

Rey Koslowski
Associate Professor
Political Science
University at Albany
121c Milne Hall
T: 518-442-5314
rkoslowski@uamail.albany.edu

Political Science 582
Weds. 5:45-8:35
Husted Hall 13
Office Hours:
Weds. 4:30-5:30

Global Security

Fall 2011

Preliminary draft syllabus

This graduate seminar introduces students to the basic concepts of the subfield of security studies and considers contemporary security issues and challenges. We begin by reviewing the history of warfare as a basis for theoretical and policy development in the 20th Century. The evolution of national security politics of the United States after WWII and the development of nuclear deterrence within the context of the Cold War with the Soviet Union became the basis for theories of deterrence that produced the dominant conceptual framework of international security of the latter half of the 20th Century and the prism through which nuclear proliferation and arms control have been analyzed. The course will also examine changing technologies and methods of warfare in the post-cold war era and consider their broader implications. We will also consider the implications of globalization for the balance of power and the production of military capabilities as well as the tensions between economic globalization and the imperatives of homeland security. Although the course will primarily focus on military capabilities and survey traditional topics of security studies, we will also consider alternative concepts of societal security and human security that developed in the changing circumstances of the post-Cold War world, called into question certain postulates of international relations theories associated with the nuclear superpower conflict and broadened security studies to embrace topics such as population, migration and the environment.

The course is intended for graduate students in the Political Science department and designed for those who have completed POS 570 Field Seminar in International Relations (or are taking the course concurrently). Others are more than welcome; however, the course presupposes that students are familiar with international relations concepts and theories.

Course Learning Objectives:

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

1. Identify key concepts and describe the steps of an argument
2. Articulate major arguments in the security studies literature
3. Relate those arguments in security studies to major theories of international politics
4. Engage in discussions with both faculty and fellow students that critically evaluate common readings
5. Ask incisive questions of texts as well as of fellow seminar participants
6. Construct a research paper proposal
7. Orally present preliminary findings
8. Incorporate feedback from fellow seminar participants to improve final written paper

Required textbooks:

Stephen Brooks, Producing *Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* (Princeton University Press 2007) ISBN-10: 0691130310

William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (University Of Chicago Press, 1984) ISBN-10: 0226561585

Peter W. Singer, *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century* (Penguin Press, 2009)

Max Boot, *War Made New* (NY: Gotham Books, 2006)

Recommended:

Paul Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Routledge 2008) ISBN-10: 041542562

Additional required readings: The bulk of the readings will be journal articles. Unless noted, all required journal articles can be accessed on-line and at the UAlbany Library via "e-journals." This includes articles in *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Washington Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy*, etc.

Readings that are not available in the UAlbany e-journal collection and are marked with an asterisk (*) will be made available on Blackboard.

Description of requirements:

1. Reaction papers: Students will submit **four** brief papers (of approx. 700 words) in which student react to required weekly readings of four selected class sessions. These reaction papers are intended generate informed class discussion, so they must be written and submitted **before** class. It is best for students to hand in a hard copy but they may also email a paper (must arrive in the instructor's mailbox before class). These papers should briefly state the main arguments of individual pieces assigned, critically evaluate arguments made and (when possible) relate the articles to one another. Each reaction paper is worth 5% of the course grade. Excellent papers will receive 5 points, good 4 points, passing 3 points, failing 2 points. A total of **four reaction papers** must be submitted for full credit. Students may choose which week's readings to review, however, reaction papers chosen **must** be distributed in the following manner:

One reaction paper for the readings from a class session of Part I

One for readings class session of Part II

One for readings from a class session of Part III

One for readings from class most closely associated to your research paper topic (Part I, II or III).

If students do not hand in the required reaction paper by the end of each part of the course, the overdue paper will be considered a failing paper. They will **not receive credit for the missing reaction paper**.

2. Questions for discussion: For those weeks that students do not submit reaction papers, they should formulate two thoughtful questions about the assigned readings (aside from the first class i.e. 8 weeks worth). These questions should be formulated with the audience of the entire class in mind and with the objective of generating discussion. Students must post the questions on the Blackboard discussion board by 9 AM on the day of class and they should paste the questions on a word document that lists by date all of the students' questions and reaction papers (A schedule of class session dates and titles will be posted and can be used for organization). This inventory of questions must be submitted on the last day of class.

3. Term paper: PhD students are expected to write a paper of about 8,000 words (approx. 30 pp. double-paced, 12 pt, one inch margins). PhD student papers should demonstrate a command of the theoretical literature relevant to the topic selected and develop an analytical argument related to debates in that literature. Students may any one of the following: 1) a paper that is based on secondary sources; 2) a paper based mostly on primary sources or 3) a paper based on the analysis of existing data sets or data that the student has collected. PhD students should model their paper on articles published in *International Security* or *Security Studies*. Masters students are expected to write a paper of about 5,500 words (approx. 20 pp). Masters students may opt to model their papers on policy-oriented articles that are found in *Foreign Affairs*, *Washington Quarterly*, etc. All students are expected to draw on material from the syllabus but students should also incorporate significant additional research on the topic chosen (which would be reflected in a majority of references to material not listed as required reading on the syllabus). All students may select a topic of their own choosing as long as it is within the confines of the course and approved by the instructor. For those students having difficulty selecting a topic, a good approach would be to consider a paper topic that delves into the details of one aspect of one of the session topics. At the very beginning of the course, students should carefully review the entire syllabus and scan readings for possible topics.

All students are expected to submit a one sentence paper topic by 9/14. Students are expected to submit a full paper proposal comprised of a 100-150 word abstract, outline and bibliography by 10/5. The proposal should be emailed to rkoslowski@uamail.albany.edu. If students miss this deadline, a half letter grade will be subtracted from the final grade for the paper. Students will give a presentation (8-10 minutes) of their preliminary findings during the second half of the course at times to be determined. Final seminar papers are due on 12/7. All sources must be in a bibliography at the end of the paper and properly referenced in the text (author, date, page number). Papers without proper references are unacceptable and will not be read. Papers should be emailed to rkoslowski@uamail.albany.edu (An additional hard copy may also be handed in.)

4. Class participation: Students are expected to attend all classes, complete all assigned readings in advance of class and be prepared to discuss them. The base line grade for class participation is a D. Routine attendance with minimal participation will earn a C. Regular contributions to class discussion that are appropriate and draw on readings will earn a B. Students who are consistently well-prepared to discuss the assigned readings nearly every class and actively participate in discussions will receive an A for class participation.

Grading:

Reaction papers	about 20%
Discussion questions	about 10%
Term paper	about 50%
Class participation	about 20%

Late assignments will be penalized.

Plagiarism and cheating will not be tolerated.

Students must properly reference all sources, including assigned readings, in all written assignments.

References to all sources must be clearly indicated. Direct quotations must be marked with double quotation marks (e.g. "...") and the source cited. Indirect quotations must have source cited. Sources require citation each time they are referred to.

Class Schedule:

8/31 Introduction

Required reading:

Walt, Stephen "The Renaissance of Security Studies" *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (1991) no. 2: 211-239.

*Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 8-20, 30-38, 39-65

Recommended:

Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol," *Political Science Quarterly*, 67 (1952), no. 4, pp. 481-502.

Part I Security in a Nuclear World

9/7 History and Nature of Warfare

Required reading:

William H. McNeill, *Pursuit of Power*, Chs 1-8 (pp.1-306)

*Carl von Clausewitz, "War as an Instrument of Policy" from *On War*, Book 5, Ch. 6. (4 pp)

Watch: *The Fog of War*

9/14 The Use of Force and Nuclear Deterrence

(paper topic due)

Required reading:

William H. McNeill, *Pursuit of Power*, Chs 9-10 (307-388)

*Thomas C. Shelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1966), pp. 1-34.

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, Vol. 30 No 2 (January 1978); pp. 186-214

John Mueller. "The Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security*, V.13, #2 (1988), pp. 55-79.

Robert Jervis, "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment," *International Security*, V. 13, #2, (1988) pp. 80-90.

Watch: *Dr. Strangelove*

Recommended:

Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz eds. *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics* 7th ed. (Rowman and Littlefield, 2008).

9/21 The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Required reading:

Paul K. Kerr, "Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons and Missiles: Status and Trends," Congressional Research Service Report, February 20, 2008
http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL30699_20080220.pdf

*Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Norton 2003), 88-124.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 50-66

Graham Allison, "Nuclear Disorder: Surveying Atomic Threats," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2010

Matthew Kroenig. "Exporting the Bomb: Why States Provide Sensitive Nuclear Assistance," *American Political Science Review* (February 2009), p. 113-133.

Steven E. Miller and Scott D. Sagan.. "Nuclear Power without Nuclear Proliferation?" *Dædalus* Vol.138 (2009), No. 4, pp. 7-18. [This is the introduction to a special issue of *Dædalus* devoted to the spread of nuclear energy].

Watch: *Last Best Chance* <http://www.lastbestchance.org/>

Recommended:

David Albright and Corey Hinderstein, "Unraveling the A.Q. Khan and Future Proliferation Networks," *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2005
http://www.twq.com/05spring/docs/05spring_albright.pdf

John Mueller. *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

The April 2009 special issue of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* which focused on strategic approaches to nuclear proliferation.

Matthew Fuhrmann, "Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 7–41.

Gregory Koblenz, "Pathogens as Weapons: The International Security Implications of Biological Warfare," *International Security* Vol. 28, Issue 3 - Winter 2003, 84-122.

10/5 Arms Control and Nuclear Disarmament

(Paper Proposal due)

Bernard Brodie, "On the Objectives of Arms Control," *International Security*, Summer 1976, pp. 17-36.

*Samuel P. Huntington, "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz eds. *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics* 3rd ed. (Landham, MD: University Press of America, 1988).

Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The End of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of U.S. Primacy," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 7–44.

Ivo Daalder and Jan Lodal, "The Logic of Zero," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2008.

Charles D. Ferguson, "The Long Road to Zero: Overcoming the Obstacles to a Nuclear-Free World," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2010.

Tom Z. Collina, Daryl G. Kimball, *The Case for the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty* Arms Control Association Brief, December 2010.

http://www.armscontrol.org/system/files/NewSTART_Report_FINAL_Nov_30.pdf

Michael S. Gerson, "No First Use: The Next Step for U.S. Nuclear Policy," *International Security* Fall 2010, Vol. 35, No. 2, Pages 7-47.

Matthew Rendall, "Nuclear Weapons and Intergenerational Exploitation," *Security Studies* 16, no. 4 (October–December 2007): 525–554.

Recommended:

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/140035.pdf>

2010 Nuclear Posture Review (NPR)

<http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20nuclear%20posture%20review%20report.pdf>

Part II Revolutions in Military Affairs

10/12 Revolution in Military Affairs and the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

Arthur K. Cebrowski and John J. Garstka "Network-Centric Warfare: Its Origin and Future" US Naval Institute Proceedings, 1998

http://www.kinecton.com/ncoic/ncw_origin_future.pdf

Ian Roxborough, "From Revolution to Transformation - The State of the Field" *Joint Force Quarterly* Vol 1, Issue 5 (Autumn 2002)

http://www.army.mil/professionalwriting/volumes/volume1/august_2003/8_03_8.html

Max Boot, *War Made New*, Intro (pp. 7-16) part IV (pp. 307-438)

Robert L. Paarlberg, Knowledge as Power: Science, Military Dominance, and U.S. Security. *International Security* Vol. 29 (2004), No. 1, pp. 122-151.

Recommended:

Donald Rumsfeld, "Transforming the Military" *Foreign Affairs* 81:3 (May-June 2002), 20-32.

US Department of Defense, *Joint Vision 2020*, May 2000 (especially pp. 1-11, 22-25, 28-33)
http://www.fs.fed.us/fire/doctrine/genesis_and_evolution/source_materials/joint_vision_2020.pdf

US Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, February 2010,
<http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/strategic/qdr2010.pdf>

10/19 Cyber warfare

Required reading:

Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui *Unrestricted Warfare* (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House, February 1999), (selections from FBIS English translation), Intro to Part 1, chapters 1-2 at: <http://www.cryptome.org/cuw.htm>

Joseph Nye Jr. "Cyber Power," Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, May 2010.
<http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA522626&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

Clay Wilson, "Information Operations, Electronic Warfare, and Cyberwar," Congressional Research Service Report, June 5, 2007 http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL31787_20070605.pdf

William J. Lynn III, "Defending a New Domain: The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2010.

James Farwell and Rafal Rohozinski, "Stuxnet and the Future of Cyber War" *Survival*, Volume 53, Number 1, 2011, pp. 23-40.

Department of Defense Strategy for Operating in Cyberspace, July 2011
http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2011/0411_cyberstrategy/docs/DoD_Strategy_for_Operating_in_Cyberspace_July_2011.pdf

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "Cyber-Mobilization: The New *Levee en Masse*." Summer 2006. pp. 77-87.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/Articles/06summer/cronin.pdf>

Wesley K. Clark and Peter L. Levin, "Securing the Information Highway." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2009) no. 6: 2-10.

Recommended:

Matt Bishop and Emily O. Goldman, "The Strategy and Tactics of Information Warfare," *Contemporary Security Policy* 24, (1) (Apr. 2003), pp. 113-139.

10/26 Military Robotics

Singer, *Wired for War*, chs. 1-19 (pp. 19-381).

11/2 Emerging Weapons Technologies and Arms Control

Boot, Ch 13, Epilogue (pp. 455-473).

Jack Goldsmith, "Can we stop the global cyber arms race?" *Washington Post*, February 1, 2010
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/01/31/AR2010013101834.html>

Charles J. Dunlap Jr., "Perspectives for Cyber Strategists on Law for Cyberwar," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Spring 2011
http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2992&context=faculty_scholarship&sei-redir=1#search=%22cyber%20arms%20control%22

Ramtin Amin, "Controlling Behavior – Not Arms: Moving Forward on an International Convention for Cyberspace," Project Minerva Working Paper Series, May 2010.
<http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Cyber%20Arms%20Treaty%20Updated%20Draft%20PM.pdf>

Singer, *Wired for War*, chs. 20-22 (pp. 382-436)

Gary E. Marchant, et. al., "International Governance of Autonomous Military Robots," *The Columbia Science and Technology Law Review*, Vol. 12 (2011) article 7.

Thomas D. Vandermolen, "Molecular Nanotechnology and National Security," *Air and Space Power Journal* (Fall 2006), pp. 96-106.

Jürgen Altmann and Mark A. Gubrud, "Military, Arms Control, and Security Aspects of Nanotechnology," in D. Baird, A. Nordmann & J. Schummer (eds.), *Discovering the Nanoscale*, Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2004.
<http://cnmt.kist.re.kr/data/newsletter/file/discovering%20the%20nano/altmann-gubrud.pdf>

William Tolles, "in Defense of Nanotechnology in Defense," in Mihail C. Roco and William Sims Bainbridge eds. *Nanotechnology: Societal Implications—Individual Perspectives II* (National Science Foundation, 2007) http://www.wtec.org/SocietalImplications/2/si2vii_report.pdf

Recommended:

Arie J. Schaap, "Cyber Warfare Operations: Development and Use under International Law," *The Air Force Law Review* Vol. 64 (2009) 121

Part III: After the Cold War: Globalization and Security

11/9 US Grand Strategy: Soft Balancing and the Rise of the Rest

Barry Posen and Robert S. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security*, Vol 21 No 3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 72-108.

William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24, no. 1 (1999): pp. 5-41.

Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing against the United States," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005).

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005).

Gat, Azar. 2007. "The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers." 59-69. *Foreign Affairs*, 2007.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Future of American Power: How America can Survive the Rise of the Rest," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008.

Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu, "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011): 41–72.

Recommended:

Christopher Layne, "The Waning of U.S. Hegemony—Myth or Reality? A Review Essay," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 147–172.

Robert Jervis, "The Remaking of a Unipolar World," *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2006
http://www.twq.com/06summer/docs/06summer_jervis.pdf

John J. Mearsheimer, "China's Unpeaceful Rise," *Current History*, Apr 2006

Daniel W. Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009), pp. 7–45.

11/16 Defense Industry Globalization

Stephen Brooks, *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* (Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 1-266.

11/30 Human Security: Population, Migration, Health, Environment

Commission on Human Security, Final Report, *Human Security Now*, 2003, Read ch. 1 (pp. 1-19), skim the rest, available as pdf at:

<http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/91BAEEDBA50C6907C1256D19006A9353-chs-security-may03.pdf>

Jack A. Goldstone, "The New Population Bomb: The Four Megatrends that will Change the World," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2010.

Mark L. Haas, "A Geriatric Peace? The Future of U.S. Power in a World of Aging Populations," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 112–147.

Fiona Adamson, "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security," *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 165-199, summer 2006.

Gregory D. Koblentz, "Biosecurity Reconsidered: Calibrating Biological Threats and Responses," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Spring 2010): 96–132.

John Podesta and Peter Ogden, "The Security Implications of Climate Change," *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2008 http://www.twq.com/08winter/docs/08winter_podesta.pdf

Recommended:

Kelly M. Greenhill, *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion and Foreign Policy* (Cornell University Press, 2010).

12/7 International Trade and Travel vs. Homeland Security

(Final paper due)

Required reading:

Stephen E. Flynn, "American the Vulnerable," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 1 (Jan-Feb. 2002): 60-74

Dennis Blair and Kenneth Lieberthal. "Smooth Sailing." *Foreign Affairs* 86, (2007) no. 3: 7-13

Marc Levinson, "Freight Pain." *Foreign Affairs* 87 (2008), no. 6: 133-140.

Max Boot, "Pirates, Then and Now." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2009), no. 4: 94-107.

*Rey Koslowski, "Crime and Terrorism," Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook on International Migration* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

Susan Ginsburg, *Countering Terrorist Mobility* (Migration Policy Inst, 2006),
http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MPI_TaskForce_Ginsburg.pdf read pp.1-26, skim rest

"Securing America's Borders at Ports of Entry," US Customs and Border Protection, at:
<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=469950> (49 pp. lots of pics)

Recommended reading:

9-11 Commission Staff Monograph on 9/11 and Terrorist Travel at:
http://www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/index.htm