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# Global Security

Spring 2016

## Preliminary draft syllabus

This course introduces students to the basic concepts and issues of security in the contemporary world. After briefly reviewing the historical development of war, the course examines deterrence, alliances, collective security, conventional war, and the nuclear revolution. The course then analyzes emerging transnational threats such as terrorism, the challenges of the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, the tensions between economic globalization and the imperatives of homeland security and the technological changes giving rise to new weaponry such as military robotics as well as the prospects of cyber warfare.

**Master of International Affairs program core course:** The course is designed for professional students in the Master of International Affairs (MIA) degree program. It is designed to provide a foundation for courses in the Global and Homeland Security concentration as well as a broad overview of key concepts and information that will be useful to students who chose other concentrations in the program. Graduate students from other Rockefeller College and UAlbany masters programs are more than welcome to join the class.

**PhD students:** Although this class is designed to meet the needs of masters students preparing for professional international affairs careers, PhD students with an academic vocation are more than welcome. PhD students will receive additional reading assignments (See Appendix 1 below) that will help prepare for International Relations comprehensive exams of the Political Science PhD program. If PhD students are interested, the instructor will arrange some additional sessions to discuss these readings. With these additional readings, the course is comparable to RPOS 582

**Prerequisites:** There are no formal prerequisites. Ideally, students will have taken at least a general course in international relations at the undergraduate level. Those who have not yet studied international relations should consult the instructor for a few additional readings that the student should complete at the beginning of the semester or just before.

### Course Learning Objectives:

By the end of this course, students should:

- Understand the historical development of warfare
- Be able to identify major contemporary security issues and understand how the major theories of international relations address these security issues
- Understand the functioning of deterrence as opposed to defense and appreciate the consequences of the nuclear revolution for deterrence
- Appreciate the role of non-state actors and new technology in transforming state capabilities to provide security
- Be able to effectively read government documents and extract relevant information

- Be able to critically evaluate common readings in discussions with fellow students and collectively produce policy research deliverables
- Be able to orally present policy research findings
- Be able to write concise memos and reports that can be understood by members of the policy community and educated laypeople.

**Teaching and learning modalities:**

In addition to class discussions and online discussions via Blackboard, we will utilize synchronous distance-learning tools Zoom and Skype to enable members of the class and guest lecturers to join class from remote locations as well as to enable groups of students to work together on group projects. Students aspiring to professional international affairs careers should be able to express themselves and communicate in a range of formats and modes from email exchanges and informal dialogues with co-workers to formal written reports and oral presentations to the leadership of their organizations and that of other organizations with whom they may need to negotiate. While presentations often take place in conference rooms similar in size to our classrooms, they may also be done on conference calls and through videoconferences. Hence, teleconference and videoconference sessions of class should be considered opportunities to practice and learn effective communication and presentation skills. Similarly, PhD students who learn to use synchronous distance learning tools may subsequently use those skills in research teams and co-authoring as well as the courses that they will teach. Depending on the number of PhD students and their schedules, additional sessions to discuss PhD readings may be by webconference.

**Required textbooks:**

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

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

*The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton 2004). Also available as pdf at:

<http://www.911commission.gov>

(Books will be available at the UAlbany Bookstore)

**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:**

**Class participation:** All students are expected to attend all classes, complete all assigned readings in advance of class and be prepared to discuss them, including cold calls. 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.

**Personal statement:** All students are asked to submit a 250-word statement describing their interests and professional background as they relate to this course. These should be posted on the discussion forum on Blackboard. Although this is a mandatory assignment, it will not be graded; its purpose is to allow the instructor to organize class discussions effectively, and for students to get to know one another better.

**Extemporaneous speech:** All students will give an extemporaneous speech of 5-7 minutes on a topic related to the course at the beginning of a class session. Students will select the date of the speech but students will need to arrive to the instructor's office 40 minutes in advance of the class at which time he or she will draw a topic from a basket. The student will then have approximately 30 minutes to prepare and practice the speech. Students may review newspapers, journal articles and online resources, etc., however, the student may only use 50 words of notes on a 3x5 index card when delivering the speech. After all students complete their speeches for the class session, the instructor and classmates may offer comments and suggestions. The assignment will be graded on a pass/fail basis and will only impact the student's grade if it is not completed. More information about extemporaneous speaking can be found at the National Forensic League website: <http://www.nationalforensicleague.org>

**Questions for discussion:** All students should formulate at least one but no more than three thoughtful questions about the required common readings for each week of class (aside from the first class, i.e., 12 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 12:00 noon on the day of class. Over the course of the semester, students should paste the questions in a word document that lists by date all of the students' questions (A schedule of class session dates and titles will be posted and can be used for organization). This inventory of questions must be submitted to the instructor via email on the last day of class.

**A briefing paper** (maximum 1,500 words) You are a staff person for a member of the state assembly who has just won your party's nomination to run for Congress. The candidate was a civil engineering major in college, held state government positions overseeing transportation infrastructure and has been a very effective local politician but never studied international relations, did not serve in the military, never travelled abroad (and does not have a passport). In one month, the candidate will need to debate an opponent who is a veteran. The candidate has learned that you are studying for a Masters degree in international affairs and wants you to provide a briefing paper on deterrence and nuclear weapons in order to prepare for the debate. The paper should explain the difference between defense and deterrence, explain the consequences of the nuclear revolution for deterrence, review the current status of nuclear weapons (number, deployment, US, Russian, other countries) and evaluate effectiveness of deterrence today. You can write a perfectly good paper drawing from the assigned course readings but you should feel free to review recommended readings and other sources.

**Team project:** Students working in teams will produce a group presentation (15 minutes) and report (2,000 words) analyzing a security issue discussed in part II of course. Students will be assigned to groups and the instructor will distribute topics. The presentations will take place as part of the class sessions. Groups should use group Skype or other synchronous distance-learning tool to meet outside of class to work together on the project.

**Issue brief:** Each student will select an issue from one of the three session topics of part III and write a paper (1,500 words) that summarized key aspects of the issue selected, related challenges that confront policymakers and policy options that address those challenges. Students should review recommended government documents in addition to required readings. The paper is due at the beginning of the session selected and students will give the class an 8-10 minute briefing during that class.

**Final exam:** The first part is an in-class exam of term identification/short answers on the last day

of class (one hour); second part is take-home with one or more essay questions (2,000-words total).

**Term paper for PhD students:** In lieu of the team project, issue brief and final exam, 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 write 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*. 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.

PhD students are expected to submit a one sentence paper topic by 2/8. Students are expected to submit a full paper proposal comprised of a 100-150 word abstract, outline and bibliography by 2/22. The proposal should be emailed to [rkoslawski@albany.edu](mailto:rkoslawski@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 (10-15 minutes) of their preliminary findings during the second half of the course at times to be determined. Final seminar papers are due on 5/2. All sources must be in a bibliography at the end of the paper and properly referenced in the text (author, date, page number) or in footnotes. Papers without proper references are unacceptable and will not be read. Papers should be emailed to [rkoslawski@albany.edu](mailto:rkoslawski@albany.edu) (An additional hard copy may also be handed in.)

**Masters Student Grading:**

Class participation	about 20%
Questions	about 5%
Briefing paper	about 15%
Group project	about 15%
Issue brief	about 15%
Final exam	about 30%

**PhD Student Grading:**

Class participation	about 20%
Questions	about 5%
Briefing paper	about 15%
Term paper	about 60%

**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:

### 1/25 Introduction

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

## Part I Security in a Nuclear World

### 2/1 History and Nature of Warfare

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* (Director: Erol Morris, 2004, 95 minutes)

### 2/8 The Use of Force and Nuclear Deterrence

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.

Richard Betts, "The Lost Logic of Deterrence: What the Strategy That Won the Cold War Can -- and Can't -- Do Now," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2013.

**Watch:** *Dr. Strangelove* (Director: Stanley Kubrick, 1964, 95 minutes)

### 2/15 Nuclear Accidents, Arms Control and Nuclear Disarmament

Eric Schlosser, listen to interview with author of *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety* on Fresh Air, National Public Radio at:

<http://www.npr.org/2014/08/11/339131421/nuclear-command-and-control-a-history-of-false-alarms-and-near-catastrophes>

Read excerpt of the book at:

<http://www.npr.org/books/titles/339131570/command-and-control-nuclear-weapons-the-damascus-accident-and-the-illusion-of-sa?tab=excerpt#excerpt>

Explore: Nukemap at <http://nuclearsecrecy.com/nukemap/>

Ashton B Carter, Michael M. May and William J., Perry, "The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City," *Washington Quarterly*, V30, #4 (Autumn 2007), pp. 19-32.

George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," *Wall Street Journal*, 4 January 2007

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB116787515251566636>

Thomas C. Schelling, "A World without Nuclear Weapons?" *Daedalus* (Fall 2009): 124-9.

<https://www.amacad.org/content/publications/pubContent.aspx?d=945>

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS (2010) <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/140035.pdf>

*Modernizing nuclear arsenals: Whether and how*, contributions by Eugene Miasnikov, "Modernization and "zero": Compatible tendencies?" Matthew Kroenig, "Why US nuclear modernization is necessary," and Lu Yin, "Balancing modernization and disarmament," in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January 2015 <http://thebulletin.org/modernizing-nuclear-arsenals-whether-and-how7881>

#### Recommended:

2010 Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) report

<http://archive.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20Nuclear%20Posture%20Review%20Report.pdf>

### 2/22 The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

(Briefing paper due)

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](http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL30699_20080220.pdf)

Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, "Global nuclear weapons inventories, 1945-2013," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Oct. 2013.  
<http://bos.sagepub.com/content/69/5/75.full.pdf+html>

\*Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons An Enduring Debate* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton 2013), pages TBA.

Kelsey Davenport, Daryl G. Kimball, and Greg Thielmann, "Solving the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle: The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action," Arms Control Association August 2015, exec Summary and sections 1-3 (pp. 2-26) at: [http://www.armscontrol.org/files/ACA\\_Iran-BB\\_2015%20Aug6\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.armscontrol.org/files/ACA_Iran-BB_2015%20Aug6_FINAL.pdf)

Elliot Cohen, Eric Edelman and Ray Takeyh, "Time to Get Tough on Tehran," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2016. Pp. 64-75.

Victor Cha and Robert L. Gallucci "Stopping North Korea's Nuclear Threat," *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 2016 <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/08/opinion/stopping-north-koreas-nuclear-threat.html>

**Recommended:**

"Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action," Vienna, 14 July 2015 [http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150714\\_01\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150714_01_en.htm)

## **Part Two: Transnational Threats, Technological Change and Rethinking Security**

### **2/29 International Terrorism**

9-11 Commission Report, chs. 1-4, pp. 1-143.

\*Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), Chapter 1 National Strategy for Counterterrorism, June 2011

[https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf)

Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2004.

**Watch:** *The Battle of Algiers* (Director: Gillo Pontecorvo, 1965, 120 minutes)

### **3/7 Revolution in Military Affairs and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq**

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

<http://marshallcenterciss.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16378coll5/id/256>

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

Richard Andres, Craig Wills, Thomas Griffith, Jr., "Winning with Allies: the Strategic Value of the Afghan Model," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005-6), pp. 124-160.

Stephen Biddle, "Allies, Airpower, and Modern Warfare: the Afghan Model in Afghanistan and Iraq," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005-6), pp. 161-176.

**Recommended:**

Donald Rumsfeld, "Transforming the Military" *Foreign Affairs* 81:3 (May-June 2002), 20-32. US Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2014* at:

[http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/2014\\_Quadrennial\\_Defense\\_Review.pdf](http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/2014_Quadrennial_Defense_Review.pdf)

### **3/21 Asymmetric Warfare and Insurgency**

Max Boot, "The Evolution of Irregular War," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr 2013

Michael Knights, "Iraq's Relentless Insurgency: The Fight for Power Ahead of U.S. Withdrawal," ForeignAffairs.com snapshot, Aug 22, 2011 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2011-08-22/iraqs-relentless-insurgency>

Bruce Hoffman "Return of the Jihadist" *The National Interest*, Jan/Feb 2016

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "ISIS is not a Terrorist Group," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2015

Stephen M. Walt, "ISIS as Revolutionary State," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2015  
Peter Bergen, Courtney Schuster, and David Sterman "ISIS in the West: The New Faces of Extremism," The New American Foundation, Nov. 16, 2015  
<https://static.newamerica.org/attachments/11813-isis-in-the-west-2/ISP-Isis-In-The-West-v2.b4f2e9e3a7c94b9e9bd2a293bae2e759.pdf>  
Jared Cohen, "Digital Counterinsurgency: How to Marginalize the Islamic State Online," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2015.

### **3/28 Military Robotics and the Future of Warfare**

Jeremiah Gertler "U.S. Unmanned Aerial Systems" Congressional Research Service, January 3, 2012 <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42136.pdf> "Background" pp, 1-28; skim rest  
Peter W. Singer, "The future of war will be robotic," CNN, February 23, 2015  
<http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/23/opinion/singer-future-of-war-robotic/index.html>  
Sarah Kreps and Micah Zenko, "The Next Drone Wars: Preparing for Proliferation," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/April 2014  
"World of Drones" and Drone Wars: Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, New America Foundation at: <http://securitydata.newamerica.net> (peruse maps and data)  
Michael Mayer "The new killer drones: understanding the strategic implications of next-generation unmanned combat aerial vehicles," *International Affairs*, 91: 4 (2015) 765–780  
Thomas D. Vandermolen, "Molecular Nanotechnology and National Security," *Air and Space Power Journal* (Fall 2006), pp. 96-106  
Read testimony of Paul Scharre and Peter W. Singer at the Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on the "Future of Warfare," November 3, 2015, posted at: <http://www.armed-services.senate.gov/hearings/15-11-03-future-of-warfare> and watch some of the hearing

#### **Recommended:**

Peter W. Singer, *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the Twenty-first Century* Penguin 2009. You can find an excerpt posted at: <http://wiredwar.pwsinger.com/the-book/excerpt-from-the-book/>

### **4/4 Rising Powers**

Robert Jervis, The Remaking of a Unipolar World, *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2006  
Fareed Zakaria, "The Future of American Power: How America can Survive the Rise of the Rest," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008.  
Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth "Moving Beyond Unipolarity? China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Winter 2015/16)  
Andrew F. Krepinevich, "How to Deter China: The Case for Archipelagic Defense," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/April 2015  
Michael D. Swaine, "The Real Challenge in the Pacific: A Response to 'How to Deter China,'" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2015.

### **4/11 Human Security: Population, 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.  
Christian Enemark, "Is Pandemic Flu a Security Threat?" *Survival*, 51:1 (February–March 2009) pp. 191–214  
Laurie Garrett, "Ebola's Lessons," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct. 2015, pp. 80-107.  
Alan Dupont, "The Strategic Implications of Climate Change," *Survival*, 50:3 (June–July 2008), pp. 29–54  
Bruno Tertrais, "The Climate Wars Myth," *The Washington Quarterly*, 34:3 (Summer 2011) pp. 17-29

## Part Three: Globalization vs. Homeland Security

### 4/18 International Travel and Migration vs. Tighter Border Controls

9-11 Commission Report, pp. 383-390.

\*Rey Koslowski, "Immigration, Crime and Terrorism" in Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

"Final Report of the Task Force on Combatting Terrorist and Foreign Fighter Travel," House Homeland Security Committee, September 2015. <https://homeland.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/TaskForceFinalReport.pdf>

Kelly M. Greenhill, "Demographic Bombing: People as Weapons in Syria and Beyond," ForeignAffairs.com snapshot, December 17, 2015  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-12-17/demographic-bombing>

\*Gallya Lahav, "The Global Challenge of the Refugee Exodus," *Current History*, January 2016  
Ron E. Hassner and Jason Wittenberg, "Barriers to Entry: Who Builds Fortified Boundaries and Why?" *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Summer 2015), pp. 157–190.

Edward Alden, "Smart Borders: How to Keep the United States Open and Safe" ForeignAffairs.com snapshot Dec. 10, 2015

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-12-10/smart-borders>

Jennifer Lasley, John Wagner and Troy Miller, testimony for hearing on "One Flight Away: An Examination of The Threat Posed by ISIS Terrorists with Western Passports," House Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Border and Maritime Security, September 10, 2014.  
<http://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HM11/20140910/102635/HHRG-113-HM11-Wstate-WagnerJ-20140910.pdf>

**Watch:** "Strengthening the Visa Waiver Program After the Paris Terror Attacks" Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Roundtable, United States Senate, Dec. 9, 2015 [https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/roundtable\\_-\\_strengthening-the-visa-waiver-program-after-the-paris-attacks](https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/roundtable_-_strengthening-the-visa-waiver-program-after-the-paris-attacks); Read (or skim) Marc Frey's testimony for this hearing.

**Selectively watch:** "The Impact of ISIS on the Homeland and Refugee Resettlement," Hearing of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Nov. 19, 2015 (and peruse written statements) at: <http://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/lessons-from-the-paris-terrorist-attacks-ramifications-for-the-homeland-and-refugee-resettlement>

#### **Recommended:**

*9/11 and Terrorist Travel: Staff Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*

[http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/staff\\_statements/911\\_TerrTrav\\_Monograph.pdf](http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/staff_statements/911_TerrTrav_Monograph.pdf)

*Vision and Strategy 2020: U.S. Customs and Border Protection Strategic Plan*

<https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/documents/CBP-Vision-Strategy-2020.pdf>

*2012-2016 Border Patrol Strategic Plan* at: <http://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/strategic-plan>

### 4/25 International Trade vs. Increased Transportation and Port Security

9-11 Commission Report, 390-398

Vivian C. Jones and Lisa Seghetti, U.S. Customs and Border Protection: Trade Facilitation, Enforcement, and Security, Congressional Research Service, May 18, 2015  
<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/homesecc/R43014.pdf>

*National Strategy for Global Supply Chain Security*, January 2012 at:  
<http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=698202>

**Watch:** "Prevention of and Response to the Arrival of a Dirty Bomb at a U.S. Port" Hearing of the Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Subcommittee, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, U.S. House of Representatives, October 27, 2015  
<http://transportation.house.gov/calendar/eventsingle.aspx?EventID=399348>

Stephen E. Flynn, "A Roadmap for Overcoming the Flaws in the U.S. Government Efforts to Improve Global Supply System Security" Written Testimony submitted for the hearing <http://transportation.house.gov/uploadedfiles/2015-10-27-flynn.pdf>

John Mueller, Mark G. Stewart, "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11," *International Security*, Volume 37, Number 1, Summer 2012, pp. 81-110

**Recommended:**

HSPD-13, Maritime Security Policy, December 2004 at: <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=470301>  
(Fact Sheet at: <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=451035>)

"Combatting Nuclear Smuggling: Risk-Informed Covert Assessments and Oversight of Corrective Actions Could Strengthen Capabilities at the Border," GAO-14-826 Sep 22, 2014.

<http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-14-826>

"CBP Needs to Enhance Its Guidance and Oversight of High-Risk Maritime Cargo Shipments" Government Accountability Office, GAO-15-294, Jan 27, 2015

<http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-15-294>

## **5/2 On-line Economies vs. Cyber Terrorism and Cyber War**

Keith B. Alexander, Emily Goldman, Michael Warner, "Defending America in Cyberspace" *The National Interest*, Nov. 1, 2013

Thomas Rid, "Cyber War Will Not Take Place," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 35:1 2012

David C. Gompert and Martin Libicki, "Waging Cyber War the American Way," *Survival*, 57:4 (Aug.-Sept. 2015), pp. 7-28

Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, "The Transatlantic Data War, Europe Fights Back Against the NSA" *Foreign Affairs*, Jan./Feb. 2016

Presidential Policy Directive on Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience (PPD-21), February 2013 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/02/12/presidential-policy-directive-critical-infrastructure-security-and-resil>

**Recommended:**

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](http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2011/0411_cyberstrategy/docs/DoD_Strategy_for_Operating_in_Cyberspace_July_2011.pdf)

The Tallinn Manual on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare

<https://www.ccdcoe.org/249.html>

## Appendix 1:

### Additional readings for Political Science PhD students

## Part I Security in a Nuclear World

### 1/25 Introduction

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

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

### 2/1 History and Nature of Warfare

\*Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. (Free Press, 1988) chap. 8 ("The Abacus of Power"), pp. 108-124.

Robert Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* 4:4 (1980): 4-35.

### 2/8 The Use of Force and Nuclear Deterrence

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.

### 2/15 Arms Control and Nuclear Disarmament

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

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