

## INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

PLCY 720

Fall 2017

Tuesday 4:15-6:45

Room 1207 Van Munching Hall

Office Hours: Wed. Noon to 03:30 pm and by appointment

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### **Course Description**

The course is designed to review the principal features of international security as it is currently practiced. It does so by tracing the evolution of contemporary policy and other determining circumstances through the sequence of formative experience whereby current international security conditions developed. The underlying contention is that understanding the consequences of formative experience is indispensable for an adequate comprehension of the prevailing concepts, organizing principles, military deployment patterns, legal regulations, and political relationships that determine the state of international security at the moment. This set of arrangements provides the foundation for all international relationships and affects all international policy topics.

The period reviewed begins with the initiation of nuclear weapons programs during World War II. Contemporary security policy has deeper historical roots, of course, but current conditions were heavily determined by the developments that occurred over the past seven decades. Although it is common to assert that we are now in a new era, anyone who does not understand the formative events and enduring legacy of that period will certainly not understand the contemporary problems that are covered in the second half of the semester. The course reviews this history from the contemporary perspective to understand the current implications. That is, of course, a revisionist perspective from those who lived through the events in question, but it is legitimate and important to use the advantage of retrospect to understand current circumstances. The course is intended to be useful and appropriate for all people of all national affiliation.

### **Grading and Written Assignments**

Grades in the course will be calculated as follows:

First Memo 25%

Second Memo 25%

Final Integrative Memo 30%

In-Class Presentation 15%

Class Participation 5%

Letter grades are decided at the end of the semester, based on the cumulative grades in the course.

## **First and Second Memo**

For each of the fifteen course sessions except the first and the last, there is a memo question posed that might be the topic of an analytic assignment in a contemporary policy setting. The questions are stated in a manner that thoughtful but busy and incompletely informed people might pose and explore them. Some of the questions presented require significant specification and clarification. All of them require the exercise of judgment. Course participants are required to prepare a memorandum of *no more than 1200 words* addressing two of these topics, one submitted on or before October 10 and the second by November 28. The first memo can be on any of the questions listed from class 2 (due to occur on September 5) to class 7 (due to occur on October 10). The second memo can be on any of the questions listed from class 8 (due to occur on October 17) to class 14 (due to occur on November 28). The memorandum is to be submitted before the class session to which it refers. Students are requested to email the memorandum (in MS-Word format) to the instructor before the class and to hand over a printed copy at the beginning of the class session to which the memo question pertains. Students are expected to maintain the highest standards of professional behavior and will adhere to the University of Maryland's Code of Academic Integrity ([www.shc.umd.edu](http://www.shc.umd.edu)) at all times.

## **In-Class Presentation**

Each week, except the first class session, one randomly chosen student will be asked to present and summarize the assigned readings. The random selection ensures that every student spends a reasonable amount time studying the assigned reading materials and actively contributes to the class discussions. This exercise is meant to help students develop the skills needed to quickly understand complex international security policy issues, as well as practice the oral and interpersonal skills needed to participate effectively in policy debates. The chosen student will be called upon at the beginning of class to summarize the readings. The summary report should entail an oral presentation lasting between 20 and 30 minutes. PowerPoint slides are not required. Each student will be asked to summarize and present only once during the course. Every student is allowed one opportunity to defer his/her presentation without penalty. Please e-mail me in advance if you must miss class for any reason.

## **Final Integrative Memo**

A final integrative memo will be assigned at the last class session on December 5 to be answered in *no more than 1500 words* and submitted one week later.

## Readings and Resources

Although the course is focused on substantive issues of policy, underlying conceptual perspectives will be discussed. In particular, the contention that security can only be based on national military power – the traditional realist argument will be regularly contrasted with the aspiration to establish meaningful international regulation. Those who have not been exposed to the classic realist texts may want to examine Hans Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations and Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics. "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" by Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik International Security 24:2, Fall 1999, pp 5 – 55, provides a summary account of the many variations of the realist school. Barry Posen & Andrew Ross, "Competing visions for U.S. grand strategy," International Security, Winter 1996/97, pp. 5-53 compares realist views with contrary perspectives that are actively presented in the United States.

The course will use rely on a number books, articles, and reports. Most of the book Danger and Survival by McGeorge Bundy is assigned for various sessions, and all of its content is relevant. Assigned readings from McGeorge Bundy's Danger and Survival and other assigned books will be placed on reserve using the Canvas system. To access these readings, go to <https://elms.umd.edu> and enter your user name and password (the same ones that you use to access your University of Maryland email account), and then click on PUA 720. Interested students are encouraged to purchase this book if they prefer it. The course also relies heavily on recent articles and reports, many of which are available on the internet, and links have been provided whenever possible. The class discussion also uses journal publications which can be downloaded from the University's library. Depending on class interests and developments in current policy debates, I may supplement or substitute readings as the semester progresses.

### Schedule of Classes

<b>Class 1 - August 29</b>
Introduction: The Role and Character of Security Policy
<b>Class 2 - September 5</b>
Early Development of the Nuclear Arsenal Memo Question: Was the size and operational configuration of the nuclear forces originally deployed by the United States and the Soviet Union strategically justified?
<b>Class 3 - September 12</b>
The Practice of Contemporary Nuclear Deterrence Memo Question: Are there significant risks of accidents involved in the current standard operating procedures of nuclear weapons management? What challenges do these risks, if they exist, pose for decision-makers?
<b>Class 4 - September 19</b>
Alliance Confrontation

<p>Memo Question: Should the commitment to collective defense against external aggression embodied in article V of the North Atlantic Treaty be considered the defining characteristic of NATO?</p>
<p><b>Class 5 - September 26</b></p>
<p>Arms Control Memo Question: Did arms control make a meaningful contribution to security during the Cold War, or was it either a waste of time or a dangerous delusion?</p>
<p><b>Class 6 - October 3</b></p>
<p>Hard Lessons - Vietnam and Afghanistan Memo Question: Why weren't the United States and the Soviet Union able to prevail over much weaker adversaries in Vietnam and Afghanistan? What, if any lessons, would you draw about the relative importance of military power and political legitimacy when foreign powers intervene in civil conflicts because they see them as part of a larger security problem?</p>
<p><b>Class 7 - October 10</b></p>
<p>The Cold War Aftermath Memo Question: What explains the peaceful ending of the Cold War? In retrospect, how well were the fundamental security problems resolved?</p>
<p><b>Class 8 - October 17</b></p>
<p>Defense Transformation: A Revolution in Military Affairs Memo Question: How has the Revolution in Military Affairs changed the nature of warfare? Are these changes a net positive or negative for global peace?</p>
<p><b>Class 9 - October 24</b></p>
<p>Russia Memo Question: How should the United States and NATO respond to recent Russian "provocations"? What steps, if any, should be taken to reengage with Russia on arms control?</p>
<p><b>Class 10 - October 31</b></p>
<p>China Memo Question: How should the United States respond to China's growing military, political and economic power?</p>
<p><b>Class 11 - November 7</b></p>
<p>North Korea and Iran Memo Question: How might the recent improvements in North Korean nuclear and missile capabilities change its behavior? How can the international community prevent the outbreak of a military conflict in Northeast Asia?</p>
<p><b>Class 12 - November 14</b></p>
<p>South Asia Memo Question: Will the disputes between India and Pakistan spiral into a major conflict where nuclear weapons use is seriously considered? How can policy makers avert such an outcome?</p>
<p><b>Class 13 - November 21</b></p>
<p>The Problem of Terrorism</p>

Memo Question: Should the threat of terrorism be considered a primary international security priority?
<b>Class 14 - November 28</b>
Cyber Security Memo Question: How should nation-states deter, defend and respond to major cyber incidents?
<b>Class 15 - December 5</b>
Future of Global Security

### Weekly Reading Assignments

#### **August 29: Introduction: The Role and Character of Security Policy**

McGeorge Bundy, Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years (New York: Random House, 1988), pp. 3-130, especially pp. 3-11; pp. 45-63; pp. 98-130.

C. F. Kurtz and D. J. Snowden, "The New Dynamics of Strategy: Sense-Making in a Complex and Complicated World," *IBM Systems Journal*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2003, pp. 462-470; pp. 481-482; available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/5abe/fd95a98540c9d875d1bee1a4a3e26bcd0346.pdf>

#### **September 5: Early Development of the Nuclear Arsenals**

McGeorge Bundy, Danger and Survival: Choices about the Bomb in the First Fifty Years, (New York: Random House, 1988) pp. 130-318.

Paul Rogers, 'Learning From the Cold War' from Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Cold War, edited by Alan P. Dobson (Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 202-226.

John Lewis Gaddis, We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 85-110, esp. 92-102.

Alain C. Enthoven and K. Wayne Smith, How Much Is Enough? Shaping the Defense Program 1961-1969 (RAND Corporation, 2005), chap. 5, and pp. 207-210. Available at: [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/commercial\\_books/2010/RAND\\_CB403.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/commercial_books/2010/RAND_CB403.pdf)

**Memo Question: Was the size and operational configuration of the nuclear forces originally deployed by the United States and the Soviet Union strategically justified?**

## September 12: The Practice of Contemporary Nuclear Deterrence

Keith B. Payne et al., Rationale and Requirements for U.S. Nuclear Forces, Vol. I, January 2001; available at: <http://www.nipp.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/volume-1-complete.pdf>

Amy Woolf, "Nuclear Weapons: Key Decisions Will Shape the Size and Role of U.S. Nuclear Forces," *Arms Control Today* (January/February 2017) at: <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2017-01/features/nuclear-weapons-key-decisions-shape-size-role-us-nuclear-forces>

Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The Nukes We Need: Preserving the American Deterrent," *Foreign Affairs* 88:6 (November/December 2009), pp. 39-51.

Shaun Gregory, "The Hidden Cost of Deterrence: Nuclear Weapons Accidents," (New York: Brassey's), 1990, chap. 1, and chap.3.

Scott D. Sagan, "Nuclear Alerts and Crisis Management," *International Security*, vol. 9, no. 4, Spring 1985.

Bruce G. Blair and John D. Steinbruner, "The Effects of Warning on Strategic Stability," The Brookings Institution, 1991.

**Memo Question: Are there significant risks of accidents involved in the standard operating procedures of nuclear weapons management? What challenges do these risks, if they exist, pose for decision makers?**

## September 19: Alliance Confrontation

McGeorge Bundy, Danger and Survival, pp. 319-462

Margaret Ball, NATO and the European Union Movement (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 31-73

Kim Ian Moermond & Jack Snyder, "The Second Berlin Crisis, 1958-1959," Pew Case #142. Available at: <https://isd-georgetown-university.myshopify.com/products/the-second-berlin-crisis-1958-59>. (Requires purchase at a cost of \$3.50).

Michael MccGuire, Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy, (Brookings, 1987), pp. 13-66.

Eliot A. Cohen, "Toward Better Net Assessment: Rethinking the European Conventional Balance," *International Security*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Summer 1988).

Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight, and David A. Welch, 'Essence of Revision,' *International Security*, vol. 14, no. 3 (Winter 1989/90) pp. 136-172.

**Memo Question: Should the commitment to collective defense against external aggression embodied in article V of the North Atlantic Treaty be considered the defining characteristic of NATO?**



## September 26: Arms Control

Nancy W. Gallagher, "Four Logics for Cold War Nuclear Arms Control," Chapter Two of *Strategic Logics for Arms Control*

Bundy, pp. 463-583

Thomas Schelling, "What Went Wrong with Arms Control?" *Foreign Affairs* 64:2 (Winter, 1985)

Albert Carnesale and Richard Haass, eds., *Superpower Arms Control: Setting the Record Straight* (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1987), pp. 329-357

Gray, Colin S., "Arms control does not control arms," *Orbis* 37:3 (Summer 1993),

The Deep Cuts Commission, "Back from the Brink: Toward Restraint and Dialogue Between Russia and the West," (June 2016), at:

[http://deepcuts.org/images/PDF/Third\\_Report\\_of\\_the\\_Deep\\_Cuts\\_Commission\\_English.pdf](http://deepcuts.org/images/PDF/Third_Report_of_the_Deep_Cuts_Commission_English.pdf).

**Memo Question: Did arms control make a meaningful contribution to security during the Cold War, or was it either a waste of time or a dangerous delusion?**

## October 3: Hard Lessons - Vietnam and Afghanistan

James Patterson, *Grand Expectations* (Oxford UP, 1996), pp. 593-636 and 743-770

Alex Wallerstein, "Would Nukes have Helped in Vietnam?" Nuclear Secrecy Blog post July 25, 2014, at: <http://blog.nuclearsecrecy.com/2014/07/25/nukes-helped-vietnam/>

Mark Galeotti, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Last War* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 1-25, 139-171

Robert McNamara, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, Inc., 1995), pp 319-335

Melvin Laird, "Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2005)

Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006)

**Memo Question: Why weren't the United States and the Soviet Union able to prevail over much weaker adversaries in Vietnam and Afghanistan? What, if any lessons, would you draw about the relative importance of military power and political legitimacy when foreign powers intervene in civil conflicts because they see them as part of a larger security problem?**

## October 10: The Cold War Aftermath

Bundy, pp. 584-617

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War*, pp. 195-237

Jeffrey W. Knopf, "Did Reagan Win the Cold War?" *Strategic Insights*, 3:8, August 2004; <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=444565>

Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft (Harvard University Press, 1995), skim, concentrating on pp. 149-197

Catherine McArdle Kelleher, 'Cooperative Security in Europe', pp. 293-353 in Janne Nolan, ed., Global Engagement (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1994)

**Memo Question:** What explains the peaceful ending of the Cold War? In retrospect, how well were the fundamental security problems resolved?

### **October 17: Defense Transformation: A Revolution in Military Affairs**

Cohen, Eliot. "Change and Transformation in Military Affairs." *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 27, no. 3 (September 2004): 395-407.

Andrew Krepinevich, "Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions," The National Interest, Fall 1994, pp. 30-42

Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Transforming the Military," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2002, pp. 20-32

A.W. Marshall, Problems of Estimating Military Power, RAND Corporation (1966). Available at:

<https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/papers/2005/P3417.pdf>

Stephen Biddle, "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us about the Future of Conflict," International Security 21:2, Fall 1996, pp. 139-179

Stephen T. Hosmer, Why the Iraqi Resistance to the Coalition Invasion Was So Weak, RAND Corporation (2007), chap. 1, chap. 6. Available at: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG544.html>

John A. Gentry, "Doomed to Fail: America's Blind Faith in Military Technology," Parameters, Winter 2002-2003, pp. 88-103

Harald Müller and Nikolas Schörnig, "RMA and Nuclear Weapons: A Calamitous Link for Arms Control," Disarmament Forum, Issue 4, 2001, pp. 17-26; available at: <http://unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/r-evolution-in-military-affairs-en-359.pdf>

**Memo Question:** How has the Revolution in Military Affairs changed the nature of warfare? Are these changes a net positive or negative for global peace?



## October 24: Russia

- Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin, “Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion,” *International Security Policy* 40:4 (Spring 2016), pp. 7-44.
- Vladimir Putin, “Speech at the 43<sup>rd</sup> Munich Conference on Security Policy,” (Feb 2007) <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/12/AR2007021200555.html>
- Lawrence Freedman, “Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management,” *Survival* 56:3 (June/July 2014), pp. 7-42.
- Anthony H. Cordesman, “Russia in Syria: Hybrid Political Warfare,” *CSIS Commentary*, 23 Sep., 2015. Available at: [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy\\_files/files/publication/150922\\_Cordesman\\_Russia\\_Syria\\_Hybrid\\_Political\\_Warfare.pdf](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/150922_Cordesman_Russia_Syria_Hybrid_Political_Warfare.pdf)
- Thomas Frear, Lukasz Kulesa, and Ian Kearns, “Dangerous Brinkmanship: Close Military Encounters Between Russia and the West in 2014,” European Leadership Network Policy Brief, November 2014. Available at: <http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/medialibrary/2014/11/09/6375e3da/Dangerous%20Brinkmanship.pdf>
- “A Threat to Nuclear Arms Control,” *New York Times*, 29 Jul., 2017. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/29/opinion/sunday/trump-nuclear-arms-control.html?mcubz=1& r=0>
- Dmitri Trenin, “Russia’s Breakout from the Post-Cold War System,” Carnegie Moscow Center, (December 2014), at: [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP\\_Trenin\\_Putin2014\\_web\\_Eng\\_1.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Trenin_Putin2014_web_Eng_1.pdf)
- Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky, “Nuclear Incoherence: Deterrence Theory and Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Russia,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 37, Issue 1, 2014.
- Steven E. Miller, “Moscow’s Military Power: Russia’s Search for Security in an Age of Transition,” in Steven Miller and Dmitri Trenin, ed., *The Russian Military: Power and Policy*, AAAS and MIT Press, 2004, pp. 1-43

**Memo Question: How should the United States and NATO respond to recent Russian “provocations”? What steps, if any, should be taken to reengage with Russia on arms control?**

## October 31: China

- Thomas J. Christensen, “Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy toward East Asia,” *International Security* 31:1 (Summer 2006)
- Jeffrey Lewis, “Chinese Nuclear Posture and Force Modernization,” pp. 37-46 in Cristina Hansell and William C. Potter, eds., *Engaging China and Russia on Nuclear Disarmament*, MIIS Occasional Paper #15 (April 2009)

- Lora Saalman, “China and the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (February 2011), pp. 1–39, at:  
[http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/china\\_posture\\_review.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/china_posture_review.pdf).
- Eric Heginbotham et al, *The U.S.-China Military Scorecard: Forces, Geography, and the Evolving Balance of Power 1996-2017*, RAND Corporation (2015), chap. 1, chap. 12, chap. 13. Available at:  
[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR300/RR392/RAND\\_RR392.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR300/RR392/RAND_RR392.pdf)
- James C. Mulvenon et al, *Chinese Military Responses to U.S. Military Transformation and Implications for the Department of Defense*, RAND Corporation (2006), chap.2. Available at:  
[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2006/RAND\\_MG340.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2006/RAND_MG340.pdf)
- C. Fred Bergsten et al., *China’s Rise: Challenges and Opportunities* (Peterson Institute for International Economics and CISS, 2008), pp. 9-32.
- James B. Steinberg, “Administration’s Vision of the U.S.-China Relationship,” Keynote Address at the Center for a New American Security, Washington, D.C., September 24, 2009, at:  
<https://china.usc.edu/james-steinberg-obama-administrations-vision-us-china-relationship-september-24-2009>

**Memo Question: How should the United States respond to China’s growing military, political and economic power?**

**November 7: North Korea and Iran**

- Ambassador Robert Gallucci, “Nuclear Shockwaves: Ramifications of the North Korean Nuclear Test”, *Arms Control Today*, November 2006, available at:  
[http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006\\_11/Gallucci.asp](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006_11/Gallucci.asp)
- Michael Elleman, “The secret to North Korea’s ICBM Success,” *IISS Voices*, Aug. 14, 2017, Available at: <http://www.iiss.org/en/iiss%20voices/blogsections/iiss-voices-2017-adeb/august-2b48/north-korea-icbm-success-3abb>
- Victor D. Cha, “Five Myths about North Korea,” *Washington Post*, 10 Dec. 2010, available at:  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/10/AR2010121002488.html>
- Bruce Bennett, *The Emerging Ballistic Missile Threat: Global and Regional Ramifications* in Nathalie W. Crawford and Chung-In Moon (eds.), *Emerging Threats, Force Structures, and the Role of Air Power in Korea*, RAND Corporation (2000), pp. 181-192; pp. 197-205. Available at:  
[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/conf\\_proceedings/2007/CF152.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/conf_proceedings/2007/CF152.pdf)
- Selig S. Harrison, “Did North Korea Cheat?” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February

2005

David Thompson, "Risky Business: A System-Level Analysis of the North Korean Proliferation Financing System," *C4ADS*, [https://c4ads.org/risky-business/Solving the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle](https://c4ads.org/risky-business/Solving%20the%20Iranian%20Nuclear%20Puzzle), ACA Briefing Book, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Aug 2015), [http://www.armscontrol.org/files/ACA\\_Iran-BB\\_2015%20Aug6\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.armscontrol.org/files/ACA_Iran-BB_2015%20Aug6_FINAL.pdf)

Jon B. Wolfsthal, "Understanding Iran's Nuclear Maneuvers," CSIS, January 11, 2006; available at: [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy\\_files/files/media/csis/pubs/060112\\_wolfsthal.pdf](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/060112_wolfsthal.pdf)

Elliott Abrams, "Iran is cheating on the Nuclear Deal," *Council on Foreign Relations Blog Post*, 11 Jul., 2016, Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/iran-cheating-nuclear-deal>

**Memo Question:** How might the recent improvements in North Korean nuclear and missile capabilities change its behavior? How can the international community prevent the outbreak of a military conflict in Northeast Asia?

#### **November 14: South Asia**

Sumit Ganguly, "India's Pathway to Pokhran II: The Prospects and Sources of New Delhi's Nuclear Weapons Program," *International Security*, Spring 1999, pp. 148-177

Samina Ahmed, "Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program: Turning Points and Nuclear Choices," *International Security*, Spring 1999, pp. 178-204

Michael Krepon, Rodney W. Jones, Ziad Haider, ed., *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia*, Henry L. Stimson Center, November 2004, chapter 1-2; available at: [https://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/Escalation%20Control%20FINAL\\_0.pdf](https://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/Escalation%20Control%20FINAL_0.pdf)

Jaganath Sankaran, "Destroying Pakistan to deter India? The Problem with Pakistan's Battlefield Nukes," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, vol. 70, Issue 4, 2014.

Zia Mian and M.V. Ramana, "Wrong Ends, Means, and Needs: Behind the U.S. Nuclear Deal With India", *Arms Control Today*, January/February 2006; available at: [http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006\\_01-02/JANFEB-IndiaFeature.asp](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006_01-02/JANFEB-IndiaFeature.asp)

David Albright and Corey Hinderstein, "Unraveling the A.Q. Khan and Future Proliferation Networks," *The Washington Quarterly*, 28.2, 2005; available at: [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/washington\\_quarterly/v028/28.2albright.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/washington_quarterly/v028/28.2albright.html)

**Memo Question:** Will the disputes between India and Pakistan spiral into a major conflict where nuclear weapons use is seriously considered? How can policy makers avert such an outcome?

## November 21: The Problem of Terrorism

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security* 27:3 (Winter 2002/3), pp. 30-58
- Daniel Byman, "Do Counterproliferation and Counterterrorism Go Together?" *Political Science Quarterly* 122:1 (2007), pp. 25-46
- Scott Atran, "The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2006)  
[https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/washington\\_quarterly/v029/29.2atran.html](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/washington_quarterly/v029/29.2atran.html)
- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilization?" *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.  
Available at: <http://online.sfsu.edu/mroozbeh/CLASS/h-607-pdfs/S.Huntington-Clash.pdf>
- David J. Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, (August 2005), pp. 597-617
- Ömer Taşpınar, "Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined," *SAIS Review* 29:2 (Summer-Fall, 2009)
- Richard Atwood, et al., "Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State," International Crisis Group Special Report, (March 14, 2016)  
at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/exploiting-disorder-al-qaeda-and-islamic-state>

**Memo Question: Should the threat of terrorism be considered a primary international security priority?**

## November 28: Cyber Security

- Kello, Lucas. "The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft," *International Security*, vol. 38. No. 2. (Fall 2013): 7-40.
- Martin C. Libicki, "Cyberdeterrence and Cyberwar (RAND Corporation, 2009), chap. 3.  
Available at:  
[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND\\_MG877.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG877.pdf)
- Keith B. Alexander, Emily Goldman, Michael Warner, "Defending America in Cyberspace" *The National Interest*, Nov. 1, 2013 : <http://nationalinterest.org/article/defending-america-cyberspace-9273>
- Joseph Nye Jr. "Cyber Power," Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, May 2010. <http://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/cyber-power.pdf>
- David C. Gompert & Martin Libicki, "Cyber Warfare and Sino-American Crisis Instability," *Survival*, August–September 2014, pp. 7–22.
- Josephine Wolff, "How Would the U.S. Respond to a Nightmare Cyber Attack?" *Scientific American*, July 23, 2013.

CSIS, Significant Cyber Incidents Since 2006, [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/170519\\_Significant\\_Cyber\\_Events\\_List.pdf?HJ4k1Bt7x.zleLsdr9m6SQbkWHtuNJ39](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/170519_Significant_Cyber_Events_List.pdf?HJ4k1Bt7x.zleLsdr9m6SQbkWHtuNJ39)

**Memo Question: How should nation-states deter, defend and respond to major cyber incidents?**

**December 5: Aspects of Future Global Security: Climate Change**

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