



Political Science 473/573 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
Dr. Frank Wayman W'22  
Tues.-Thurs. 12:30-1:45 PM [CRN 24776] 220106

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### **CONTENT OF THE COURSE:**

This course is concerned with issues in international security, which is the branch of world politics concerned with the threats, primarily military in nature, to the peace and security of the nation, states, and the international community.

### **PHILOSOPHY OF THE COURSE:**

Broadly conceived, my goals for this course are as follows:

1. To examine the two juxtaposed goals of international security: preventing war if possible, but winning if war does occur.
2. To help students develop a better understanding of current security issues in U.S. foreign policy.
3. To help students develop a broader and more general theoretical approach to analyzing the security policies of states.
4. To help students become familiar with the standards of evidence and scientific method used in case studies and statistical investigations of international security.
5. To stimulate further student interest in the study of international conflict and cooperation by linking specific issues in U.S. security policy to larger questions such as the theory and practice of deterrence, the causes of war, and the domestic political sources of foreign policy behavior.
6. To place all this in the context of the broader subject of

international relations. For example, there seems to have been a century-long, gradual decline in militarized inter-state disputes, and a similar increase in economic sanctions instead (Pollins 1990). We look at this in terms of the foreign policy environment of the 21st century, versus earlier periods, thinking about foreign policy in general, and economic sanctions in particular, and how military instruments seem to have declined in importance more than they have increased, as we move toward a slightly more civilized and less violent world.

7. To help students with (what I will call to get us started) "critical thinking" skills. Importantly, this involves not only how to think clearly on one's own (often the limited assumption of our campus administrators, who specify our learning goals), but how this works *in groups*. After all, that study of groups is presumably what politics is about, and I am a professor of political science. Therefore, the focus is on what one of our main authors, Bueno de Mesquita, would call "rational choice." To him, this is largely game theory. Famously, Graham Allison of Harvard associated the "rational actor model" with good decisions (Allison 1969). In contrast, there is an alternative school of thought, dominated by psychologists, that says (see Leon Festinger, "Cognitive Dissonance," *Scientific American*) that human beings are rationalizing, not rational, creatures. This leads to what Irving Janis called *Victims of Groupthink*, who make terrible foreign policy decisions. Nothing could be more important than this topic -- how to straighten out our thinking to make it sound. But, interestingly, no one on either side in this debate (Bueno de Mesquita, Festinger, Allison, Janis) ever speaks of "critical thinking," which is sometimes a buzz-word used by university administrators in the U.S. nowadays (or, at its best, is specified to be raising good questions; evaluating texts for theses, assumptions, and evidence; considering counterevidence; and drawing well-reasoned conclusions). In short: we will try in the course to explain to you, the student, the leading debates of the last decades about good (and bad) decision making, including in foreign policy.

There are also goals for the political science concentration:  
<http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/>

**A Note on Keeping Up-to-date on Contemporary News:** Much of the course deals with recent historical events (basically since 1816, with most emphasis on 1900-present) because such events have provided useful cases for analysis. Because it is

interesting to know how these situations apply to the present and immediate future, current news sources that cover what is happening in world affairs remain important parts of a political science education. When I was a student in the 1960s, my professors in some courses assigned the daily *New York Times* and the weekly *Economist* as part of the required reading. Today, good sources of news still include the *New York Times* and *Economist*. The BBC World Report on Detroit/Ann Arbor cable (via PBS) is a fine television source on world affairs, as is the BBC website; CBC's "The National" provides very good daily coverage of international news, to a far greater degree than U.S. TV. Japan's NHK, broadcast in English and available on US public television, is excellent, especially for Asian news. Whatever source works for you, however, is what you should follow. Students in P.S. 473/573 should be familiar with contemporary news, as a step toward acquiring lifelong habits of keeping up on the news. Limited as our sources are, knowledge they provide of other societies and their relation to our own provides one of the few ways to attain a key goal of education: seeing beyond the horizons in which we each grew up. News, travel, and acquisition of foreign languages are vehicles that provide access to the global cultures which our world politics courses are ultimately designed to examine and explain.

#### **GRADING:**

For undergraduate credit, the course grade will be calculated as an average of the performance on three written exams, with each exam counting for 28% of the grade. The exams will take about one hour to complete, and will consist of 25 minutes for a long essay, about 25 minutes for the multiple choice, and about ten minutes for administration (distribution of exam booklets, collecting exams). In grading the exams, 50% of the weight will go to the essay question, 50% to the multiple choice questions. Students should bring a blue book, pen, scan-tron form and number two pencil to the exams. A student not using a number two pencil on the scan-tron form will be penalized one grade level (e.g., B down to C). A term paper/research project assignment will be due in early April. Sixteen percent of the course grade will be based on the term paper.

#### **Grading Scale:**

Grading of the multiple choice tests is curved, to roughly correspond to the historic average University grade, in the B to B- range. Grading of the essay portion of the exam and of the term papers is on a basis of absolute quality rather than a

curve. Grades of A correspond to a GPA of 4.0, B is a 3.0, C is a 2.0, and so on down through D (1.0) and E or F (0).

### **University Attendance Policy:**

A student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester.

### **Academic Integrity Policy:**

The University of Michigan-Dearborn values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth by the Code of Academic Conduct (<http://umdearborn.edu/697817/>), as well as policies established by each college. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses and violations can result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

### **Disability Statement:**

The University will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students need to register with Disability Resource Services (DRS) every semester they are enrolled. DRS is located in Counseling & Support Services, 2157 UC ([http://www.umd.umich.edu/cs\\_disability/](http://www.umd.umich.edu/cs_disability/)). To be assured of having services when they are needed, students should register no later than the end of the add/drop deadline of each term. If you have a disability that necessitates an accommodation or adjustment to the academic requirements stated in this syllabus, you must register with DRS as described above and notify your professor.

### **CLASS POLICIES:**

**Keeping everyone safe during the COVID epidemic is paramount, and the class policies will be modified as needed to meet that goal. How this will work out depends a lot on what President Schlissel and Chancellor Grasso state as the**

## **University policies, which can change quickly in response to changes in the virulence of the pandemic. Please follow my directions to keep us from infecting each other.**

1. No make-up exams will be given except under documented circumstances.
2. RESPECT. We are all to respect others opinions, beings, comments, and habits. This does not mean we cannot disagree, nor does it mean we cannot have fun. However, we each need to respect the diversity of our fellow students. There are also topics discussed that may challenge you either intellectually or emotionally; while we try to be sensitive, a university is also a place for inquiry and discovery. More about this in class.
3. Students arriving late should do so as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.
4. In the event that I am aware of a major accident on the road or a weather problem, I may delay class start by five to ten minutes.
5. ON E-MAIL: E-MAIL IS THE MAIN VEHICLE WE WILL USE TO STAY IN TOUCH OUTSIDE OF CLASS. For example, if school is canceled, I will send you an email with some attached materials. Anyone without access to the Internet at home should see me the first week of class to have alternative plans in place. While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from hackers and viruses, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. We should all also be cautious about opening e-mail attachments. This means, for example, your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment out of caution. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.
6. Class discussion and participation is an integral part of this class. If you are within two or three points of a higher grade, your participation and attendance will be taken into account. (I do not count you as present if you are sleeping, carrying on personal discussions, or otherwise “tuned out.”)
7. **As a general rule, use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, but there are reasonable exceptions for portable computers for class purposes. Please step up to the podium area and notify me, in the first week of class, if you are wish to use a laptop computer.** Put your pagers on vibrate and turn off your cell phones. (In the event that you are on stand-by to be asked by President Obama to be a liaison in secret meetings with the Syrian rebels, or Donald Trump has asked you to be his on-call foreign policy advisor, or some critical personal reason, let me know ahead of time). **If your pager or cell phone goes off, or if you read or answer a text,**

**YOU LOSE 5 POINTS. If you get up and leave to be on the phone, you lose five points. If mine goes off, you get five points.**

**8 The use of a laptop in class is acceptable ONLY FOR CLASS PURPOSES.** Game playing, emailing, and web surfing, unless approved by instructor, are not acceptable. This has become a problem and students have complained privately that it is distracting and annoying. If you feel a need to keep emailing your friends, surfing the web, or playing games, you probably should not come to class. It is your choice. If you have a laptop, I will, on occasion, ask you to look up something we are discussing.

9. I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus, and we may fall behind or surge ahead, but any changes to exam dates (due to school closure, falling behind because we had a speaker, etc.) will be decided by the class by vote.

**10. UM-Dearborn's official attendance policy states that, "a student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester."** If you are absent, you must get notes from a fellow student. I will not go over what we covered in class, nor will I excuse you from any assignment or new information unless a real (documented) emergency occurred.

11. Any late assignment without a signed letter from an M.D. or equivalent authority will result in a two-notch reduction in grade for that exam or paper (e.g., from B- to straight C). This reduction will triple for each additional five days late. Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities.

12. I will make every effort to meet with any student so requesting. You need to build relationships with your instructors so when it is time for a recommendation for a scholarship or something else, your instructors will know you. Try to come up and see me at least twice during the semester. I am around many other times than my official hours indicate; just ask. Using my email [fwayman@umich.edu](mailto:fwayman@umich.edu) is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

### **Safety:**

All students are strongly encouraged to register in the campus Emergency Alert System, for communications during an emergency. The following link includes information on registering as well as safety and emergency procedures information:  
<http://umemergencyalert.umd.umich.edu/> Finally, all students are also encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's Public Safety phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell

phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call UM-Dearborn Public Safety.

## TERM PAPER

We are going to try to do term papers that are original research, based on an integration of our own data (from Prof. Wayman's research, often in collaboration with his assistant Mr. Phil Schafer) with other established data sources from around the world. We will emphasize a data set on regime types, with the premise that regime type matters for security - liberal democratic regimes are very different from military regimes, and both these are very different from communist regimes, and still a fourth type of regime, the personalist, has a different set of consequences for security as well. We are particularly looking at three things: (1) how much war and armed conflict is going on in recent decades, especially since the end of the Cold War; (2) how much genocide and related mass killing of defenseless people has been going on, and where; and (3) where armed forces are deployed outside their own national boundaries. We have data on all three of these things from the work of Wayman and Schafer. In the case of the wars and genocides, we can compare it to the data gathered by Uppsala University in Sweden. These describe the number of fatalities in each country for each year, so we can see the trends in international security matters. The Uppsala data can be seen at:

<https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/index.html#armedconflict>

## TERM PAPER TOPICS

Let me begin with two examples from the ISA meeting in Baltimore in 2017. They set up an ideal model for a term paper, which we can aim at; obviously, we're not going to have the time in the semester to get to the level of an ISA paper, but we can get as far as we can in that direction, so we can correctly feel that we are making a contribution.

Generally speaking, our comparative advantage is that we have a data base that is widely respected and useful and lets us look at international security questions in a way that brings answers. The same is true of these two papers, one by Sarkees, the other by Sarkees and Dixon.

Sarkees, Meredith Reid (2017) "How Peaceful Is the World Today -- Really?" A paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA), Baltimore, Md., Feb. 22-25. This paper looks at 751 wars from 1816 to 2015 (a 200-year data set of COW-type wars).

Her findings:

Declinists' contention is that we are now the most peaceful. We have the

long inter-state peace, going back about a half-century now. We have a short intra-state peace since 1990. We have the vanishing of extra-state war. [Non-state war is also down, though she does not talk about that, and the declinists don't talk about it much either.]

Most declinists just go back to 1946. COW by contrast goes back to the start of the COW inter-state system in 1816.

Looking over the longer time span (2 centuries), we see that the total number of **war onsets** per year is fairly stable -- a flat line on the chart. Different types of war have gone up and down, except extra-state war, which have gone down (not vanished). Intra-state wars are down from a 1991-1992 peak, but of course that does not mean that they've reached a record low (because the 1991-1992 peak was way above any earlier amount).

Another way to look at this is total **wars ongoing**, and **duration of wars** has been going up. There is an oscillating pattern of types of war, but we are not saying that this is substitution, but there probably is some of that.

Another way to look is at **nation-months of war**, and that's at a record high for civil war.

Sarkees, Meredith Reid, and Jeffrey S. Dixon (2017) "Is War Being Transformed? The Changing Role of Nonstate Actors, 1816-2015" A paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, Md., Feb. 22-25. This paper looks at a data set on nonstate participants in civil war (from a 200-year data set of COW-type wars). It allows test of the new war theses (NWT). NWT is that there is more asymmetry in warfare, non-traditional demands (e.g. on religious policies), less concern about holding territory, more concern with economics (called privatization), not just winning wars. We have 378 civil wars over 200 years. Change in asymmetry over time is not supported by our evidence. Fragmentation (in number of actors) is increasing. There is an increase in inter-state intervention. Over 1992-2015, the foreign nonstate actors go up, while state intervention somewhat levels off. Civil wars are not less territorial over time. Privatization claims of the NWT *not* supported.

[Comment by Prof. Wayman: A difference between McFate and Sarkees and Sarkees-Dixon is that she/Sarkees and Dixon are looking at all the data, whereas McFate is focusing on salient examples, such as US fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. I'm sure she's exasperated, and rightly so, by the imbalance in attention -- he gets a best-seller, she attracts scholarly interest. Our job in the term paper projects is to emulate her and Dixon, by using COW data with updates to examine interesting questions about international security.]

I have designed term paper topics for my courses that are different for each course (for example, I don't want the papers in this course to just repeat what we study in the PS 451 course, Peace and War, which is mostly about the causes of war). Yet all connect up to the ideas, alluded to above, that we need to focus on something where we can add some value and thereby have a product someone in principle will want to read, because it is drawn from the COW data and similar measures where we have a comparative advantage, and thereby says something concrete (a "finding") that no one else has found out. For the smaller courses like PS 473 this term, they can be somewhat individualized, instead of being so uniform, such as the PS 371 and 471 projects some of you have been part of. Here are suggested topics (subject



to modification by me as the first weeks unfold) -- the topics for international security this term:

1. Look at **the regime types, and how they are related to wars and genocides**. I think there are a half dozen students who may do papers on parts of this topic, if the interest is there.

2. See if there is a difference in the **two types of intra-state wars: civil and inter-communal**. That is to say, about ten percent of the intra-state wars in *Resort to War* are inter-communal, defined as the government is not in the fighting, while the other ninety percent are civil, defined as the government is one of the two sides. I don't know of anyone who has looked at whether these two categories of intra-state war differ in their duration, or fatality rate (or anything else about them, more qualitative perhaps, that is interesting).

3. Is the side (government or rebels) in **civil war** more likely or less likely to win, if it is supported by an **outside intervener** on its side?

4. Can you use the data I have available to **update the democide** data of Rummel, from 1988 till 2018, to see how much mass killing is still going on?

This is just a set of rows and columns with numbers. The rows are country-years. The columns are different categories of people killed, down below 1,000 (COW war minimum) to 1. The categories are familiar things to us: inter-state war, intra-state war, extra-state war, mass killing (we can call it democide; the ordinary-language term is genocide). The paper would involve probably typing some of this into Excel and then using its functionality to create totals (e.g., world-wide dead per year), to see if there are trends and patterns that could form a term paper with findings.

5. Can you refine the work of Wayman and Tago, that examined **what proportion of the wars and mass killings had UN intervention? Also, how does this correlate with the humanitarian efforts at relief of suffering, especially as reflected in the work of the Wallenberg Medal committee at University of Michigan**.

6. We also had data on the **military operations of the US, Britain, France, Australia, and Canada, to see how much these five operate together**. This deals with some of the Trump chaos about whether the US should go it alone or have allies. In the term paper, as in a paper Tago and I presented at ISA, the question is: what has been the practice -- when the US or one of those other four goes into a combat situation, over some recent decades, what has happened, in terms of who goes with us? To a remarkable extent, I thought, it turns out that when one goes, most of the others join in. MARIE SUEHRER, 2/11 17:30hr or Tues, 2/12, 15:30. Also interested in topic # 5; I think maybe we could combine them, as Atsushi Tago and I did to a degree, but better to start with just # 6 and not get too much to do.

7. What patterns emerge, if you try to update the Wayman and Jones **rivalry** data to come up closer to the present (this involves working with COW MID data)?

8. We have **troop deployment** data no one has ever used. Basically, this is fairly complete information, going back 200 years to 1816, on the countries where foreign troops have been deployed. This is in both wartime (as COW defines it) and peacetime. It is just information for each year for each

country, on sheets of paper, organized chronologically and by country (US is country 2, Canada is country 20, Mexico is country 40, and so on -- the standard COW country codes). This ties in with two of our readings: the first course pack entry, from the Congressional Research Service, on US military operations since 1789, and Blechman and Kaplan, *Force without War*.

a. This could be studied for a term paper just descriptively: where are US troops operating outside the US, and how does this compare to other countries (Britain, France, Russia, etc.).

b. This could be tied into other data sets -- e.g., the war data set. In wars, where did troops go?

c. Colonialism does not directly come into this. If British troops are deployed to a British colony such as India, that does not show up, since the troops are in British imperial territory. But it could apply to neo-colonialism: where are French troops in Africa?

**These papers will be due on March 22ND. You need to turn in two printed copies of your paper. Also, you must email a copy to Prof. Wayman.**

#### **BOOKS TO PURCHASE:**

Each student should buy the course pack (which is bound and sold in two volumes, the first containing most of the course readings and the second being a small supplement). The course pack is available from Dollar Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. \$Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at [www.dollarbillcoursepacks.com](http://www.dollarbillcoursepacks.com) (also you probably can use [www.dollarbillcopying.com](http://www.dollarbillcopying.com)). At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and \$Bill ships next day UPS to your address.

Students should also purchase:

Patrick M. Morgan, *International Security*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. ISBN 1-56802-587-4

Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 2013),

both are available in the UM-D bookstore.

## LECTURE TOPICS AND READINGS.

Some alterations may be made in the late March and April readings. If so, announcements will be made in class.

The course will examine the following general topics in international security:

### **Part I. The Threat Environment: An Overview of Past and Present, with special attention to Threats to Liberal Societies and the U.S.** (readings to be completed by Jan. 13th)

An Overview of Security:

Morgan, *International Security*, pp. 1-60

Wars, Militarized Disputes, and Use of Armed Force by the United States:

Sarkees, Wayman, and Singer, "Inter-State, Intra-State, and Extra-State Wars: A Comprehensive Look at their Distribution over Time, 1816-1997." *International Studies Quarterly* 2003. Course pack.

Wayman, Singer, and Goertz, "Capabilities, Allocations, and Success in Wars and Militarized Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly* 1983. Course pack.

Richard Grimmett, Congressional Research Service, "Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2001." Course pack.

Bill Keller, "The Fighting Next Time," *N.Y. Times Magazine*, March 10, 2002. Course pack.

John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, "Revolutionary War," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 815-862. Course pack.

### **Part II. Deterrence**

By Jan. 24th:

Morgan, *International Security*, pp. 61-108

Classic Nuclear Deterrence:

Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1965 (first edition, 1959)), "Recapitulation and Conclusions," pp. 390-409. Course pack.

Thomas Schelling, "The Art of Commitment" and "The Manipulation of Risk," in *Arms and Influence* (Yale U. Press, 1966), pp. 35-125. Course pack.

Lawrence Freedman, "The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategists," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 735-778. Course pack.

Conventional Deterrence (to be completed by Feb. 8th):  
Blechman and Kaplan, *Force without War*, pp. 1-134, 175-288, in course pack.

My overview of the above material (from the start of the course until the first exam): there are three eras of security. First, all of human history up to 1945 is dominated militarily by wars and conquests. Second, the 1945-1989 period (the Cold War) is dominated by a new matter: deterrence. Nuclear weapons have affected the old patterns. Third, the post-Cold War period, especially the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is a period of asymmetric warfare, including terrorism.

**THE FIRST EXAM WILL BE ON THURS., FEB. 10TH.**

Rational choice deterrence: to be completed by Feb. 17th

Deterrence game handout, in course pack

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *Principles of International Politics*, [2000, 1st ed.] pp. 34-35 (how different nations can each make the right choice for them but select different strategies), 48-52 (extensive and normal or strategic form; equilibria--Nash and sub-game perfect), 81-87 (iterated prisoner's dilemma), 100-107 (principals and agents), 118-130 (indifference curves and leaders' security in power vs. national security), 206-208 (common conjecture), 320-345 (perceptions, deterrence, and terrorism), 401-435 (alliances), 469-500 (strategic theories of war). Course pack.

Rational choice and identity politics, community, and solutions to prisoner's dilemma resulting therefrom: Wayman, "A Cooperative Solution to Prisoner's Dilemma: Cooperation as a Function of Altruism in Prisoner's Dilemma and Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma." (Peace Science Society paper of Oct. 2000, revised version of March 28, 2002). Course pack.

SPRING BREAK IS FEB. 26TH TO MARCH 6TH

**Part III. Winning Inter-State Wars and Militarized Disputes**  
(to be completed by Mar. 6th):

Stam, *Win, Lose, Draw*, pp. 133-199, in course pack  
Pape, *Bombing to Win*, selected pages, in course pack  
Wayman, Singer, and Goertz, "Capabilities, Allocations, and  
Success in Militarized Disputes and Wars, 1816-1976,"  
*International Studies Quarterly* (1983), in course pack.

**Part IV. Insurgency and War** (to be completed by Mar. 11th)

John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, "Revolutionary War," in Peter  
Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the  
Nuclear Age* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 815-862. Course pack.  
Gurr, "When Minorities Rebel" and "Why Minorities Rebel," from  
*Minorities at Risk*, pp. 89-138. Course pack.  
Frank Wayman and Atsushi Tago, "Explaining the Onset of Mass  
Political Killing, 1949-87," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 47  
(No. 1), Jan. 2010, pp. 3-13.  
Michael Finkel, "Playing War," *The New York Times*, Magazine  
section, Dec. 24, 2000, pp. 30-37, 46 ff., course pack.

**THE SECOND EXAM, COVERING THE MATERIAL SINCE THE FIRST EXAM,  
WILL BE ON THURS., MAR. 17TH.**

**Part V: Mediation, Peacemaking and Peace Keeping:** (by Mar.  
20th)

*The Economist*, "The UN's missions impossible," Aug. 5, 2000, pp.  
24-26, COURSE PACK  
Doyle and Sambanis, *American Political Science Review* 2000.  
COURSE PACK  
Negotiated Solutions to Armed Conflict:  
Tansa Massoud, "Fair Division, Adjusted Winner Procedure (AW),  
and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Journal of Conflict  
Resolution*, 44: No. 3, pp. 333-358 (June 2000) COURSE PACK  
Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, "Camp David: The Tragedy of  
Errors." *New York Review of Books*, Aug. 9, 2001. Course pack.

**PART VI. New Weapons, Revolutions in Military Affairs, Nuclear  
Weapons, Proliferation.**

THE MANHATTAN PROJECT: Film in class: "The Day after Trinity:  
J. Robert Oppenheimer and the Atomic Bomb"

Recommended Reading: Jennet Conant, *109 East Palace: Robert  
Oppenheimer and the Secret City of Los Alamos*. (N.Y.: Simon and

Schuster, 2005) ISBN 988-0-7432-5008-5 (paperback) pp. xv-5, 279-398. This is a 400-page book; you can read the assigned sections fast, like a novel. It introduces the characters really well. Topics examined: secrecy; espionage; role of scientists, military, public, officials; great power conflicts; international organizations; arms control and deterrence. Conant's book should be available cheaply on Amazon, ABE Books, etc. An alternative, longer read is Kai Bird and Martin Sherwin, *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. N.Y.: Vintage Books, 2006. This Bird and Sherwin book is the basis of the movie.

To be completed by Mar. 21st:

Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*. Richard Garwin, "The Many Threats of Terror," *New York Review of Books*, XLVIII, No. 17, Nov. 1, 2001, pp. 16, 18, and 19.

Frank Wayman, "The Strategic Defense Initiative, Strategy, and National Defense." *International Studies Notes*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spring 1989): 27-35.

## **PART VII. Economic Sanctions: an Alternative to War?**

To be completed by April 8th:

Robert Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 90-136. JSTOR.

Kimberly Ann Elliott, "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty?" *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1, summer 1998, pp. 50-65. JSTOR.

Robert Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," *International Security*, Vol 23, No. 1, summer 1998, pp. 66-77. JSTOR.

Mueller and Mueller, "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* 78, 3 (1999): 43-53. JSTOR.

Edward Fishman, "Even Smarter Sanctions," *Foreign Affairs* 78, 3 (Nov./Dec. 2018): 102-110. JSTOR.

## **Part VIII. Seeking Other Alternatives**

Morgan, *International Security*, pp. 109-295

**Part IX. Trends and Conclusions** (to be completed by April 16th)  
Wayman, Singer, and Sarkees, "Inter-State, Intra-State, and Extra-Systemic Wars, 1816-1996," course pack, review  
U.S. Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear deterrence, in

course pack.

Some recent readings from *Foreign Affairs* and *International Security*, to be assigned.

LAST CLASS Thurs., APRIL 20TH

**FINAL EXAM IS DURING FINAL EXAM WEEK, April 25-29.**

P.S. 473      International Security      Prof. F. Wayman

**Essay Exam Questions:** Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following questions. One will be on each exam. **Questions subject to modification until 2 weeks before each exam.**

Exam #1

040929

1. Based on the readings in Part I, what do you see as the major threats to security, and in what ways are they becoming more or less dangerous?
2. To what extent did the United States develop an effective and intellectually coherent and defensible strategy, particularly involving nuclear weapons, in the Cold War era? In what ways are these strategic ideas irrelevant, and in what ways are they still pertinent, early in the 21st century?
3. Discuss the general principles that are relevant to effective deterrence, compellance, defense, and offense, as discussed by Schelling and Blechman and Kaplan. What forces does the U.S. need to achieve U.S. objectives, and how can these forces best be used? (NOTE THAT THIS QUESTION IS RE-USED ON EXAM NUMBER THREE -- WHEN YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE MORE INFORMED AND PROFOUND BECAUSE OF ADDITIONAL MATERIAL WE WILL BE LEARNING!)

Exam #2

160322

1. What are the main points of Shy and Collier concerning revolution, and what do you find to be the strengths and weaknesses of their argument, based on your own thinking, class, and the other readings?
2. According to Wayman's modification of prisoner's dilemma, when does cooperation occur, when does defection occur, which is the more successful strategy under different conditions, and why?
3. What are the ways to succeed in international conflict,

according to Pape on bombing, Stam on winning wars, and Wayman, Singer, and Goertz on winning militarized interstate disputes and wars?

Exam #3

041120

1. What are the views of Sagan and Waltz on nuclear weapons? Do you agree more with the views of Sagan or Waltz, and why?
2. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear weapons.
3. Discuss the general principles that are relevant to effective deterrence, compellance, defense, and offense in the current struggle against global terrorism and in light of the chs. 7-13 of Morgan.
4. What are your views on economic sanctions, based on the readings?

**REFERENCES:**

Allison, Graham (1969) "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 63 (No. 3): 689-718.

Pollins, Brian, "Cannons and Capital," in Frank Wayman and Paul Diehl, eds., *Reconstructing Realpolitik* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1990).