

P.S. 473/573 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
2165 SSB, TTh 11:30-12:45 PM

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080902

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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, survival, and sovereign integrity of the world's nations and their people.

#### **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.

**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" actually provides very good daily coverage of international news, to a far greater degree than U.S. TV. And the *Washington Post* weekly provides unsurpassed insight into American national affairs. 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 one-third 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 term paper/research project assignment will be added, through arrangement with the instructor, for students taking the course for graduate credit (573). Graduate students should meet with me to select a topic. For graduate credit, 25% of the course grade will be based on each exam, and 25% will be based on the paper. Term papers will be due on Dec. 5th, and the project may include an in-class presentation at a time appropriate to the content of the paper.

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying): The University of Michigan 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 in the

Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

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 (e.g., from B- to straight C). Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

#### ON E-MAIL ETIQUETTE:

While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, it is important 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. I also do not open e-mail attachments. This means 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. Please respect these norms of mine if you wish to contact me, and I look forward to hearing from you.

#### **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.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, 2003),

both available in the UM-D bookstore.

### **LECTURE TOPICS AND READINGS.**

Some alterations may be made in the Nov. and Dec. 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 Sept. 7th)

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.

#### **Part II. Deterrence**

By Sept. 18th:

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 Oct. 2nd):  
Blechman and Kaplan, *Force without War*, pp. 1-134, 175-288, in course pack.

**THE FIRST EXAM WILL BE ON THURSDAY, OCT. 2ND.**

Rational choice deterrence: to be completed by Oct. 12th

Deterrence game handout, in course pack

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *Principles of International Politics*, 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.

**Part III. Winning Inter-State Wars and Militarized Disputes**  
(to be completed by Oct. 29th):

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 Nov. 6th)

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*, tentatively scheduled for Vol. 46 (No. 6), November 2009.  
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 THURSDAY, NOV. 6TH.**

**Part V: Mediation, Peacemaking and Peace Keeping:** (by Nov. 13th)

*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, Proliferation, Terrorism.**

To be completed by Nov. 22nd:

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.

Joseph Lelyveld, "All Suicide Bombers Are Not Alike." *New York Times Magazine*, pp. 49-53, 62, and 78-79.

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

Thanksgiving is Nov. 27th.

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

To be completed by Dec. 1st:

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

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

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

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

**Part VIII. Seeking Other Alternatives**

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

**Part IX. Trends and Conclusions** (to be completed by Dec. 8th)

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.

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security*, Winter 1996/1997, 5-53. Course pack.

LAST CLASS TUES., DEC. 9TH

**FINAL EXAM 3 PM DEC. 18TH**

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**Essay 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

041120

1. Show how rational choice tools and concepts of Bueno de Mesquita (such as equilibria, imperfect information) are used by him to study various international security problems (such as terrorism, alliances, deterrence).

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 Bush administration struggle against Iraq and/or against global terrorism and in light of the chs. 7-13 of Morgan.