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Fall 2019

## **DIPL 2120 International Conflict and Security**

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*Seton Hall University*

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**DIPL 2120: International Conflict and Security**  
**School of Diplomacy & International Relations, Seton Hall University**  
**Mondays 2:00 – 4:30, Stafford Hall 09**

**Professor:** R. Joseph Huddleston

**Office Hours:** Wed. 9a – 12p (McQuaid 105)

**Email:** [joseph.huddleston@shu.edu](mailto:joseph.huddleston@shu.edu)

This syllabus is current as of October 1, 2019. It is still subject to change. You will be notified in class and/or by e-mail if/when the syllabus is updated.

**Required Materials**

Richard Betts. 2017. *Conflict after the Cold War*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition

T. David Mason and Sara McLaughlin. 2016. *What Do We Know about Civil Wars?*

You will also be assigned academic readings accessible through Seton Hall's library. And you will watch one film before class Week 4. Come prepared to discuss the film alongside the readings for that day. It can be accessed through the SHU Library (Under Reserves for DIPL 2120).

**Course Description and Primary Student Learning Outcomes**

This course serves as a general introduction to the study of international security, a field primarily concerned with the threat and uses of force by state and non-state actors for political ends. Topics examined include the origins of major power wars, regional conflicts, civil wars, and international intervention, as well as terrorism, cyber, and information warfare.

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of key concepts, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international security. Students should also have developed the skills to: analyze complex international systems; find and synthesize empirical information; and develop, articulate, and defend policy positions.

**Grading**

Participation .....	20%
Reading Quizzes .....	20%
Policy Memo .....	25%
Final Exam .....	35%

**Course Grading Scale**



**Participation (20%)**

Participation includes thoughtful engagement with all parts of the class. This course is taught around class discussion, debate, and activities. This means we will all be dependent on each

other's efforts to prepare for and engage in class activities and have a worthwhile learning experience. Each class session's participation will be graded as following:

- 2 points: Active, thoughtful participation demonstrating understanding of the assigned material and current events. Full participation in classroom activities, discussion of readings.
- 1.5 points: Limited participation demonstrating some understanding of the assigned material and current events. Limited participation in classroom activities and discussion of readings.
- 1 point: Attendance with little or no participation in class.
- 0 points: Unexcused absence (beyond 1 allowable unexcused absence)

You are expected to **complete all assigned readings before the class** for which they are assigned, and to arrive in class prepared to discuss that material. You may also find it helpful to prepare notes and talking points before each session, including your thoughts, opinions, analysis, and questions about the week's materials.

### Reading Quizzes (20%)

We will use the Socrative system to do in-class reading quizzes at the beginning of each class.

Reading quizzes are not hard. They are designed to test whether you did the reading, not whether you grasped every nuance. Do the reading and you should get the questions right. I will drop your lowest two quiz scores.

If you want to be sure you get full credit for a quiz, all you have to do is write your own quiz question (multiple-choice or fill-in-the-blank) on that session's reading. **If I select your question for that session, you will receive full credit for the quiz.** Questions must be received by 7pm the night before the course meeting in which the quiz will be given. Readings showing a **Q** can be expected to have at least one quiz question. Other readings may or may not have a quiz question.

### Policy Memo (25%)

700-1200 words, excluding references

Students will write one policy memo during the course of the semester. Students can choose between one of two topics (and corresponding due dates). If you choose the first topic (US nuclear forces), your memo is due Week 7. If you choose the second topic (US military intervention in Syria or Yemen), your memo is due Week 13. Policy memos are **due electronically by the beginning of class**. Late assignments are docked 10% for each 24 hours following their respective deadlines. Assignments more than one week late will be given a 0.

Your assignments should be turned in as PDF documents. (Word, Pages, and most other word processors allow you to save your work as PDFs. If you need help, see [here for Word](#), and [here for Pages](#).) You will turn all assignments in through Blackboard/SafeAssign. Note that this means I will grade your work, give you feedback, and assign your grades digitally.

**Instructions:** Using the arguments from the relevant course readings, **choose one of the following** as a topic for a 700-1200 policy memo:

**Policy Prompt 1:** You are a member of the National Security Council Staff. Write a memo to your boss (Robert O'Brien) in which you make a case for why the US should/should not update its nuclear arsenal. Hint: You may wish to consult current debates about the pros/cons of the US withdrawing from the INF Treaty. DUE: Week 8 (Start of Class) **Upload PDF to Bb.**

**Policy Prompt 2:** You are a member of the National Security Council Staff. Write a memo to your boss (Robert O'Brien) in which you make a case for why the US should/should not intervene militarily in either A.) Syria or B.) Yemen. DUE: Week 14 (Start of Class) **Upload PDF to Bb.**

**NOTE:** Policy memos are not like other papers. For guidance, please consult the folder titled "How to Write a Policy Memo" on Blackboard.

### **Final Exam (35%)**

The final is closed book. It will cover material from lecture, section, and the required readings, viewings, listenings, and exercises. I will provide a study guide prior to finals week.

### **Additional Notes**

This course is about war and violence. We will be examining content that is that emotional, controversial, and graphically violent in nature, including discussions of genocide, mass starvation, sexual victimization, and all manner of the grotesque realities of war. Still, we will maintain the goal to foster a safe learning environment for everyone here. We are in this course because we want to understand the causes and courses of conflict, ultimately because we want less of it in the world. **Note that understanding the causes of violence should not be construed as condoning or legitimizing violence.** Along these lines, assigned readings and position prompts may not represent the views of the instructor. Instead, they serve as a framework for discussion, different lenses to ensure we understand multiple perspectives.

Healthy disagreement and discussion are a central component of this class. Constructive disagreement sharpens thinking, deepens understanding, and reveals novel insights. It is not just encouraged, it is expected. All viewpoints are welcome, but no ideas are immune from scrutiny and debate. There may be times when you disagree with someone else's opinion. It is important that you respond in an appropriate, respectful, professional, and constructive manner.

**Meetings and Materials****Week 1 (8/26) Introduction to International Security (11 pages)**

Required:

- Goldstein and Pinker, “War Really Is Going Out of Style,” *New York Times*, December 17, 2011. (2)
- Luttwak, “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs* (1999) vol. 78, no. 4, pp. 36-44. (9)
- In Class Reading:
  - Mattheis, “[Why Western Sahara remains one of Africa’s most divisive political issues](#),” *The Conversation* Mar. 2019

Discussion Questions:

- What is International Security (IS) and how should we study it?
- Why study war?
- Is “war” going out of fashion?

**(9/2) Labor Day. No class.****Week 2 (9/9) Causes of War: International Anarchy and the Balance of Power (58)**

- Thucydides, “The Melian Dialogue” in Betts, pp. 70-75. (5)
- Waltz, “Origins of War in Neorealist Theory” Betts 101-108. (7) **Q**
- Gilpin, “Hegemonic War and International Change” Betts 108-121. (13)
- Blainey, “Power, Culprits, and Arms,” Betts 121-134. (13)
- Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” Betts 389-405. (17) **Q**

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 21st century?
- Does the security dilemma always operate?
- What factors mitigate its severity?
- Is the US a regional or global hegemon? Does it matter?

**Week 3 (9/16)****Causes of War: Domestic Politics and Economics (81)**

Also Recommended:  
Schumpeter, “Imperialism and Capitalism,” Betts 271-281

- Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,” Betts 264-271. (8)
- Angell, “The Great Illusion,” Betts 254-256. (3)
- Owen, “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace,” *International Security* vol. 19, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 87-125. (39) **Q**
- Gartzke, “The Capitalist Peace,” *American Journal of Political Science* (Jan. 2007) Vol. 51, no.1, pp.166-91. (17)
- Mansfield and Snyder, “Democratization and War,” Betts 331-344. (14) **Q**

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 (or capitalist) peace?
- Which of the explanations for the democratic peace do you find more convincing and why?
- Do Mansfield and Snyder discredit democratic peace theory?

#### Week 4 (9/23) **Causes of War: Human Nature, Psychology, Culture, and Norms (70)**

Required:

- Arendt, "Thinking and Moral Considerations: A Lecture," *Social Research* (Fall 1971) vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 417-446. (29)
- Milgram, "How Good People Do Bad Things," Betts 200-207. (8)
- Jervis, "War and Misperception," Betts 207-223. (17) **Q**
- Mead, "Warfare is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity," Betts 230-235. (5)
- Mueller, "The Obsolescence of Major War," Betts 174-187. (11) **Q**
- Case: Mandatory Film: The Judgment at Nuremberg (1961) **Q**

#### Discussion Questions

- What is the 'banality of evil'?
- 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?
- What role does misperception play in the onset of war?
- Is warfare merely an invention?

#### Film Questions<sup>1</sup>

- Why did Ernst Janning challenge the authority of the tribunal to try him and the other judges? Where did the Tribunal's authority—and its legitimacy—come from?
- What kind of responsibility does each of us have for our own actions? Is 'following orders' a legitimate excuse to do wrong? How do we decide what is right and wrong?
- Were the Nuremberg Trials just 'victor's justice'?
- Herr Rolf says that if the defendant judges are to be found guilty then others are guilty too: the Pope, the Soviet Union, American industrialists who profited by re-arming Hitler. Do you agree?
- Did the German people have an obligation to know what was happening to the Jews and other minorities during the war and to stop it? Or is it part of the tragedy of war that atrocities may be committed in the name of the people or national security, while the people have no ability to prevent these atrocities? What are Americans' responsibilities for acts of war committed in our name?

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.umass.edu/legal/Arons/Fall2007/250/250nurembergpoints07.pdf> and <http://www.sanantoniopeace.center/film-discussion-guide-judgment-at-nuremberg/>

- Judge Haywood said, “If these murderers were monsters, this event would have no more moral significance than an earthquake.” What did he mean? Do you agree?
- What is the relevance of the Nuremberg Trials to today’s wars, crimes against humanity, and international tribunals?

### Week 5 (9/30) Coercion, Force, Deterrence (110)

- Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (1966) on Bb, pp. 1-11, 18-26, 35-60, 66-78 (57) **Q**
- Art, “To What Ends Military Power?” *International Security* vol. 4, no. 4 (Spring 1980): 335. (33)
- O’Hanlon, “Can America Still Protect Its Allies?” *Foreign Affairs* Sept./Oct 2019 (9)
- Case Reading: Ukraine and Crimea
  - Putin, “The Threat to Ukraine From the West,” Betts 568-575 (7)
  - Cohen, “The Threat from Russia,” Betts 575-581 (6)

#### Discussion Questions

- How do states practice coercive behavior?
- What are the four functions of force?
- What are the basic concepts of deterrence theory?
- Which is easier: compellence or deterrence?
- What is the California Principle?
- What are Salami Tactics and how do they work?

### Week 6 (10/7) Nuclear Proliferation (100)

Also recommended:  
Moniz and Nunn, “The Return of Doomsday,”  
*Foreign Affairs* Sep./Oct. 2019

- Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*, pp. 1-46. (46) **Q**
- 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)
- Waltz, “Why Nuclear Proliferation May Be Good,” Betts 418-432. (11)
- Case Reading: North Korea
  - Sagan, “The Korean Missile Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs* Nov./Dec. 2017 (11)

#### Discussion Questions

- What is the nuclear revolution? (i.e. How have nuclear weapons changed the nature of conflict?)
- What is the stability-instability paradox?
- 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?
- Is (US) nuclear primacy a good thing?

**Week 7 (10/14) Fall Break. No Class.****Week 8 (10/21) Challenges to the State: Nationalism, Separatism, Revolution, Coups (73)**

\*\*\*\*\*Policy Memo on Topic 1 Due\*\*\*\*\*

Required:

- Gellner, "Nations and Nationalism," Betts 344-356 (12) **Q**
- "Ethnic and Religious Conflicts," in Ciment, on Bb (8)
- Mason, Mitchell, and Prorok, "Overview," MM 1-14 (14) **Q**
- Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics*, Vol. 54, (October 2001): 99-118. (19)
- Huddleston, "[Can John Bolton Thaw Western Sahara's Long-Frozen Conflict?](#)" May 2019, *Foreign Policy*
- Case Reading: Western Sahara (9)
- Case Reading: Eritrea (8)

Discussion Questions

- Where does the demand for statehood come from?
- Why are self-determination and territorial integrity such hard concepts to implement internationally?
- What does the legacy of colonialism have to do with civil war?
- So, are 'new' wars new?

**Week 9 (10/28) Factors in Civil War: Division and Repression (72)**

Required:

- Galula, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," Betts 510-526 (16)
- Gleditsch, Melander, and Urgal, "Introduction," MM 15-32 (18)
- Young, "Antecedents of Civil War Onset," MM 33-42 (10) **Q**
- Seymour and Cunningham, "Identity Issues and Civil War," MM 43-59 (16) **Q**
- Huddleston, "[Spain's Flawed Response to the Catalanian Referendum](#)," Oct. 2017, *Foreign Affairs*
- Case Reading: Bosnia (10)

Discussion Questions

- How does the government's response affect the trajectory of conflict? What options does it have?
- Where does a government's legitimacy come from? How can we recognize when it's increasing or decreasing?
- What are 'greed' and 'grievance,' and what do they have to do with the onset of civil wars?
- What does identity have to do with civil war?

**Week 10 (11/4) Intervention and Proxy Warfare (79)**

Required:

- Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, Issue 5 (Sep/Oct 2004), pp. 34-56. (18)
- Linebarger and Enterline, "Third Party Intervention and the Duration and Outcomes of Civil Wars," MM 93-108 (16) **Q**

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- Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in *Culture of National Security* 1996, pp. 1-25. (25)
  - Case Reading: Syria readings on Bb Q

#### Discussion Questions

- How do intrastate conflicts differ from the concepts of war we have discussed so far in this course?
- Why are conflicts within states still international security concerns?
- Does intervention work? How do we know?
- What obligation does the international community have to protect people from their governments? What gets in the way?

### Week 11 (11/11) Terrorism, International and Domestic (81)

#### Required:

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- "Terrorism: Global History Since the 1940s," in Ciment, on Bb (8)
  - Crenshaw, "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism," Betts 481-495. (15) Q
  - Stern, Chapter from *Terror in the Name of God*, on Bb (29) Q
  - Castillo, "Nuclear Terrorism: Why Deterrence Still Matters," *Current History* (December 2003): 426-431. (6)
  - Case Reading: Spain and/or Sri Lanka (8)
  - Case Reading: al-Qaeda
    - Rabasa et al. 2006. Beyond al-Qaeda Part I, pp. 7-22 on Bb (15)

#### Suggested:

- Mendelsohn. 2011. "Al-Qaeda's Franchising Strategy," *Survival*, Vol. 53 Issue 3 (19)

#### Discussion Questions

- Is terrorism a just 'weapon of the weak'? Does it make sense to think of terrorism as just another kind of deterrence that state and nonstate actors have in their repertoire?
- What does identity have to do with an individual's decision to get involved in terrorism activities?
- How do we distinguish 'terrorism' from other kinds of political violence?
- Does terrorism look the same now as it did 20 years ago? 50 years ago?

### Week 12 (11/18) Gender in Conflict (62)

#### Required:

- maybe cut
- Tickner, "Men, Women, and War" Betts 235-248 (13) Q
  - Melander, "Gender and Civil Wars" MM 197-214 (17)
  - Wood and Thomas, "Women on the frontline," *Journal of Peace Research* 2017, Vol. 54 Issue 1 (16) Q
  - Case Reading: Islamic State (Daesh)
    - Lippert, "Sahrawi Women in the Liberation Struggle of the Sahrawi People," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 17 no. 31 1992 (16)

#### Discussion Questions

- How and why are women particularly vulnerable in conflict settings? How are they empowered?
- Why do men and women assume different roles in conflict?
- Are women more peaceful than men? How would we know? What is the 'evolutionary' logic for their preferences in conflict? How are they a force for peace?

### Week 13 (11/25) War Economies and the Role of Resources (68)

Required:

- Kaldor, "The Globalized War Economy," Ch. 5 in *New and Old Wars* pp. 95-118 (23)
- Smith, "Exploring the Resource-Civil War Nexus", MM 215-230 (15)
- Ross, "How do natural resources influence civil war?" *IO* 2004 vol. 58 (30) **Q**
- Case Reading: Yemen **Q** *Add qat reading*

Discussion Questions

- How do natural resources affect conflict? Do they make it more likely or more violent?
- How do natural resources affect the role of civilians in conflict? Do they become more or less important for nonstate actions?
- What is the 'war economy?' How do economic situations change with conflict?
- What kind of economic opportunities rise out of active conflict? Is that good or bad for the prospects of peace?

### Week 14 (12/2) New Technologies, New Challenges (76)

\*\*\*\*\*Policy Memo on Topic 2 Due\*\*\*\*\*

Required:

- Levy, "~~The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology~~," Betts 405-418 (13)
- Byman, "Drones: Technology Serves Strategy," Betts 431-436 (5)
- Kurth Cronin, "Drones: Tactics Undermine Strategy," Betts 436-443 (7)
- Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," Betts 619-634 (15)
- Hendrix, Gates, Buhaug, "Environment & Conflict," MM 231-247 (16) **Q**
- Libicki, "Why Cyberdeterrence Is Different," Betts 634-649 (15) **Q**
- Case Reading: The Arctic
  - Shea, "A thawing Arctic is heating up a new Cold War," *National Geographic* Sept. 2019 (5)

Discussion Questions

- Concerning international security, how do the technological advances of today differ from those of the past? How are they the same?
- How is 'power projection' changing? Who are the new players?
- How does environmental degradation affect the chances of conflict? What kinds of conflict?

- Are drones more trouble than they're worth? Do they hurt or help long term interests of the government that chooses to use them? Why?

### Week 15 (12/9) The End and Legacy of Conflict (69)

Required:

- Hartzell, "Negotiated Peace", Betts Ch. 8 (18) **Q**
- Kathman and Shannon, "Ripe for Resolution", MM 109-120 (11)
- Diehl, "Breaking the Conflict Trap", MM 139-156 (18)
- Thyne, "Legacies of Civil War", MM 157-178 (12)
- Case Reading: Ireland and South Africa **Q**

#### Discussion Questions

- How does conflict end? What factors play the most important roles?
- What are some unexpected challenges a country faces when recovering from conflict?
- What is the logic behind truth and reconciliation commissions?
- How do we know if the factors that caused conflict in the first place have been taken care of? What are the risks of peace agreements?

### (12/11 – 12/17) Finals Week

Final to take place **Thurs., Dec. 12 at 8am**

### Policies and Resources

- **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/communitystandards.cfm>
  - <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.
- **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.
- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you think an error has been made, you may contest the grade on an assignment up to one week after it is returned. Clerical errors and outright mistakes will be corrected; other grading decisions will not be revisited.
- **Late Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (anything submitted after the deadline) will be penalized by 10% per 24hrs (i.e., a 100% A paper turned in one day late is an A- at 90%, two days late a B- at 80%, etc.). Assignments more than one week late will be given a 0. There may be exceptions made in cases of documented medical or family emergency.

- **Technology.** Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class 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.
- **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](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).
- **Policy on 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.
- **Academic Resources.** If you need support during this course, Seton Hall has resources for you. The Academic Resource Center is the general support place for students. The Online Writing Lab provides students with comments on papers via email within 48 hours. The Writing Center and the Math Learning Lab offer appointments for one-to-one tutoring. More information is available here:
  - <http://www.shu.edu/student-services/toolkit.cfm>