

CALVIN COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLS 304: International Peace and Security
Fall Semester, 2008
[A] Monday & Wednesday 1:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.

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Hours: 8:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Friday

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides an introduction to the study of international peace and security after the Cold War. It examines both theoretical issues and current developments. Topics include the structure of the post-Cold War international system, causes of war and war termination, conventional and nuclear forces, ballistic missiles and missile defense, arms control and disarmament, peacekeeping and peace enforcement, human security, and international order.

The course consists of four parts. *Part I* assesses the structure of the post-Cold War international system and considers the impact of both unit- and system-level variables on international stability. *Part II* analyzes post-Cold War challenges to peace and security. *Part III* examines the role of conventional and nuclear military forces in addressing these challenges. *Part IV* considers possible sources of international order, examining the role of international institutions as well as US economic and military power.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The course readings and writing assignments are intended to achieve three objectives. Firstly, they are intended to introduce students to basic concepts of international peace and security. Secondly, they are intended to provide students with a general understanding of various challenges to international peace and security in the post-Cold War world and possibilities for minimizing the dangers posed by these challenges. Thirdly, they are intended to assist students in developing analytical skills such that they can provide thoughtful and coherent arguments in oral and written form. The first and second objectives are necessary for careers or continued study in the fields of international relations and security studies, while the third is essential to the idea of a liberal arts education. All three help to equip students for work as agents of redemption and renewal within the world. *SOLI DEO GLORIA.*

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Students must complete all assigned readings before each class period and be active participants in each classroom session. The instructor will circulate a seating chart for students to sign, which will be used throughout the semester to record attendance and to facilitate classroom participation.

There will be three writing assignments. The first and second assignments will be short papers of three to five double-spaced pages in length and the third will be a longer paper of ten to fifteen double-spaced pages in length. Students will be called upon during appropriate class periods to discuss the topics they have selected for their papers.

In addition to the writing assignments, there will be a midterm examination and a final examination.

COURSE GRADES

Course grades will be based on the course objectives listed above, as determined by students' classroom participation, writing assignments, and examinations.

Classroom Participation

Classroom participation will be weighted as 20% of the final course grade. This is a real course at a real college, and as such you will be expected to read all of the assigned readings, with your participation in class attesting to how carefully you have read them. You will not necessarily be expected to agree with the readings, your fellow students, or the instructor, but you will be expected to be active and engaged participants, so as to learn from the lecture and discussion each day. In doing so, you will become part of an ongoing conversation.

Your participation grade will be based on your contribution to that conversation – not simply on how much “chatter” you engage in. Making a meaningful contribution to the conversation will require that you arrive in class each day able to give an account of what you understand from the day’s readings and discussion and/or what you do not understand. Learning requires preparation, and if necessary the instructor may call upon students who fail to participate in class. In addition to daily participation, the instructor will call upon students to discuss the topics addressed in their writing assignments during appropriate class periods, as noted below.

Ideally, students would be so motivated by the intensity of the readings and the perspicacity of the instructor that attendance would not need to be required. But because these are not ideal times, attendance will be included in assessing classroom participation. Every student will be allowed two unexcused absences, after which a penalty of 5% per day will be deducted from the final course grade. Please see the instructor as soon as possible if you know in advance of an absence due to an extracurricular activity or other excusable reason (at the instructor’s discretion). Most absences will not be excused, so plan accordingly.

Writing Assignments

The first writing assignment will be weighted as 15% of the final course grade. It will require analysis of concepts from *Part I* of the course and their application to the existing, post-Cold War international system. The assignment will be four to five double-spaced pages in length and will be due on October 3.

The second writing assignment will be weighted as 10% of the final course grade. It will require analysis of concepts from *Parts I and II* of the course and their application to a recent news event. The assignment will be three to four double-spaced pages in length and will be due on October 24.

The third writing assignment will be a term paper, which will be weighted as 25% of the final course grade. It will require analysis of a specific security threat and global responses thereto. Students must submit term paper proposals no later than October 27 and will be called upon during appropriate class periods to discuss their topics. In addition, students must submit draft outlines of their term papers no later than November 19. Completed term papers will be due on December 11.

Students must submit both printed and electronic versions of all papers. Printed and electronic versions must match exactly. The papers must be submitted as MS Word documents [**ver. 97–2003**] in a serif font (such as **Times New Roman**) of size 11 or 12 with 1” margins on all sides. Grades will be based on analytical rigor, writing skill and factual correctness, and will be determined as follows.

A	Excellent	C	Vague and unsupported; or wrong question
A-	Very good; or clear, but incomplete	C-	Very unclear and confusing; or no argument
B+	Clear, but with gaps; or very good, but somewhat unclear	D+	Generally poor; or unclear and misunderstood; or incorrect/missing citations
B	More gaps	D	Very poor
B-	Gaps and unclear parts	D-	Extremely poor
C+	Unclear throughout	F	Insufficient effort; or not submitted; or plagiarized

The instructor will not accept late papers in the absence of a medical or other substantial excuse. Students seeking to excuse a late paper should contact the instructor as soon as possible and may be required to provide appropriate documentation. Papers submitted electronically before the deadline will not be counted as late, provided that a printed version is submitted to the instructor’s office within 24 hours. *DIXI*.

Examinations

The mid-term and final examinations will be weighted as 10% and 20% of the final course grade, respectively. Each examination will be comprised primarily of short answer questions. The mid-term examination will be given in class on October 27, and the final examination will be given at 9:00 a.m. on December 16.

The instructor will not administer makeup exams in the absence of a medical or other substantial excuse. Students seeking to excuse a missed exam should contact the instructor as soon as possible and may be required to provide appropriate documentation. No early exams will be given.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

The instructor expects that all work submitted in this course will be a product of students' own minds and efforts, and specifically that:

1. Students will not take words from any source without putting quotation marks around such words and giving credit to the source. This includes sentences and phrases, as well as significant single words, such as those that express opinion or judgment.
2. Students will not take findings or ideas from any source without giving credit to the source. In paraphrasing, students will not use words so close to those contained in the source that, if a student's work were placed next to the source, it would be obvious that the student could not have written what s/he did except by borrowing directly from the source with only superficial changes.
3. Students will organize their thoughts and ideas according to a plan of their own creation and will not simply appropriate the plan of organization contained within another source. To the extent that a student's plan of organization is based upon another source, s/he will give credit to that source.
4. Students will neither ask nor allow someone else to write, revise, or otherwise modify their work in any way, nor reuse papers submitted in other courses or written by other students.

The student-faculty relationship is based on trust and mutual respect, which can be seriously undermined by the suspicion or reality of academic dishonesty. If you are in doubt about whether some form of assistance or use of materials constitutes academic dishonesty, please see the instructor. Any violation of these guidelines and/or other rules contained within the *Student Conduct Guide* will result in an *F* for the course and/or other appropriate disciplinary action, at the instructor's discretion.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

The college will make reasonable accommodation for students with documented disabilities. Students seeking accommodation should notify both the instructor and the Coordinator of Services to Students with Disabilities.

REQUIRED TEXTS

The following are required texts for this course and are available for purchase at the bookstore.

Baylis, John, James Wirtz, Colin S. Gray, and Eliot Cohen, eds. *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Art, Robert J., and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds. *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*. 6th ed. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

Johnson, James Turner. *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

Other supplemental journal articles and book sections are **on reserve** or available **online** as noted in the syllabus. Access to certain websites is available only via a Calvin College internet connection.

COURSE READINGS

[Please note the page numbers listed below, as only selected pages of certain articles or book sections are assigned.]

Part I: The Post-Cold War International System

September 8 – Introduction and Course Overview

Sheehan, Michael. “The Evolution of Modern Warfare.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 43–63.

Johnson, James Turner. “Introduction.” In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*, 1–7.

September 10 – Causes of War

Garnett, John. “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 20–39.

Van Evera, Stephen. “Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War.” In *The Use of Force*. Read pages 44–56 and 67.

Ember, Carol and Melvin Ember. “Resource Unpredictability, Mistrust, and War.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, no. 2 (1992). Read pages 242–5 and 256–9. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

September 15 – Morality and Warfare

Johnson, James Turner. “Thematic Content of Just War Tradition” and “The Just War Question in the Modern Era.” In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. Read pages 19–38 and 51–58.

September 17 – Polarity and System Stability

Wohlforth, William C. “The Stability of a Unipolar World.” *International Security* 24, no. 1 (1999). Read pages 23–37. Available online at from [JSTOR](#).

Waltz, Kenneth N. “Structural Realism after the Cold War.” *International Security* 25, no. 1 (2000). Read pages 5–6 and 27–39. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Pape, Robert A. “Soft Balancing against the United States.” *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005). Read pages 11–21 and 36–38. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

September 22 – Nuclear Deterrence and System Stability

Jervis, Robert. “The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence.” In *The Use of Force*, 94–100.

Posen, Barry R. “Inadvertent Nuclear War?” *International Security* 7, no. 2 (1982). Read pages 28–35. Available online at from [JSTOR](#).

Steinbruner, John D. “National Security and the Concept of Strategic Stability.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22, no. 3 (1978). Read pages 413–25. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

September 24 – Nuclear Proliferation and System Stability

Waltz, Kenneth N. “Nuclear Stability in South Asia.” In *The Use of Force*, 382–91.

Sagan, Scott D. “Nuclear Instability in South Asia.” In *The Use of Force*, 370–81.

Walton, C. Dale and Colin S. Gray. “Nuclear Weapons in the Twenty-First Century.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 210–20.

September 29 – Actors and System Stability

Waltz, Kenneth N. “Structural Realism after the Cold War.” Read pages 6–18. [see above]

Ayoob, Mohammed. “Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations.” *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002). Read pages 33–8. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Haass, Richard N. “The Age of Nonpolarity.” *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2008): 44–56. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

Part II: Post-Cold War Security Challenges

October 1 – Civil Wars and Ethnic Conflict

Kaufmann, Chaim. “Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars.” In *The Use of Force*. Read pages 395–404.

Johnson, James Turner. “War against Refugees.” In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*, 136–42.

“Atrocities beyond Words.” *The Economist*, 1 May 2008. [handout]

Mueller, John. “The Banality of ‘Ethnic War.’” *International Security* 25, no. 1 (2000). Read pages 42–58 and 67–70. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

October 3 – [NO CLASS]

[WRITING ASSIGNMENT #1 DUE AT NOON. NB: THIS IS A FRIDAY.]

October 6 – Terrorism and Asymmetric Conflict

Jenkins, Brian. “International Terrorism.” In *The Use of Force*, 77–84.

Williams, Phil. “Combating Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crime.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 194–201.

Riedel, Bruce. “Al Qaeda Strikes Back.” *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 3 (2007): 24–40. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

October 8 – Possibility of Interstate Conflict in East Asia

Christensen, Thomas J. “China, the U.S.–Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia.” *International Security* 23, no. 4 (1999). Read pages 52–69. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Ross, Robert S. “The Geography of Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century.” *International Security* 23, no. 4 (1999). Read pages 83–99 and 111–14. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Campbell, Kurt. “Nuclear Proliferation beyond Rogues.” *The Washington Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2002–03): 7–15. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

October 13 – Possibility of Interstate Conflict in South Asia

Yuan, Jing-dong. “The Dragon and the Elephant.” *The Washington Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2007). Read pages 134–9. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

Cohen, Stephen Philip. “The Jihadist Threat to Pakistan.” *The Washington Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (2003): 7–25. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

Quinlan, Michael. “India–Pakistan Deterrence Revisited.” *Survival* 47, no. 3 (2005): 103–16. Available online from <http://ejournals.ebsco.com/>.

October 15 – Possibility of Interstate Conflict in the Middle East

Haass, Richard N. “The New Middle East.” *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 6 (2006): 2–12. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

Carpenter, Ted Galen, and Malou Innocent. “The Iraq War and Iranian Power.” *Survival* 49, no. 4 (2007): 67–82. Available online from <http://ejournals.ebsco.com/>.

Talmadge, Caitlin. “Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz.” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (2008). Read pages 82–9. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

October 20 – The Israeli–Palestinian Conflict

Doran, Michael Scott. “Palestine, Iraq and American Strategy.” *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 1 (2003): 19–33. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

Takeyh, Ray. “Iran, Israel and the Politics of Terrorism.” *Survival* 48, no. 4 (2006): 83–96. Available online from <http://ejournals.ebsco.com/>.

Herzog, Michael. “Can Hamas Be Tamed?” *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (2006): 83–94. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

October 22 – Nontraditional Security Threats

Wirtz, James J. “A New Agenda for Security and Strategy?” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 338–54.

Singer, Peter W. “AIDS and International Security.” *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002): 145–58. Available online from <http://ejournals.ebsco.com/>.

Dupont, Alan. “The Strategic Implications of Climate Change.” *Survival* 50, no. 3 (2008): 29–47. Available online from <http://ejournals.ebsco.com/>.

October 24 – [NO CLASS]

[WRITING ASSIGNMENT #2 DUE AT NOON. NB: THIS IS A FRIDAY.]

October 27 – MID-TERM EXAMINATION

[TERM PAPER PROPOSALS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EXAM PERIOD.]

Part III: Military Force in a Changing World

October 29 – ACADEMIC ADVISING

November 3 – Conventional Air, Land, and Sea Forces

Moran, Daniel. “Geography and Strategy.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 124–36.

Pape, Robert A. “The True Worth of Air Power.” *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (2004): 116–30. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

November 5 – Technology and the Future of Warfare

Cohen, Eliot. “Technology and Warfare.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 148–58.

Ferris, John. “Conventional Power and Contemporary Warfare.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 258–68.

Biddle, Stephen. “Iraq, Afghanistan, and Military Transformation.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 275–92.

November 10 – Insurgency and Counterinsurgency

Kiras, James D. “Irregular Warfare.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 164–83.

Mueller, John. “Policing the Remnants of War.” *Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 5 (2003): 507–18. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Metz, Steven. “Understanding 21st Century Insurgency.” *Parameters* 37, no. 4 (2007-08). Read pages 26–32. Available online from [Academic OneFile](#).

Johnson, James Turner. “War against Noncombatants: Reflections.” In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. Read pages 152–8.

November 12 – Ballistic Missiles and WMD Proliferation

Fetter, Steve. “Ballistic Missiles and Weapons of Mass Destruction” *International Security* 16, no. 1 (1991). Read pages 9–28. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Falkenrath, Richard A. et al. “Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack.” In *The Use of Force*, 463–8.

Parachini, John. “Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective.” *The Washington Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (2003). Read pages 41–6. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

November 17 – Ballistic Missile Defense

Utgoff, Victor. “Missile Defence and American Ambitions.” In *The Use of Force*. Read pages 338–46.

Waltz, Kenneth. “Missile Defenses and the Multiplication of Nuclear Weapons.” In *The Use of Force*, 347–52.

Union of Concerned Scientists. “Countermeasures.” Cambridge, MA: UCS, 2000. Read pages 19–29 and 39–48. Available online from http://www.ucsusa.org/assets/documents/global_security/CM_all.pdf.

Part IV: Sources of International Order

November 19 – Sovereignty and International Law

Morris, Justin. “Law, Politics, and the Use of Force.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 108–15.

Westra, Joel H. *International Law and the Use of Armed Force: The UN Charter and the Major Powers*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Read pages 10–21. Available [on reserve](#).

Johnson, James Turner. “Politics, Power, and the International Order.” In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. Read pages 12–19.

[TERM PAPER OUTLINES DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CLASS PERIOD.]

November 24 – Warfare and International Law

Morris, Justin. “Law, Politics, and the Use of Force.” In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 115–18.

Johnson, James Turner. “Noncombatants and Their Protection” and “War Fighting and the Goal of Peace.” In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. Read pages 125–35 and 207–18.

Roberts, Adam. “Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War.” *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002). Read pages 11–15 and 20–7. Available online from <http://ejournals.ebsco.com/>.

November 26 – Intervention in Civil Wars and Failed States

Kaufmann, Chaim. "Intervention in Civil Wars." In *The Use of Force*. Read pages 405–14.

Posen, Barry. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters." In *The Use of Force*, 415–35.

Farrell, Theo. "Humanitarian Intervention and Peace Operations." In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 322–32.

December 1 – War Termination and Peace Agreements

Walter, Barbara. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." In *The Use of Force*, 436–49.

Johnson, James Turner. "War Conduct, War Crimes, and Justice in the Ending of Armed Conflicts." In *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. Read pages 195–207.

Gibson, James L. "Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" *Annals of the AAPSS* 603 (2006). Read pages 85–90. Available online at <http://ann.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/603/1/82>.

December 3 – Nonproliferation and Counterproliferation

Baylis, John and Mark Smith. "The Control of Weapons of Mass Destruction." In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 239–50.

Shen, Dingli. "Can Sanctions Stop Proliferation?" *The Washington Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2008): 89–100. Available online from [Project Muse](#).

Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. "An Unnecessary War." *Foreign Policy* 134 (2003): 50–59. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

December 8 – NO CLASS

[FRIDAY CLASS SCHEDULE IN EFFECT.]

December 10 – Counterterrorism

Williams, Phil. "Combating Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crime." In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Read pages 202–7.

Chellaney, Brahma. "Lessons from Fighting Terrorism in Southern Asia." In *The Use of Force*, 458–62.

Pillar, Paul. "Dealing with Terrorists." In *The Use of Force*, 469–76.

Bush, George W. "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism." Washington, D.C.: The White House, 2006. Read pages 9–17. Available online from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nsct/2006/nsct2006.pdf>.

December 11 – [NO CLASS]

[TERM PAPERS DUE AT NOON. NB: THIS IS A THURSDAY.]

December 16 – FINAL EXAMINATION

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