



## **POLS 465: Use of Force in International Politics. Department of Political Science/ International Affairs.**

Spring 2014

Class hours: Mon-Wend. 18.00-19.15 h.

Office hours: Mon-Wend. 16.30.

Professor : Dr. David Garcia Cantalapiedra.

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### **COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This course will familiarize students with some of the major theoretical issues in the study of International Security and the use of force. War and conflict have been central to international politics. The study of security investigates causes of war, strategies for avoiding conflict, and the impact of new technologies, actors, and ideas on calculations about the use of force. This course will approach to several issues: use of force in history; use of force and theories of international relations; possibilities of use of force in compliance with modern international law; the role of the United Nations and organizations of collective security; an analysis of practice of use of force in contemporary international relations: international conflicts and wars and their consequences. The main goals of the course are that, by the end of the course, students will develop a general understanding about the meaning and role of the use of force in the current international system and the prospects of this dynamic in the future.

The course has four main areas: 1) an examination of key aspects and concepts that affect international security. 2) analysis of “new” and traditional security issues that continue to affect the international security arena, 3) an evaluation of non-state actors are affecting conflict and security in various parts of the world, and 4) a brief exploration of some examples of modern use of force in different conflicts: Somalia, the GWOT, AF-PAK, Mexico’s Drugs War; Sahel, India-Pakistan and US/Asian allies vs. PRC.

### **Requirements:**

1. Participation (20% of final grade). Assessed by two criteria: Attendance and active participation. This necessitates a careful and close reading of the arguments offered in each work. **It is imperative that you stay on top of the material covered in class.**
2. Complete a mid-term and final essay. The mid-term essay will be due at the end of the class period on Monday, February 18<sup>th</sup>. The final essay will be due on Spring Final Exams week, Wend. May 6<sup>th</sup>. The mid-term essay is worth 30% and the final essay is worth 50% of the final grade. The papers should be no more than 10 and 15 pages in length, respectively. Last day to drop this class and not receive a grade “W”: Wed. 23rd January. Last Day to Choose Audit (AU) or Pass/No Pass (P/NP): Thu, 7th February

Last day to drop this class and receive a grade “W”: Mon. 11th March.

### **Academic Integrity and Honesty**

Any clear violation of academic integrity will be met with appropriate sanctions. Possible sanctions for violation of academic integrity may include, but are not limited to, assignment of a failing grade in a course, disciplinary probation, suspension, and dismissal from the University. Students should review the College of Arts and Sciences policy on Academic Honesty, which can be accessed on-line at <http://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/> under “Quicklinks for Students” or in hard copy form in the Arts and Sciences Policy Binder in each departmental or College office.

### **Academic Accommodation,**

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. Students who think they might benefit from these resources can find out more about:

Course-level support (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor.

University-level support (e.g., tutoring/writing services, Disability Services) by visiting the Academic Dean's Office (San Ignacio Hall) or by going to [http://spain.slu.edu/academics/learning\\_resources.html](http://spain.slu.edu/academics/learning_resources.html) .

### **Students with Disabilities:**

Students who believe that, due to a disability, they could benefit from academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services at +34 915 54 58 58, ext. 204, send an e-mail to [counselingcenter-madrid@slu.edu](mailto:counselingcenter-madrid@slu.edu) , or to visit the Counseling Office (San Ignacio Hall). Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Course instructors support student accommodation requests when an approved letter from Disability Services has been received and when students discuss these accommodations with the instructor after receipt of the approved letter.

### **Main Reference Text:**

Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds). *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 2009)

### **Journals.**

Arms Control, Arms control today, Comparative Strategy, International Security, Foreign Affairs, Strategic Survey, Survival, Adelphi Papers, Aviation week and space technology, Defense Nationale, Politique Etrangere, NATO Review. UNISCI Discussion Papers.

## PART I. SECURITY, USE OF FORCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

### Introduction. Conflict, International System and International Relations Theory.

- The doctrinal debate about the enduring nature of War

#### Main Reading:

Colin S. Gray. "War—Continuity in Change, and Change in Continuity". *Parameters*. Summer 2010, Vol. 40, No.

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/Articles/2010summer/Gray.pdf>

Bart Schuurman. "Clausewitz and the "New wars" scholars". *Parameters*. Spring 2010. [http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/Articles/2010spring/40-1-2010\\_schuurman.pdf](http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/Articles/2010spring/40-1-2010_schuurman.pdf)

Corn, Tony. "Peaceful Rise through Unrestricted Warfare: Grand Strategy with Chinese Characteristics". *Small Wars Journal*. June 2010.

<http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/449-corn.pdf>

Andrew Mumford. "Proxy Warfare and the Future of Conflict", *The RUSI Journal*, 158:2, 2013. 40-46. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2013.787733>

This part of the program also deals with the writings of classical authors:

- Thucydides, *The Peloponesian War*.
  - Karl Von Clausewitz *On War*.
  - SunTzu, *The Art of War*.
- **The influence of the structure and actors of the International System in the dynamic of conflict and war.**

#### Main Readings:

Jervis, Robert. "Unipolarity. A Structural Perspective ". *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009).

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world\\_politics/v061/61.1.jervis.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v061/61.1.jervis.html)

Phillips, P. Michael. "Deconstructing Our Dark Age Future." *Parameters*. Summer 2009. pp. 94-110

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/Articles/09summer/philips.pdf>

### 1. Security and conflicts after the Cold War: concepts and evolution.

#### Main Readings:

- "Black Hawk down" (2001) (Selection)

Barry Buzan. "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century". *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, No. 3 (Jul., 1991), pp. 431-451  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2621945>

Dan Henk "Human Security: Relevance and Implications". *Parameters*, Summer 2005.  
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/05summer/henk.pdf>

## **2. The Security Dilemma.**

### **Main Readings:**

Thomas J. Christensen. "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict". *The Washington Quarterly*. Autumn 2002.  
<http://www.twq.com/02autumn/christensen.pdf>

-Posen, Barry R. "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?", *Security Studies*, vol.15, n. 2, pags.149-186.  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09636410600829356>

## **3. Strategies of Conflict and Limitations to the use of force.**

### **3.1.The Legal Framework: UN Collective Security System, International Law and Use of Force.**

#### **Main Readings.**

The United Nations and the. Responsibility to Protect. August 2008. Policy Analysis Brief. The Stanley Foundation.  
[http://humansecuritygateway.com/documents/TSF\\_theUNandR2P.pdf](http://humansecuritygateway.com/documents/TSF_theUNandR2P.pdf)

Ramesh Thakur "R2P after Libya and Syria: Engaging Emerging Powers". TWQ. Spring 2013". [http://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ\\_13Spring\\_Thakur.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ_13Spring_Thakur.pdf)

### **3.2. Conflict and Strategies in International Politics: Coercive Diplomacy, Compellance, Deterrence and the use of military force.**

#### **Main Readings.**

Peter Viggo Jakobsen. "Pushing the Limits of Military Coercion Theory". *International Studies Perspectives* (2011) 12, 153–170.  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1528-3585.2011.00425.x/pdf>

**PART II.**  
**TECHNOLOGY, USE OF FORCE AND THE EVOLUTION OF CONFLICTS.**

**1. The WMD, the RMA and Space Weapons.**

**Main Readings.**

-Fail Safe (1963) Selection)

**Nuclear and other WMD Weapons**

Daalder, Ivo, Lodal, Jan. "Logic of Zero - Toward a World without Nuclear Weapons", *Foreign Affairs*. November-December (2008).pp. 80-95.

Gregory Koblentz, "Pathogens as Weapons: the International Security Implications of Biological Warfare," *International Security*, vol. 28, no. 3 (winter 2003/2004).

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137478>

**The RMA.**

Stephen J. Blank. Preparing for the Next War: Reflections on the Revolution in Military Affairs. *In Athena's Camp*.

[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR880/MR880.ch3.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR880/MR880.ch3.pdf)

**BMD and Space Weapons.**

Kenneth S. Blazejewski "Space Weaponization and US-China Relations". *Strategic Studies Quarterly* ♦ Spring 2008. pp. 33-55.

[www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2008/Spring/blazejewski.pdf](http://www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2008/Spring/blazejewski.pdf)

**PART III.**  
**USE OF FORCE, THE EVOLUTION OF THE LIMITED WAR THEORY AND  
THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT.**

**1. The GWOT/ the Long War: Prevention and Pre-emption.**

**Main Readings.**

- Body of Lies 2008, (selection)

Morgan, M. (2004), 'The Origins of New Terrorism', *Parameters*, Spring: 29–43.

<http://alexanderhamiltoninstitute.org/lp/Hale/Special%20Reports%5CUS%20Military%20Strategy%20II%5CThe%20Origins%20of%20the%20New%20Terrorism.pdf>

Waxman, Matthew C., "The Use of Force Against States That 'Might' Have Weapons of Mass Destruction" (2009). *Columbia Public Law & Legal Theory Working Papers*.

Paper 9172. [http://lsr.nellco.org/columbia\\_pllt/9172](http://lsr.nellco.org/columbia_pllt/9172)

### **3. Asymmetric Conflict, Low Intensity Conflict (LIC), Terrorism and COIN.**

- Subversion, guerrilla, terrorism, and insurgency
- Maoist-Revolutionarian Warfare Model
- Evolution of Counterinsurgency doctrine (1950-1990)
- The COIN *renaissance*: Iraq and the 2006 FM 3-24.

#### **Main Readings.**

- AF-PAK (“Restrepo” 2008)

Kilcullen, David. “Countering Global Insurgency: A Strategy for the War on Terrorism.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, 4 (Aug 2005), 597–617.

<http://www.anth.uconn.edu/faculty/handwerker/309readings/Kilcullen%202005%20JSS%2028%20Countering%20Global%20Insurgency.pdf>

Hoffman, Frank G. “Neo-Classical Counterinsurgency?”. *Parameters*. Vol. XLI .Winter 2011-12. pp. 87-103.

<http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Articles/2011winter/Hoffman.pdf>

### **4. The Hybrid Warfare.**

#### **Main Readings**

Singer, P.W. “Wired for War?” *Joint Forces Quarterly*, 52, 1st quarter 2009.

<http://www.ndu.edu/press/lib/pdf/jfq-52/JFQ-52.pdf>

Gustavo Diaz y Kaveh Moravej. ”[Covert Action and its Necessity in 21st Century Counter-Terrorism](#)”. *UNISCI Discussion Papers*. .Mayo. 2006

<http://www.ucm.es/info/unisci/revistas/UNISCI11Gutavo.pdf>

Bergen, Peter; Tiedemann, Katherine. “Washington's Phantom War: The Effects of the U.S. Drone Programs in Pakistan”. *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2011.

[http://www.mpil.de/de/data/pdf/bergen\\_tiedemann\\_washingtons\\_phantom\\_war.pdf](http://www.mpil.de/de/data/pdf/bergen_tiedemann_washingtons_phantom_war.pdf)

Hoffman, F. “Hybrid Warfare and challenges”. *JFQ* / issue 52, 1st quarter 2009

<http://www.ndu.edu/press/lib/pdf/jfq-52/JFQ-52.pdf>

## **SCHEDULE (TENTATIVE)**

**1 ST WEEK: 14 JANUARY.**

PRESENTATION OF THE COURSE.

**2<sup>ND</sup> WEEK: 16 JANUARY.**

Lecture. Conflict, International System and International Relations Theory.

**3rd WEEK: 21-23 JANUARY.**

Readings' review, analysis and debate

**4th WEEK: 28-30 JANUARY**

Security in International Relations. Readings review

**5th WEEK: 4-6 FEBRUARY**

The Security Dilemma.

**6th WEEK: 11-13 FEBRUARY**

Readings review

**7th WEEK: 18-20 FEBRUARY- Midterm paper deadline.** February 18<sup>d</sup>.

Limitations in the use of force. Readings review

**8th WEEK: 25-27 FEBRUARY**

Use of Military Force. Reading

**9th WEEK: 4-6 MARCH**

"Black Hawk Down". Analysis.

**10th WEEK: 11-13 MARCH**

Nuclear and other WMD weapons. Reading.

**11th WEEK: 18-20 MARCH**

The RMA, BMD and Space Weapons. Readings.

**12th WEEK: 3 APRIL**

The Limited War. Readings.

**13th WEEK: 8-10 APRIL**

The GWOT/ the Long War. Readings.

**14th WEEK: 15-17 APRIL**

**26<sup>th</sup> SESSION:** Asymmetric Warfare.

**27<sup>th</sup> SESSION:** Readings.

**15th WEEK: 22-24 APRIL**

The Hybrid Warfare Debate

**16th WEEK: 29 APRIL - FINAL EXAM. 6<sup>th</sup> MAY.**

"Restrepo". Analysis.