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Office hours:
Mon 11:30-12:30
Tues 1:00-2:00

IR 531—Spring 2006 Strategy and Arms Control

Course Objectives

This course offers both an introduction to strategic studies (defined as the use of military means in order to achieve the ends of policy) and an introduction to arms control (measures to limit the likelihood, or lethality, of conflict). We begin by examining the historical foundations and development of modern strategic thought and the institution of war. By the 20th century, our focus increasingly shifts to efforts toward limiting war and the challenges that modern technology present to strategy and arms control.

Course Structure and Requirements

This is a seminar, and discussion/debate will predominate. The instructor will occasionally give brief lectures to introduce a subject or outline an issue. But these are exceptions, with students expected to come well prepared to discuss the week's assigned readings. If you find frequent assignments of 250+ pages excessive, then do not take this class. Each student will also be asked at least twice during the semester to do an additional reading—a book or article(s)—and present an oral critique to the class. There will be a take-home mid-term exam, essay format. Each student will also write a research paper, an original exploration of some topical issue—chosen in consultation with the instructor—of approximately 20-25 pp.

Course Evaluation

Students will be graded in this course according to the following weights:

Discussion and class participation:	35%
Mid-term exam	25%
Research paper:	40%

Course Readings

Four books are available for purchase at the University bookstore:

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (Oxford University Press, 1982)

Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton University Press, 1986)

Joseph Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction*
(Carnegie Endowment, 2005)

George Packer, *The Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq* (Farrar Strauss, 2005)

Other assignments are found in the instructor-compiled *Readings on Strategy and Arms Control*. Useful websites include: the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (<http://www.unidir.ch/>), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (<http://www.sipri.org>), the Institute for International Strategic Studies (<http://www.iiss.org/>), the U.S. Dept. of Homeland Security (<http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/>), the International Atomic Energy Agency (<http://www.iaea.org/DataCenter/index.html>) and the Center for Defense Information (www.cdi.org). The instructor will help in finding many other resources.

Course Schedule

1. Jan 9 **Course outline; Introduction to strategy; War in the premodern and early modern world**

Required: Michael Howard, *The Causes of Wars* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 23-35, 85-115. Chapters on "War and the Nation State," "The Relevance of Traditional Strategy," and "The Forgotten Dimensions of Strategy."

Polybius, "The Battle of Cannae," and J. Glenn Gray, "The Soldier's Relation to Death," both in Small and Singer, eds., *International War* (Dorsey, 1985), pp. 39-55.

Lawrence Freedman, ed., *War* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 9-64. Selections on "The Experience of War."

Richard K. Betts, "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security* 25:2 (Fall 2000): 5-50.

Additional: Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars* (any of several translations)
Josephus, *The Jewish War*, G.A. Williamson, transl. (Harmondsworth, 1959)
John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (Penguin, 1976)
Ian Clark, *Waging War: A Philosophical Introduction* (London, 1987)
Yamamoto Tsunetomo, *Hagakure: The Book of the Samurai*, William Scott Wilson, transl. (Kodansha, 1979)
Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford, 1976)

*** Jan 16 *** **No class, Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday**

2. Jan 23 **Classics of Strategy: Clausewitz and Sun Tzu**

Required: Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, transl. (Princeton, 1976), pp. 75-123, 127-203, 216-219, 225-229, 357-359, 479-483, 524-528. Handout.

Sun Tsu, *The Art of War*, Samuel Griffiths transl (Oxford, 1982), pp. 63-149.

Peter Paret, "Clausewitz," in Paret, ed., *The Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 186-213.

Additional: Michael Howard, "The Influence of Clausewitz," and Bernard Brodie, "The Continuing Relevance of On War," both essays in Howard and Paret transl. of Clausewitz, *On War*, pp. 27-58
Peter Paret, *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton, 1992)
Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War* (London, 1983)
Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Sun Tzu, Clausewitz and Jomini* (London, 1982)

3. Jan 30 The Origins of Modern Warfare

Required: Lawrence Freedman, ed., *War* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 248-272. Selections on “Total War and the Great Powers.”

Myron Guttman, “The Origins of the Thirty Years’ War,” in Rotberg and Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 177-198.

Gunther Rothenberg, “Moltke, Schlieffen, and the Doctrine of Strategic Envelopment,”
Russel F. Weigley, “American Strategy From its Beginnings Through the First World War,”
Philip Crowl, “Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Naval Historian,” and Michael Howard, “Men Against Fire: The Doctrine of the Offensive in 1914,” all in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, pp. 296-325, 408-477, 510-526.

Additional: William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society Since A.D. 1000* (Univ. of Chicago, 1982), pp. 223-261
Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones, *How the North Won: A Military History of the Civil War* (Univ. of Illinois, 1983)
Sigmund Neumann and Mark von Hagen, “Engels and Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society,” in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*
Hajo Holborn, “The Prusso-German School: Moltke and the Rise of the General Staff,” in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*
Gordon Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1956)

4. Feb 6 Strategy and World War I: Causes and Consequences

Required: Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 168-217.

Michael Howard, “Europe on the Eve of the First World War,” in Howard, *The Lessons of History* (Yale Univ. Press, 1991), pp. 113-126.

Mark Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 47-99. Section on “The Coming of the First World War: A Reassessment.”

Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short 20th Century, 1914-1991* (Michael Joseph, 1993), pp. 21-53, chapter on “The Age of Total War.”

Additional: John Keegan, *The First World War* (Knopf, 1999)
Joachim Remak, *The Origins of World War I, 1871-1914* (Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1967)
James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London, 1992)
Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War* (London, 1988)

5. Feb 13 Strategy and Arms Control in the Interwar Years

Required: Hague Convention and Kellogg-Briand Pact texts (handout)

Stephen E. Pelz, *Race to Pearl Harbor: The Failure of the Second London Naval Conference and the Onset of World War II* (Harvard, 1974), pp. 1-63.

Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 71-106. Chapter on "The Heritage of Douhet."

P.M.H. Bell, *Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (Longman, 1991), pp. 3-54.

Michael Geyer, "German Strategy in the Age of Machine Warfare," Brian Bond and Michael Alexander, "Liddell Hart and De Gaulle: The Doctrines of Limited Liability and Mobile Defense," and Condoleezza Rice, "The Making of Soviet Strategy," all in Paret, ed., *The Makers of Modern Strategy*, pp. 527-623, 648-676.

Additional: Brian Bond, *Liddell Hart: A Study of His Military Thought* (London, 1977)
Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1984)
David MacIssac, "The Air Power Theorists," in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*

*** Feb 16 * No class, Presidents' Day holiday**

6. Feb 27 Strategy in World War II; Dawn of the Nuclear Age

Required: Colonel John Hughes-Wilson, *Military Intelligence Blunders* (Carroll & Graf, 1999), pp. 16-59 (chapters on D-Day, Barbarossa).

B.H. Liddell Hart, *Strategy* (Meridian, 1991), pp. 238-278. (on "Hitler's Decline").

Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age*, pp. 107-144. (on "Strategic Bombing in WWII").

D. Clayton James, "American and Japanese Strategies in the Pacific War," and Lawrence Freedman, "The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategists," in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, pp. 703-778.

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 92-125 (on "The Manipulation of Risk").

David Holloway, *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race* (Yale, 1984), pp. 3-80.

John Prados, *U.S. Intelligence and the Soviet Target* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 172-299.

Additional: Jiri Hochman, *The Soviet Union and the Failure of Collective Security* (Cornell, 1980)
Akira Iriye, *Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London, 1987)
Donald C. Watt, *Too Serious a Business: The European Armed Forces and Approaches to the Second World War* (London, 1975)
Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War* (Princeton, 1960)

7. March 6 Nuclear Arms and Arms Control During the Cold War and After

Required: Glenn T. Seaborg and Benjamin S. Loeb, *Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Test Ban Treaty* (Univ. of California, 1981), pp. 3-78, 201-282.

Warner R. Schilling, "U.S. Strategic Nuclear Concepts in the 1970s," and Colin Gray, "Nuclear Strategy: A Case for a Theory of Victory," in Steven Miller, ed., *Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 23-56, 245-254.

John Mueller, "The Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 13/2.

Joseph Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals* (Carnegie, 2005) chaps 6-10 (pp. 119-218).

John M. Shalikashvili, "Findings and Recommendations Concerning the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty," *Arms Control Today* 31:1, pp. 18-28.

Frank Gaffney, Jr., "Bush, Missile Defense, and the Critics," *Commentary*, Feb. 2001, and Charles Glaser & Steve Fetter, "NMD and the Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy," *International Security* 26 (2001) pp. 40-92.

Brian Hall, "Overkill is Not Dead," *New York Times Magazine*, July 2002, and Avis Bohlen, "The Rise and Fall of Arms Control," *Survival*, Fall 2003.

Additional: Herbert York, *Race to Oblivion* (Simon & Schuster, 1971)
Strobe Talbott, *Endgame: The Inside Story of SALT II* (Knopf, 1979)
Michael Beschloss, Strobe Talbott, *At The Highest Levels* (Little Brown, 1993)

*** March 13 * No class, spring recess**

8. March 20 Conventional Arms; Chemical and Biological Weapons

Edward Luttwack, *Strategy: Logic of War and Peace* (Harvard, 1987), pp. 69-155.

Christopher Parker, "New Weapons for Old Problems: Conventional Proliferation and Military Effectiveness in Developing States," *International Security* 23:4.

Steve Fetter, "Ballistic Missiles and Weapons of Mass Destruction: What is the Threat? What Should be Done?" *International Security* 16:1, pp. 5-42.

George C. Christopher, et al., "Biological Warfare: A Historical Perspective," in Joshua Lederberg, ed., *Biological Weapons* (MIT, 1999), pp. 17-35.

Ian R. Kenyon, "Chemical Weapons in the Twentieth Century: Their Use and Their Control," *The CBW Conventions Bulletin* no. 48, June 2000, pp. 1-15.

Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals*, chap. 4, pp. 57-82.

John Cohen, "Designer Bugs," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July-August 2002.

Additional: M. Carver, "Conventional Warfare," Paret, *Makers of Modern Strategy*, pp. 779-814
Dan Reiter, "NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *Int'l. Security* 25:4
M. Messelson, "Chemical Superweapons," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 1991

9. March 27 Nuclear Proliferation

Required: Scott Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?" *Int'l. Security* 21:3, pp. 54-86.

R.K. Smith, "Explaining the Non-Proliferation Regime: Anomalies for Contemporary International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41:2, pp. 253-281.

Sumit Ganguly and Samina Ahmed, Indian and Pakistani perspectives on "Why They Had a Blast in South Asia," *International Security* 23:4 (Spring, 1999).

M.J. Mazarr, "Going Just a Little Nuclear: Nonproliferation Lessons from North Korea," *International Security* 20:2, pp. 92-122.

Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals*, chaps. 5, 11-21 (pp. 83-118, 219-418).

See also: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/02/20040211-4.html>

Updated material on Iranian and North Korean nuclear issues TBD

Additional: Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Norton, 2003)
Graham Allison, ed., *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy* (MIT Press, 1996)
Peter Liberman, "The Rise and Fall of the South African Bomb," *International Security* 26:2, pp. 45-86

10. April 3 Technology and the "Revolution in Military Affairs"

Required: Eliot Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar-Apr, 1996: 37-54.

Norman Cigar, "Iraq's Strategic Mindset in the Persian Gulf War" and Stephen Biddle, "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Teaches Us About the Future of Conflict," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 15:1 (pp.1-29) and 21:2 (pp. 139-179).

Daryl G. Press, "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare," *International Security* 26:2.

Jack Hiatt, "Battlefield: Space," *The New York Times Magazine*, 5 August 2001. See also <http://fas.org.rlg/030522-space.pdf>

Harlan K. Ullman, James P. Wade, "Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance," available at: <http://www.shockandawe.com/index.1.htm>

Eliot Cohen and Martin van Creveld on "Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28:3 (Sept.2005), pp. 413-424, 449-452.

Mark Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* (CQ Press, 2003), pp. 54-86.

Thomas Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone: On War in the 21st Century* (Zenith, St. Paul, 2004), chaps. 1-6 (pp. 1-75).

Additional: Neil Munro, *The Quick and the Dead* (New York, 1991)
John Alexander, *Future War: Non-Lethal Weapons in 21st Century Warfare* (Dunne, 1999)

11. April 10 Iraq and Afghanistan: Counterinsurgency, Nation-Building, and “Fourth-Generation Warfare”

Required: John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, “Revolutionary War,” in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, pp. 815-862.

John Nagl, *Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife* (Praeger, 2002), pp. 15-58.

George Packer, *The Assassins’ Gate: America in Iraq* (Farrar Straus, 2005).

Lester Grau, “Guerillas, Terrorists, and Intelligence Analysts,” *Military Review*, July 2004, Lowenthal, *Intelligence*, pp. 113-123, 139-152.

Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, chaps. 7-12 (pp. 76-189).

Anna Politkovskaya, *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya* (University of Chicago, 2003), pp. 118-202.

James Fallows, “Why Iraq Has no Army,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 2005, pp. 60-77, Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, “On Patrol with Iraq’s Finest,” *Guardian*, August 5-11 2005, and Pankaj Mishra, “The Real Afghanistan,” *New York Review*, March 10, 2005, pp. 44-48

Additional: Artyom Borovik, *The Hidden War: A Russian Journalist’s Account of the Soviet War in Afghanistan* (Grove Press, 1990)
Martin Van Crewald, *The Transformation of Warfare* (Free Press, 1991)
Edwin G. Corr and Stephen Sloan, eds., *Low-Intensity Conflict* (Westview, 1992)

12. April 17 Bases, Contractors, Interrogators: The Dilemmas of Modern Empire

Required: Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (Holt, 2004), chaps. 2-6 (pp. 97-216).

Alexander Cooley, “The Politics of U.S. Bases Abroad,” *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 2005, pp. 79-92.

Robert Kaplan, “Imperial Grunts,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 2005, pp. 84-93, and John Lee Anderson, “American Viceroy,” *The New Yorker*, Dec. 19, 2005, pp. 54-65

P.W. Singer, “Outsourcing War,” *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2005. On PMCs see also: <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/99summer/adams.htm>

William Pfaff, “George Bush and the Price of Torture,” *Harper’s*, Nov. 2005, pp. 50-56.

Charles Krauthammer, “The Truth About Torture,” *The Weekly Standard*, Dec 2005: <http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/006/400rhqav.asp?pg=1>

Lowenthal, *Intelligence*, pp. 124-138.

Jane Mayer, “A Deadly Interrogation,” *The New Yorker*, Nov.14, 2005, pp. 44-51

13. April 24 Terror and Homeland Security

- Required: Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (Random House, 2005), pp. 1-170.
- Parry R. Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security* 26:3 (Winter 2001-02).
- Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2004.
- Gregory Koblenz, "Pathogens as Weapons: The International Security Implications of Biological Warfare," *International Security*, Winter 2003-2004.
- Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, *The Next Attack: The Failure of the War on Terror and a Strategy for Getting it Right* (Times Books, 2005).

- Additional: Richard A. Falkenrath, et al., *America's Achilles Heel: Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (MIT Press, 1999)
- Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terror: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (Holt, 2004)

14. May 1 Environmental, Resource and Ethnic Conflicts; Strategy's Uncertain Future

- Required: Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb, 1994, pp. 44-76.
- William Langewiesche, "Anarchy at Sea," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 2003, pp. 49-80.
- Mary Kaldor, *New Wars and Old Wars* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 69-111.
- A. Suhrke, "Environmental Change, Migration, and Conflict," in Crocker, Hampson and Aall, eds., *Managing Global Chaos* (USIP, 1996).
- Paul Collier, "The Market for Civil War," *Foreign Policy*, May-June 2003, pp. 38-45.
 See also: <http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers.htm>
- Jonathan Schell, "Folly of Arms Control," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept.-Oct. 2000, pp. 22-46.
- Mark Danner, "Taking Stock of the Forever War," *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 11, 2005, pp. 45-58.
- Stephen Biddle, "The New Way of War?" *Foreign Affairs*, May-June, 2002.
- Michael Barnett, "The Pentagon's New Map," *Esquire*, March 2003.
- Additional: Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Combat* (Public Affairs, 2001)
- Anthony Cordesman, *Terror, Asymmetrical Warfare, and Defending the U.S. Homeland* (Westport, 2002)
- Rupert Smith, *The Art of War in the Modern World* (London, Allen Lane, 2005)

*** May 5 * NB: research papers due by COB, hard copy to me/my office/my box in SIR office**

