Bad to Worse: The impact(s) of Covid-19 on conflict dynamics." European Union Institute for Security Studies.	
Additional resources	Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Morjé Howard. 2008. "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature." Annual Review of Political Science 11(1): 283–301.	Jason Lyall. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." Journal of Conflict Resolution 53(3): 331–62.  Jason Lyall. 2010. "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." American Political Science Review 104(1): 1–20.	Tyler B. Parker and Peter Krause. "Yemen's Proxy War Explained." Political Violence as a Glance.	

IV. S	IV. Security Threats			
	Monday, November 1  Wartime sexual violence	Wednesday, November 3 <b>Terrorism</b>	Friday, November 5  How to build an atomic bomb (but don't)	
Discussion questions	What explains variation in wartime rape among different countries and conflicts? How can we effectively address wartime sexual violence?	Why do groups adopt terrorism as a strategy? Does it work? What does this mean for designing effective counterterrorism strategies?	What knowledge, skills, and resources are necessary to develop nuclear weapons? What are the "pathways" to nuclear weapons? How does civilian nuclear power technology differ from nuclear weapons technology?	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Dara Kay Cohen, Amelia Hoover Green, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2013. Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.	Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." International Security 31(1): 49–80.  Jessica Stern's TEDx talk (please don't try this research strategy yourself)	Joseph Cirincione, Jon Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar. 2005. Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threats (Second Edition). Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Chapter 3, 35–43.	
Additional resources	Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley. 2016. "Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries." Journal of Peace Research 53(1): 100–115.  Dara Kay Cohen. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)." American Political Science Review 107(3): 461-477.	Jakana Thomas. 2014.  "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." American Journal of Political Science 58(4): 804–818.  Daniel L. Byman and Andrew Amunson. 2020.  "Counterterrorism in a time of COVID." Brookings Order from Chaos Blog.	VICE. 2007. "How to Buy Nukes on the Black Market."  Frank Barnaby. "Nuclear Weapons." 2004. How to Build a Nuclear Bomb. New York: Nation Books, 15–39.  Office of Technology Assessment. 1993. "Technical Aspects of Nuclear Proliferation." Technologies Underlying Weapons of Mass Destruction, 119–195.	

IV. Security Threats			
	Monday, November 8	Wednesday, November 10	Friday, November 12
	Causes and consequences of nuclear proliferation	Nuclear intelligence	Hotspot: Iran's nuclear program
Assignments	Policy memo due via Blackboard		
Discussion questions	Why do states seek nuclear weapons? What do these findings suggest for efforts to stop states from proliferating? Does nuclear proliferation matter? How much effort should the international community exert to stop proliferation?	What makes nuclear intelligence particularly difficult? How confident should policymakers be in intelligence assessments of Iran's nuclear intent or Syria's alleged nuclear facility?	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Mark S. Bell. 2015. "Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy." International Security 40(1): 87–119.	National Intelligence Council. 2007. "Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities." National Intelligence Estimate.  "Background Briefing on Syria's Covert Nuclear Reactor." 2008.  Watch US government video presentation on Syrian nuclear reactor: Part 1 and Part 2	How the Iran Deal Works, Explained in 3 Minutes  Samuel M. Hickey and Manuel Reinert. 2021. "What's Iran's Nuclear Deal?" War on the Rocks.  Kali Robinson. 2021. "What is the Iran Nuclear Deal?" Council on Foreign Relations.  Tom Cotton. 2017. "A Conversation on the Iran Nuclear Deal." Council on Foreign Relations.  Colin Kahl. 2017. "The Myth of a 'Better' Iran Deal." Foreign Policy.
Additional resources	Cheap Talk Podcast. 2020.  "Outside the Bounds of Reasonable Behavior."  Scott D. Sagan. 2011. "The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation." Annual Review of Political Science 14(1): 225–44.	"Q&A on the Qom Enrichment Facility." 2009. Institute for Science and International Security. 2009. "ISIS Imagery Brief: Qom."	Edith Stokey and Richard Zeckhauser. 1978. "Decision Analysis." A Primer for Policy Analysis. New York: WW Norton.

IV. Security Threats				
	Monday, November 15  Nuclear terrorism	Wednesday, November 17  Missile and space weapons	Friday, November 19  The return of great power conflict	
Discussion questions	Would you advise US policymakers to devote more attention to the risk of nuclear terrorism? What are some challenges in mobilizing states to try to prevent low-probability events?	Do space weapons or missiles affect the strategic balance between states? Should we be worried about the development of these systems?	Is great power conflict making a comeback? Should great powers like the United States be more worried about peer competitors or asymmetric threats? Why do some see great power conflict as likely in the nee	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Graham Allison. 2006. "The Ongoing Failure of Imagination." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 62(5): 34–41.  Richards J. Heuer, Jr. 1999. "Biases in Estimating Probabilities." In Psychology of Intelligence Analysis, CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, 147–160.	Take the online NTI tutorial on missiles and other WMD delivery systems.  "Hypersonic Missile Nonproliferation." 2017. RAND Corporation.  Quickly skim "Updated List of Claims about GMD Effectiveness." mostlymissiledefense.com.	To be announced	
Additional resources	Christopher McIntosh and Ian Storey. 2018. "Between Acquisition and Use: Assessing the Likelihood of Nuclear Terrorism." International Studies Quarterly 62(2): 289–300.	Todd Harrison, Kaitlyn Johnson, Makena Young. 2021. "Defense Against the Dark Arts in Space." Center for Strategic and International Studies.  Explore the "Defense Systems" page on the CSIS Missile Threat website.  Watch IISS Webinar. 2020. "Space: An Emerging Domain of Conflict?"		

IV. Security Threats				
	Monday, November 22	Wednesday, November 24	Friday, November 26	
	Killer robots	** No Class **	** No Class **	
		Thanksgiving break	Thanksgiving break	
Assignments	Background memo due via Blackboard			
Discussion questions	Do drones and other unmanned capabilities make conflict more or less likely? What are the pros and cons of unmanned and automated military capabilities?			
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Charli Carpenter and Lina Shaikhouni. 2011. "Don't Fear the Reaper." Foreign Policy.  Malik Jalal. 2016. "I'm on the Kill List." The Independent.			
Additional resources	"Procedures for Approving Direct Action Against Terrorist Targets Located Outside the United States and Areas of Active Hostilities." 2013. Presidential Policy Guidance.  Jacquelyn Schneider and Julia MacDonald. 2014. "Are Manned or Unmanned Aircraft Better on the Battlefield?" Cicero Magazine.  Michael C. Horowitz. 2019. "When speed kills: Lethal autonomous weapon systems, deterrence and stability." Journal of Strategic Studies 42: 764–788.			

IV. Security Threats				
	Monday, November 29  How to build a cyber weapon	Wednesday, December 1 <b>Cyberwar</b>	Friday, December 3  Hotspot: Responding to a cyberattack	
Discussion questions	What are some possible goals of cyber-attack? What methods can states or non-state groups use to gain access to sensitive networks? How can potential attacks be prevented?	Is cyberwar a real threat to international security? How could cyber-attacks matter in a guns-and-bombs-type war? Could a war take place entirely in cyberspace?	Can cyber threats be deterred? How can threats in one domain (like cyber) deter state action in another domain (like nuclear)?	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	Reply All Podcast. "#97: What kind of idiot gets phished?" Gimlet Media  David Clark, Thomas Berson, and Herbert S. Lin. 2014. "On the Nature of Cybersecurity." At the Nexus of Cybersecurity and Public Policy: Some Basic Concepts and Issues. Washington, DC: National Academies of Science, 29–52.	Camille Stewart. 2020. "Systemic Racism is a Cybersecurity Threat." Council on Foreign Relations. Erik Gartzke. 2013. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth." International Security 38(2): 41–73.	Paul M. Nakasone and Michael Sulmeyer. 2020.  "How to Compete in Cyberspace." Foreign Affairs Online, August 25.  Michael Krepon. 2013.  "Inferred vs. Demonstrable Deterrence." Arm Control Wonk.	
Additional resources	The first few pages of Aleph One. 1996. "Smashing the Stack for Fun and Profit."  Phrack 7(49).  Watch the documentary Zero Days about the Stuxnet attack (streaming on HBO Max, available for rent on iTunes and Amazon)  Maddie Stone and Clement Lecigne. 2021. "How we protect users from 0-day attacks." Google Threat Analysis Group.	Lucas Kello. 2013. "The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft."  International Security 38(2): 7–40.  Jon R. Lindsay and Lucas Kello. 2014. "Correspondence: A Cyber Disagreement."  International Security 39(2): 181–92.	Erik Gartzke and Jon R. Lindsay. 2015. "Weaving Tangled Webs: Offense, Defense, and Deception in Cyberspace." Security Studies 24(2): 316–48.  CSIS online panel, "Who makes Cyberspace safe for democracy?"	

V. Conclusion				
	Monday, Nov. 9	Wednesday, Nov. 11	Friday, Nov. 13	
	US strategy and international security policy	What should the United States do now?	Wrap-up: Thinking clearly about international security	
Discussion questions	Does the United States have a strategy to address international security threats? How would you grade the US national security or defense strategies? What is missing? What is unnecessary?	What should the United States do today to anticipate the security threats of the future? What three specific steps would you recommend to reduce the risk of international conflict?	What do we know about international security?	
Required videos/ podcasts/ readings	James Goldgeier and Jeremy Suri. 2015.  "Revitalizing the U.S. National Security Strategy." The Washington Quarterly 38(4): 35–55.  Skim Interim National Security Strategic Guidance. 2021. Washington, DC: The White House.	No assigned readings	No assigned readings	