

INTRL-GA 1731.003

Contemporary Security Issues

SUMMER SESSION II

v. 13 July 2015

Prof. Michael John Williams
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Course Hours:
Monday & Wednesday, 6.00PM-8.30PM
Location: 25 W 4th Street, Room: C-19

Office Hours:
Course Open Door Hours – Monday & Wednesday, 3.00PM-4.00PM
Or any other day by appointment, please check weekly schedule and book online

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Introduction and Aims

Only the dead have seen the end of war.

Plato

War is a defining feature of international relations. It is the reason for the establishment of the discipline in the early twentieth century. For centuries man has fought man, in what Hobbes called a “nasty, brutish life”. Within the state, government harnesses a monopoly on the use of force, establishing security. Relations amongst state are not so stable, however, and security has traditionally been elusive because of war. Although war instantly brings certain images to the mind, it is anything but a static phenomenon. War has evolved over time. War, as social enterprise, is also specific to certain cultural contexts. War is at once a simple, yet complex concept.

War, the waging and avoidance of it, may have been the central preoccupation of states for the last few hundred years, but increasingly security is no longer linked to traditionally concepts of war. Since time immemorial man has sought security. But what is security in an age when war in the West seems ever more obsolete? In recent years, the primary threat to the security of many major states has not been war waged by another state. Instead, non-state terrorism, disease and environmental change have become primary concerns. Whereas security was once threatened by strong states, today weak states such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Somalia seem to pose the greatest challenges. At the same time issues such as global warming threaten more death and destruction than war ever did. How can the state achieve security in this environment?

This course explores the topic of war and security as they related to each other in the modern world. The course provides a comprehensive overview of strategic studies and security studies as sub-fields of International Relations. The course is roughly divided into two parts with one part examining primarily the subject of ‘war’ and the second part focusing on ‘security’. Within these sections dominant themes will emerge such as theories of war, types of war, the evolution of war and the regulation of war in the first part of the course. The second part of the course will explore the idea of security, the rise of security risks, metaphysical aspects of war and security, and political violence. The course is both a historical and theoretical exploration into how war and security affect our lives and the study of world politics.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this course students should be able to:

a) Subject Specific

1. Know the major thinkers and theories associated with classical strategic studies and critical security studies, as well as the history of war as it relates to IR and security studies.

2. Compare and contrast the benefits of aforementioned theories against the contemporary international environment.
3. Discuss and assess how changing notions of security and war affect policy amongst states in world politics.
4. Identify and give informed opinion on major practical and theoretical issues related to international security in the 21st century.

b) Generic

1. Critical examine and analyze the theories, major ideas and arguments related to security studies presented in this course.
2. Apply theories and ideas discussed in the readings and lectures to specific issues addressed in seminars.
3. General informed opinion on an issue and learn how to share this opinion and develop support amongst a group of peers.
4. Undertake independent research to form a hypothesis and provide evidence to support (or refute) a hypothesis.

c) Key Skills Development

1. Group discussion and debate
2. Policy analysis
3. Time management and organization
4. Public speaking

Text and Readings:

Texts and Readings are provided for you via NYU classes.

Using Internet Sources

Students are encouraged to use the internet in helping them research around the subjects discussed in class. You will notice that a number of the set readings are online and of course these can be relied upon for their intellectual and scholarly rigour. However, non-scholarly web-based readings should be treated more carefully, as it is unlikely that they will have been subjected to the rigorous review process of a scholarly piece of work. By all means use these sources, particularly from the media or from government and non-governmental agencies, to illustrate and illuminate the arguments of more scholarly pieces of work, but never use non-scholarly sources as the basis for making an argument in your written work.

Having taken note of this warning, you should nonetheless try and get into the habit – if you do not already – of regularly reading a ‘quality’ newspaper that covers international affairs in depth. The *Financial Times* offers the most in-depth coverage of international

affairs. Other US-based and international newspapers that you may wish to read are *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune* and *Le Monde Diplomatique*. For a UK-based perspective try *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Independent* and/or the (weekly) *The Economist*. These papers are accessible online. It is also a good idea to watch quality news programmes, and whilst you are in the UK you should take in programmes such as The Channel Four News (daily at 7pm) and BBC2's *Newsnight* (Daily at 10.30pm). There are also a number of excellent programmes broadcast on BBC Radio Four that cover topics and questions relevant to the course, eg. 'Start the Week'. Full listings are available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/index.shtml?logo>

List of relevant internet sources

(a) Official Sources

European Union: www.europa.eu.int

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation: www.nato.org

United Nations: www.un.org

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: www.unctad.org

World Trade Organization: www.wto.org

International Monetary Fund: www.imf.org

(b) Other Useful Sites

The Economist: www.economist.com

Financial Times: www.ft.com

The Global List: www.theglobalist.com

The Global Site: www.theglobalsite.ac.uk

London Review of Books: www.lrb.co.uk

New Left Review: www.newleftreview.net

New York Times: www.nyt.com

New York Review of Books: www.nyrb.com

Open Democracy: www.opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is copying someone else's work and portraying it as your own without properly referencing it (i.e. not citing it). Plagiarism can be done purposefully or accidentally – either way it is still plagiarism. Plagiarism will be dealt with according to University Regulations. This is a severe offense – not to be taken lightly. If you need clarification or assistance on understanding plagiarism please see Dr. Williams immediately.

Assessment

Essay 1	50%	approx. 3,000 words	Due: 24 July 5pm
Essay 2	50%	approx. 3,000 words	Due: 13 August 5pm

ESSAYS: Your essays should be footnoted and contain a comprehensive bibliography. Papers that are not formatted properly will have marks deducted. The bibliography is

NOT optional. You can follow any citation style you prefer – Harvard, Chicago etc. However, please choose ONE style and apply it consistently throughout your essay.

Extensions for essays are ONLY granted in cases of medical or family emergency. Learning to balance your workload and personal life is an important aspect of graduate study. When you fail to do so in graduate school, you let yourself down. But when you fail to successfully balance your workload in your professional life, then your colleagues also suffer. Therefore, it is important to develop proper time management skills now, rather than later.

Late essays will be penalized with a 10% deduction they are due for up to three days. After three days the essay is marked as a 0.

CLASS FORMAT: This graduate course is designed as an interactive course relying as much on student preparation and participation as it does on the course instructor's guidance. As such, thorough preparation ahead of each class is crucial. Our weekly lectures are organized around the readings and set questions. Seminar groups are meant to be an opportunity for intense discussion and reflection on the topic at hand, preparation of the prompt papers is critical for successful completion of the seminars.

Absence without prior notification and the appropriate documentation submitted to the PIR office will be treated as failure to fulfill the requirements of the course.

Failure to deliver assigned presentations or to submit essays will be treated as failure to fulfill the requirements of the course.

This weekly prompt papers are not optional. I will not accept late prompt papers. I do not accept weekly prompt papers via email. TWO prompt papers will be randomly collected for assessment. *You must bring a hard copy to seminar. Your papers should always be stapled together. You must also have your name in the upper right hand corner of each page.*

SPECIAL NEEDS: It is the policy of New York University to provide reasonable accommodations to students with documented special needs. Students, however, are responsible for registering with the appropriate office, in addition to making requests known to me in a timely manner. If you require accommodations in this class, please make an appointment with me as soon as possible, so that appropriate arrangements can be made.

TECHNOLOGY: This class is a seminar and as such will revolve around constant interaction and engagement. Students may use computers to take notes so long as their use is not disruptive to the class. I reserve the right to ban the use of technology in class. Students may record seminars, but you must ask for permission first.

FOOD: Please refrain from eating in class. Beverages are welcome, unless you are going slurp them or spill them. If you slurp, you might just fail the class outright.

ABOUT YOUR INSTRUCTOR

Dr. Michael John Williams is Clinical Professor of International Relations at New York University and Affiliate Professor of European Studies at the Center for European Studies at NYU. He has been a Robert Bosch Fellow in the German Ministry of Defence and a Visiting Fellow at the Rothermere American Institute at the University of Oxford. Previously Dr. Williams was the Head of the Transatlantic Security Programme at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies in London. His regional expertise is in European geopolitics. Thematically he focuses on international security issues, with a specialization on the armed forces and society and the intersection between society, technology and war. His most recent book is *Law, Science, Liberalism and the American Way of War* (Cambridge University Press: 2015). He has worked on public policy issues in the US Senate, the US Embassy in London, for the UK Labour & Conservative Parties and the German Ministry of Defence.

WEEKLY REQUIRED READING LIST

Session 1 - Thinking about War and Security Theoretical Views on the Causes of War

Why does war exist? Is it inherent in mankind? Is it a by-product of the international system, where anarchy reigns supreme? Are some states more prone to fight wars than others? The discipline of international relations is traditionally based upon the idea of states' desire to accumulate power, with power traditionally defined as military force. Military force, it is said, is necessary to provide security. This is the basis for realist approaches to world politics and the study of war, the foil of which are liberal theories which posit that war can be overcome through international cooperation.

Required Reading:

Kenneth Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory" *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18: 4 (1988).

Jack Levy, "The Causes of War and Conditions of Peace" *Annual Review of Political Science*: 1 (1998).

Richard Neb Lebow, "The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War and the Failure of Realism" *International Organization* 48: 2 (1994).

Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation" *International Security* 24: 1 (1999).

Additional Reading:

John J Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2001).

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Robert B. Strassler (ed) *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War* (New York: Touchstone, 1998).

Geoffrey Parker (ed), *The Cambridge History of Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Chapters 1-4.

Session 2 - The Western War of War: American and European Ways of War

War as a social enterprise is naturally culturally determined to a certain extent. As such different parts of the world developed different forms of warfare. In the West, the roots of modern warfare can be traced back to the ancient Greeks on through the Roman Empire, eventually through Europe and onto the United States.

Required Reading:

Stephanie Carvin & Michael John Williams, *Law, Science, Liberalism and the American Way of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) – CHAPTERS TWO and THREE.

Victor Davis Hanson, "The Western Way of War" p. 157-165 in *Australian Army Journal*, Winter 2004.

Russell Weigly, *The American Way of War* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1977).

Additional Reading:

James Kurth, "Variations on the American War of War" in *The Long War*, Andrew Bacevich (ed), (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Steven Everts et al, *A European Way of War*, (London: Centre for European Reform, May 2004).

Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985).

Herfried Muenkler, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

Beatrice Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz*, (London: Pimlico, 2002).

Session 3 - War Beyond the Western World: Asia and the Levant

Armed conflict is not specific to western civilization – all of humanity has engaged in warfare and war is a cultural phenomenon. Western civilization, however, managed to develop a form of warfare the seemingly eradicated other forms of war such as the Asian and Levantine styles of war. This session explores non-western ways of war looking at how these forms of war fared against the western way of war and what vestiges of war remain from these cultures.

Required Reading:

John W. Jandora, "War and Culture: A Neglected Relation" *Armed Forces & Society* 25: 4 (1999)

Andrew Scobell, "Is there a Chinese Way of War?" *Parameters*, Spring 2005.

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*.

Additional Reading:

Victor Davis Hanson, *Why the West has Won* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2001).

Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985).

Herfried Muenkler, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

Session 4 - The Savage Wars of Peace – the Small War

Total war appeared to make war as a tool of foreign affairs diminish greatly in terms of efficacy, but throughout the 20th century small wars flourished. These conflicts, also commonplace in the 19th century, were important in establishing the state system as it exists today. Small wars differ from large wars in their duration, order of battle, the units of battle and rationale to name but a few differences. Generally speaking regular forces find they are poorly suited to combat the irregular forces they encounter in small wars. Small wars in places such as the Philippines were the precursor of today's 'small wars' in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Required Reading:

David Kilcullen, "Counterinsurgency Redux", *Survival* 48:4 (2006).

Paul Dixon, "'Hearts and Minds?' British Counter Insurgency Strategy from Malaya to Iraq" *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32: 3 (2009).

Thomas Renard & Stephanie Taillat, "Between Clausewitz and Mao: Dynamic Evolutions of the Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq (2003-2008)" *Small Wars Journal* (www.smallwarsjournal.com).

Additional Reading:

Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

John Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).

Alexander Alderson, "US COIN Doctrine and Practice: An Ally's Perspective", *Parameters* (Winter 2007-2008).

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/07winter/alderson.pdf>

US Army Counter-Insurgency Manual.

<http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>

The Small Wars Journal

<http://smallwarsjournal.com/>

Session 5 - The Civil War: A Not So Civilized Affair

Thus far the idea of war has been limited to state verses state competitions, but war can also occur within a state, amongst a people. This is known as a civil war and civil wars have occurred in established democracies such as the US and UK. They remain an

endemic feature of the modern international system. But why do civil wars occur? What compels a people to take up arms against an established government? What are the warning signs of a civil war? How can civil wars be prevented?

Required Reading:

Nicholas Sambanis, "What is Civil War: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48: 6 (Dec 2006).

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement" *International Organization* 51: 3 (1997).

Paivil Lujala et al, "A Diamond Curse: Civil War and a Lootable Resource" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49: 4.

Additional Reading:

Yahya Sadowski, "Think Again: Ethnic Conflict" *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1998).

Session 6 - Just and Unjust Wars – Law and War

War is often seen as nasty and brutish, but some have attempted to 'civilize' war. Early Christian pacifists decided that war was acceptable in some cases and sought to outline just causes for war. One of the early writers on this subject in the western world is St Augustine of Hippo. The Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius also contributed significantly to the thinking of just and unjust wars following the Thirty Years War in Europe. The laws of war were further refined by combatants and humanitarians alike as conflict became more brutal and mechanized and the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross following the Crimean War was a major development in the helping to make war humane. Today the laws of war remain contentious in an era when it is often difficult to determine between combatants and non-combatants and the legal regulations applicable to oftentimes-new security dilemmas.

Required Reading:

Rosemary Foot, "Human Rights in Conflict", *Survival* 48:3, Autumn 2006.

Carsten Stahn, "Responsibility to Protect: Political Rhetoric or Emerging Legal Norm?" *American Journal of International Law* 101: 1 (2007).

Richard K. Betts "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention" *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994.

Bruce Jentleson, "Military Force Against Terrorism: Questions of Legitimacy, Dilemmas of Efficacy" in Ivo Daalder (ed), *Beyond Preemption* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution 2007).

J. Samuel Barkin & Bruce Cronin, "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations" *International Organization* 48: 1 (December 1994).

Additional Reading:

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

Michael J. Butler, "US Military Intervention in Crises, 1945-1994: An Empirical Inquiry into Just War Theory" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47: 2 (April 2003).

Richard A. Wasserstrom, "Three Arguments Concerning the Morality of War" *The Journal of Philosophy* 65: 19 (1968).

Kenneth Campbell, *Genocide and the Global Village* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

Christopher Coker, *Humane Warfare* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Harper, 2003).

Chris Hedges, *War is a Force that Gives us Meaning* (Oxford: Public Affairs, 2002).

Mats Berdal (ed), *Studies in International Relations: Essays by Philip Windsor* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2002). Chapter Five, "Cultural Dialogue in Human Rights"

Session 7 - Political Violence: Past and Present

The modern state system was born of war and following the Peace of Westphalia the use of force in international affairs was deemed legitimate only when used by the state. This has been the status quo since 1648, but it has been challenged many times. The most recent challengers are non-state groups such as Al Qaeda and super empowered individuals such as Osama bin Laden. But these are only the most recent 'terrorists' in a rather long pedigree that stretches back to the origin of the term during the French Revolution and which was further redefined in the anarchist period of the late 1800s.

Required Reading:

Walter Laquer, "Postmodern Terrorism" *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 1996

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism" *International Security*, Winter 2002/03

Mark Sedgwick, "Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30: 2 (2007).

David C. Rapoport, "The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism" *Current History* (December 2001).

Additional Reading:

Berdal (2002) Philip Windsor Essays, "Chapter 17: Terrorism and International Order"

Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (New York: Free Press, 2004).

Thomas Carothers, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror", *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2003.

Paula J. Doriansky, Thomas Carothers, "Response: Democracy Promotion" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003.

Audrey Kurth Cronin & James M. Ludes (eds) *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004).

Session 8 – Deterrence and Arms Control

The Cold War ended decades ago but the nuclear weapons that dominated the Cold War era remain active components of defense strategy in legacy nuclear powers (the US, Russia, UK, France and China) as well as a host of new nuclear-weapon states such as India and Pakistan (to name but two). With the resumption of 'cold hostilities' between Russia and the West over Ukraine, nuclear weapons have again become a topic of concern, not in the least because the Kremlin regularly conducts war games that end with nuclear strikes on cities like Tallinn and Warsaw. There is also the problem that nuclear weapons in weaker states, such as Russia or Pakistan, may be proliferated to terrorist groups.

Required Reading:

Chapter Five, "Deterrence and Arms Control" in Patrick M. Morgan, *International Security: Problems and Solutions* (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2006).

Session 9 – Peacekeeping and ‘Nation’ Building

Genocide proved, at least in rhetoric, to be a major motivating factor for international intervention in the 1990s. The international community, then Prime Minister Blair declared, could not stand by while atrocious crimes were committed. The UN agreed, with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan saying that state sovereignty was not an excuse to allow the violation of human rights. Military intervention was seen as a way to remedy this problem. In an age of terrorism, military intervention and ‘peace operations’ have also been seen to be a way to reduce the security risks posed by weak states such as Afghanistan or rogue state such as Iraq. Building on earlier discussion on the use of force in world politics, this section examines the arguments for military intervention and the difficulties associated with modern day ‘peace-keeping’ operations.

Required Reading:

M. J. Williams, “(Un)Sustainable Peacebuilding: NATO’s Suitability for Postconflict Reconstruction in Multiactor Environments” *Global Governance* 17 (2011).

Paul D. Williams, “Review: International Peacekeeping: The Challenges of State-Building and Regionalization” *International Affairs* 81: 1 (January 2005).

Session 10 - The Environment as a Security Issues and other 21st Century Challenges

Increasingly security is no longer threatened by another ‘actor’ but by events. Global poverty is seen as a highway to extremism, state decay and resulting destabilizing violence. Healthcare in Europe or North America might be top notch, but that does not stop a virus from travelling around the world to wreak havoc on a population such as HIV/AIDS did in the 1980s or new disease such as BSE, Bird Flu and Swine Flu threaten to do today. And of course, if our planet becomes unliveable due to climate change the basic assumptions of security studies are all undone. This unit examines a serious of inter-related, yet distinct security challenges that are three of the most difficult to remedy in the 21st century.

Required Reading:

Chapter Five “Conflict, Instability and State Failure: The Climate Factor” in Jeffrey Mazo, *Climate Conflict: How Global Warming Threatens Security and What to Do About It* (London: IISS, 2011).

Kurt M. Campbell, *The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Climate Change* (Washington: CSIS, 2007).

http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071105_ageofconsequences.pdf

Braden Allenby, "Environmental Security: Concept and Implementation," *International Political Science Review* 21: 1 (2000).

Additional Reading:

Mary Kaldor, *Human Security* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

Misha Glenny, *McMafia: A Journey Through the Criminal Underworld* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008).

Adam Edwards & Peter Gill (eds) *Transnational Organized Crime* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003).

John S. Burnett, *Dangerous Waters: Modern Piracy and Terrorism on the High Seas* (New York: Plume, 2003).

Session 11 – A world without war? But also without security?

Is war obsolete? Will the future be one without 'war' but also without security? What does this mean for the future of security studies? What does it mean for policy? How should states best deal with the emerging security environment?

Required Reading:

M. J. Williams, "Theory meets Practice: Facets of Power in the War on Terror" in Berenskoetter and Williams (eds) *Power in World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History" *The National Interest*, Summer 1989.

Robert Kagan, "The End of Dreams, The Return of History" *Real Clear Politics* (July 19, 2007).

Additional Reading:

Christopher Coker, *The Future of War: The Re-Enchantment of War in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

Christopher Coker, *Waging War without Warriors* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2002).