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School of Diplomacy and International  
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Fall 2016

## DIPL 2120 International Conflict and Security

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*Seton Hall University*

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### Recommended Citation

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**DIPL 2120**  
**International Conflict and Security**  
School of Diplomacy and International Relations  
Seton Hall University  
Fall 2016

**Professor:** Sara Bjerg Moller  
**Email:** [mollersb@shu.edu](mailto:mollersb@shu.edu)  
**Office:** McQuaid Hall, 101C  
**Office Hours:** M 3:30 - 5:00 pm (or by appointment)

**Time:** W 2:00 - 4:30 pm  
**Location:** Seminary Bldg, 121

### **Course Description**

This course serves as a general introduction to the enduring and contemporary questions in international security, a field primarily concerned with the threat and uses of force by state and non-state actors for political ends. Topics to be explored include the origins of major power wars, the nuclear revolution, strategies of violence, asymmetric conflicts, and terrorism.

### **Course Objectives**

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of key concepts, models, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international security. Students should also have developed the skills to analyze complex situations, synthesize information, and communicate effectively in written form.

### **Course Requirements**

- **Attendance and Participation.** All students must attend and actively participate in class. A portion of each class will be reserved for class discussion and students will be graded on their discussion participation.
- **Complete the Readings.** *Warning:* The reading load for this course is heavy, **averaging around 80 pages per week**. To succeed in this (or any) course you must engage in active reading. Reading without taking notes is a futile exercise. Take notes as you read, distilling the key arguments made by the authors.
- **Complete All Assignments.** There will be three take-home assignments and a final examination.

### **Assignments and Evaluation**

Course grades will be based on the following criteria:

- **Class Participation (20%)** Students are expected to attend every class session and participate in class discussions. Participation means you contribute to discussion regularly and intelligently. In order to contribute to class discussions, students must do the readings *prior* to class.

Students should also stay abreast of current events that pertain to the subject matter of the course –

such as the conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, as well as the North Korean and Iranian nuclear weapons programs – by reading major newspapers like the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* (both of which are available for free online) and the *Economist*.

- **Policy Memo** (15%) There will be one, 3-page policy memo due September 7, 2016.
- **Short Papers** (30%) There will **two** short papers each worth 15%. Students are to pick a subject in the news having to do with international security and analyze the problem from the perspective of the relevant weekly readings.

For example, students interested in current debates surrounding the end of unipolarity and China's rise might wish to examine the subject from the perspective of the Power and System-Level Theories of War (Week 3), while students interested in the Syrian Civil War would explore the relevant themes and debates from the readings on asymmetric conflicts (Week 12).

*Due Dates:* Although students are free to choose which topic weeks to write on, at least one of the papers must be turned in no later than **OCTOBER 26**. **NB: Papers must be turned in at the start of the class in which the topic will be covered.**

*Format:* Papers should be **double-spaced, size 12 font**, typed in a legible font (e.g. **Times New Roman**) and are not to exceed **five pages**. The purpose of this exercise is to have students relate core theories and concepts from international security to current developments in world politics.

Students should employ **proper citation format**. Students may use either footnotes or author-date parenthetical citations, provided they do so consistently. For guidance on citation formats, please consult the **Chicago-Style Quick Citation Guide**, available at [http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)

*Delivery:* Students should bring their papers to class on the day in which the topic will be covered. Electronic submissions will not be accepted without prior permission.

- **Exam** (35%) The final exam for this class will be on **THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2016** (2:30 – 4:30 pm). The exam will be cumulative, closed-book, and consist of short-answer identification and essay questions. The date and time of the final exam is fixed. Barring a medical or family emergency, there will be no make-ups. **NB: The registrar sets the date and time of the exam. I do not have the power to change this. Therefore, DO NOT book a ticket home for an earlier date and assume that this will enable you to write the exam earlier. It will not. Students who miss the exam will receive a failing grade.**

## Readings

Many of the readings for the course are articles or book chapters. Most of these are available online via the Blackboard site that has been established for this course. Others can be accessed via the databases accessible through the Seton Hall University Library.

There is one **required textbook** for this course which can be purchased (or rented) online or from the book store:

- Richard K. Betts, *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boston: Pearson, 2013).

## Policies and Resources

- **Accommodations.** It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.
- **Counseling.** The **Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)** offers assistance to students in need of support. CAPS is located in Mooney Hall and can be reached at **(973) 761-9500**.
- **Absences.** Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate in discussions. If a medical situation or other emergency arises students should inform the professor via email at the earliest possible opportunity as to the reason for their absence. Unexcused absences will bring down your participation grade.
- **Athletes and Members of Other Student Groups.** It is the responsibility of the student to contact me about any extracurricular activities that may impinge on their attendance or participation in the course.
- **Late or Incomplete Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (this includes those handed in at the end of class or emailed to me during class) will be penalized by one-third letter grade per day (i.e., an A paper turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical or family emergency.

*Reminder:* Papers must be turned in **at the start** of the class in which the topic will be covered, e.g. a paper discussing economic theories of war must be turned in *on or before* **September 21, 2016**.

- **Incompletes.** Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

- **Plagiarism, Cheating and Academic Integrity.** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:
  - <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm>
  - <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.
  
- **Technology.** Technology can be beneficial as well as harmful to learning. Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class sessions for the purposes of note taking only. All other activities (email, internet, Facebook, etc.) are prohibited during class. Students who violate this policy will forfeit their laptop privileges.
  
- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may make a formal appeal. All appeals should be made in writing and sent to the professor via email.
  
- **Email.** Before emailing the professor students should consider the following: First, always check the syllabus. Often, the answer has already been provided for you. Second, students should include the name of the course in the subject line of the email, e.g., **Subject: DIPL 2120: Question about Reading**. Doing so will enable me to locate your email more quickly and hence respond more promptly. Third, students should communicate professionally, avoiding informal salutations (e.g. “Hey prof!”), casual language, and emoticons. Fourth, please keep your communications brief. Complicated questions or issues are best discussed in person in office hours or by appointment.
  
- **Disclaimer.** The instructor reserves the right to make changes (e.g., addition of readings) to the syllabus in the course of the semester. Students will be given ample warning of any changes.

## Course Calendar

### 1. No Class – (August 31) Take Home Assignment

### 2. Introduction (September 7)

- Joshua S. Goldstein and Steven Pinker, “War Really Is Going Out of Style”, *New York Times* Sunday Review, December 17 2011. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/18/opinion/sunday/war-really-is-going-out-of-style.html>>

#### Discussion Questions

What is International Security and how should we study it?

Is war going out of fashion?

### Part I: Causes of War

### 3. Causes of War: Anarchy and the Balance of Power (September 14) (80 pages)

- Thucydides, “The Melian Dialogue” in Betts, pp. 69-73. (5 pages)
- Kenneth N. Waltz, “Origins of War in Neorealist Theory” in Betts, pp. 100-106. (7 pages)
- Robert Gilpin, “Hegemonic War and International Change” in Betts, pp. 107-119. (13 pages)
- Geoffrey Blainey, “Power Culprits, and Arms,” in Betts, pp. 120-132. (13 pages)
- Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” in Betts, pp. 425-441. (17 pages)
- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), pp. 29-54. (25 pages)

#### Discussion Questions

Is major war more likely when great powers are equal or unequal?

Does the sweeping historical pattern that Gilpin discerns provide lessons for the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

Does the security dilemma always operate? What factors mitigate its severity?

Is the US a regional or global hegemon? Does it matter?

#### **4. Causes of War: Domestic Politics and Economics (September 21) (98 pages)**

- V.I. Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,” in Betts, pp. 309-316. (8 pages)
- Joseph Schumpeter, “Imperialism and Capitalism,” in Betts, pp. 317-326. (10 pages)
- Norman Angell, “The Great Illusion,” in Betts, pp. 299-301. (3 pages)
- Immanuel Kant, “Perpetual Peace,” in Betts, pp. 136-142. (7 pages)
- John M. Owen, “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace,” *International Security* vol. 19, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 87-125. (39 pages)
- Erik Gartzke, “The Capitalist Peace,” *American Journal of Political Science* 51:1 (Jan. 2007): 166-91. (17 pages)
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Democratization and War,” in Betts, pp. 380-393. (14 pages)

#### **Discussion Questions**

Do countries’ participation in the international economy push them toward competition and conflict or does trade foster peace?

What is Angell’s core thesis? Did world events prove him wrong?

Does conquest still pay?

Is there such a thing as “democratic peace”?

Which of the explanations for the democratic peace do you find more convincing and why?

Do Mansfield and Snyder discredit “democratic peace” theory?

#### **5. Causes of War: Psychology, Culture, and Norms (September 28) (41 pages)**

- Stanley Milgram, “How Good People Do Bad Things,” in Betts, pp. 183-190. (8 pages)
- Robert Jervis, “War and Misperception,” in Betts, pp. 194-210. (17 pages)
- Margaret Mead, “Warfare is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity,” in Betts pp. 244-248. (5 pages)
- John Mueller, “The Obsolescence of Major War,” in Betts, pp. 249-259. (11 pages)

### Discussion Questions

When should obedience to authority be praised and when should it be feared?

Why did subjects in Milgram's experiments continue to obey the experimenter?

How has the division of labor in violence transformed the problem of obedience?

Which is more dangerous: overestimates or underestimates of hostility?

Is warfare merely an invention?

## **Part II: Strategies of Violence**

### **6. Violence and the Uses of Force** (October 5) (119 pages)

- Robert Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* vol. 4, no. 4 (Spring 1980): 3-35. (33 pages)
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 1-86. (86 pages)

### Discussion Questions

What are the four functions of force?

What are the basic concepts of deterrence theory?

Can terrorists be deterred?

Which is easier: compellence or deterrence?

### **7. The Nuclear Revolution** (October 12) (83 pages)

- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 1-46. (46 pages)
- Review Schelling.
- Kier Lieber and Daryl Press, "The End of MAD: The Nuclear Dimension of U.S. Primacy," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006): 7-44. (37 pages)



### Discussion Questions

What is the nuclear revolution? (i.e. How have nuclear weapons changed the nature of conflict?)

What is the stability-instability paradox?

Which aspects of Cold War deterrence theory and nuclear strategy are transferable to the 21st century and which are not?

Is (US) nuclear primacy a good thing?

### **Part III: Topics in International Security: Alliances**

#### **8. Security Cooperation: Collective Security and Alliances (October 19) (82 pages)**

- G. F. Hudson, "Collective Security and Military Alliances," in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations* (Harvard University Press, 1968). (5 pages)
- Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *International Security* Vol. 9, No. 4 (Spring 1985): 3-43. (41 pages)
- Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing The Revisionist State Back In," *International Security* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Summer 1994): 72-107. (36 pages)

### Discussion Questions

What is the difference between collective security and an alliance?

When do states balance and when do they bandwagon?

Do states balance against power or threats?

What role does ideology play in alliance formation?

#### **9. The Great NATO Debate (October 26) (60 pages)**

- Rajan Menon, *The End of Alliances* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 53-99. (46 pages)
- Nicholas Burns and James Jones, "Restoring the Power and Purpose of the NATO Alliance," Atlantic Council, June 2016, pp. 1-14. (14 pages)
- Helene Cooper, "Close Encounters with Jets Show Russia's Anger at NATO Buildup, U.S. Says," *New York Times*, May 8, 2016. [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/world/europe/russia-us-jets-anger-nato-buildup.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/world/europe/russia-us-jets-anger-nato-buildup.html?_r=0)

- Mark Landler and David E. Sanger, “NATO Unity, Tested by Russia, Shows Some Cracks,” *New York Times*, July 8, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/09/world/europe/nato-unity-tested-by-russia-shows-some-cracks.html>
- David E. Sanger and Maggie Haberman, “Donald Trump Sets Conditions for Defending NATO Allies Against Attack,” *New York Times*, July 20, 2016. [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-issues.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-issues.html?_r=0)

### **Discussion Questions**

What role should NATO play in the post-September 11<sup>th</sup> world?

Does the US need NATO? What for?

Should alliance commitments be conditional or unconditional?

Was NATO’s expansion in the 1990s a mistake?

What shape should NATO’s relationship take with Russia in the future?

## **Part IV: Contemporary Challenges**

### **10. Military Occupations (November 2) (72 pages)**

- David Edelstein, “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail,” *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 49-91. (41 pages)
- Thomas E. Ricks, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 200-27. (27 pages)
- Peter D. Feaver, “Anatomy of the Surge,” *Commentary* (April 2008): 24-28. (4 pages)

### **Discussion Questions**

Why do some military occupations succeed while others fail?

Did the surge in Iraq work?

### **11. Terrorism (November 9) (112 pages)**

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 1-42. (42 pages)
- Martha Crenshaw, “The Strategic Logic of Terrorism,” in Betts, pp. 481-495. (15 pages)

- Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 2 (2004): 42-78. (36 pages)
- Page Fortna, “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels’ Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes,” in *Essential Readings in World Politics*, Sixth Edition, eds. Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2017), , pp. 425-44. (19 pages)

### Discussion Questions

What is terrorism? According to Hoffman, how has the meaning of the term fluctuated over time?

What does it mean to say that terrorism is “strategic”?

Can terrorists be deterred?

Does terrorism work?

## **12. Asymmetric Conflicts (November 9) (66 pages)**

- Daniel Byman, *Understanding Proto-Insurgencies*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2007), pp. 3-6. (3 pages)
- John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15-33. (18 pages)
- Steven Metz, “New Challenges and Old Concepts: Understanding 21<sup>st</sup> Century Insurgency,” *Parameters* (Winter 2007-08), pp. 20-32. (12 pages)
- Joseph Holliday, “The Assad Regime: From Counter-Insurgency to Civil War,” *Middle East Security Report 8*, pp. 7-40. (33 pages)

### Discussion Questions

Are insurgents terrorists? Why/why not?

How have insurgencies changed over time?

## **13. Al Qaeda and ISIS (November 30) (89 pages)**

- Osama Bin Ladin, “Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Mosques; Expel the Heretics From the Arabian Peninsula,” in *FBIS Report: Compilation of Usama Bin Ladin Statements 1994 – January 2004*, pp. 13-28. (16 pages)

- Osama Bin Ladin, "Speech to the American People," in Betts, pp. 511-516. (6 pages)
- Christopher Henzel, "The Origins of al Qaeda's Ideology: Implications for U.S. Strategy," *Parameters* (Spring 2005), pp. 69-80. (11 pages)
- Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic* (March 2015 Issue), pp. 1-45. (45 pages)
- Daniel Byman, Prepared testimony before the Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the House Committee on Homeland Security, April 29, 2015. (8 pages)
- Clint Watts, "ISIS and al Qaeda Race to the Bottom," *Foreign Affairs*, November 23, 2015. (3 pages)
- Adam Taylor, "Omar Mateen may not have understood the difference between ISIS, al-Qaeda and Hezbollah," *Washington Post*, June 13, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/06/13/omar-mateen-may-not-have-understood-the-difference-between-isis-al-qaeda-and-hezbollah/>

### Discussion Questions

What were OBL's grievances against the United States?

Compare and contrast OBL's 1996 and 2004 messages.

How are al Qaeda and ISIS different? Do their different goals necessitate different strategies (and, for that matter, counter-strategies)?

Does it matter if so-called "lone-wolves" are only inspired (rather than directed) by foreign groups?

### **14. Nuclear Proliferation: Causes and Consequences (December 7) (76 pages)**

- Scott D. Sagan, "Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* vol. 12, no. 3 (Winter 1996/1997): 54-86. (32 pages)
- Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," in Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War*, pp. 451-61. (11 pages)
- Scott Sagan, "Why Nuclear Spread is Dangerous," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz, *The Use of Force* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 370-81. (11 pages)
- Jasen J. Castillo, "Nuclear Terrorism: Why Deterrence Still Matters," *Current History* (December 2003): 426-431. (5 pages)
- Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier, "Terrorist Nuclear Weapon Construction: How Difficult?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 607 (September 2006): 133-149. (17 pages)

**Discussion Questions**

Why do states build the bomb?

Do nuclear weapons increase or decrease the chances of war?

When it comes to proliferation, is “more” better? Why/why not?

Where does the greatest proliferation danger lie: with states or with terrorists?

**15. Final Exam. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2016 (2:30 – 4:30 pm)**