

PSCI 225: International Security

**Williams College
Fall 2018**

Professor Galen Jackson

Schapiro 226

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Class Meeting Times: Monday/Wednesday, 11:00-12:15 p.m.

Office Hours: Mondays, 2-4 p.m. and by appointment

Course Description

This is a course about the causes of war and peace. It deals with some of the most fundamental questions that concern scholars of security studies: What roles do the structure of the international system and the distribution of power play in generating conflict between states? Why are great powers able to get along peacefully during some periods but not in others? Is intense security competition between major states inevitable, or is the situation a great deal more complicated? Do different types of states behave differently in international politics? Does nationalism cause war? The course will consider these important questions from an interdisciplinary perspective that combines political science concepts with an historical approach to the evidence. The purpose of this approach is to utilize historical evidence to gain leverage for the examination of major conceptual debates in international security.

The course begins with a theoretical overview of the structure of the international system and of the logic of international anarchy by examining where and why scholars disagree about how systemic forces affect questions of war and peace. In addition, we will discuss the relationship between theory, history, and policy. From there, we will grapple with some key variables that bear directly on that issue. These include the role of military technology; the distribution of power; alliance politics; regime type; and nationalism. We will also spend one class session discussing the logic of the use of military force and debating the degree to which it is possible for leaders to devise appropriate strategies when dealing with national security threats. In addition, we will consider a key methodological question, namely, what is the best way to study international security and to grapple with these substantive issues? With that in mind, we will spend one class session talking about how we might gain insights into these important issues most effectively.

We will then investigate the major events in the history of great power politics. This is the heart of the course, for it will allow students to apply the above conceptual perspectives to historical case studies. Students should be aware that in this respect this course takes a somewhat “traditional” approach. The focus is on great powers and on the causes and consequences of major wars. The class deals primarily with the twentieth century and it concludes with the end of the Cold War. It also focuses rather heavily on Europe. There are exceptions—we will talk about the future of the security system in Asia, the Pacific Theater in World War II, the Vietnam War,

and about the Middle East in the Cold War—but Europe will receive somewhat greater attention for the very simple reason that that is where most of the major wars took place and where most of the great powers were located. Nor does the class focus much on contemporary affairs or major paradigmatic debates in international relations, as important as those issues and concepts are. Students who are primarily interested in those topics should think about taking PSCI 202, the introductory course on international relations theory. Likewise, this course does not focus very much on nuclear weapons—though we will spend one class session on that topic—because that is the focus of my PSCI 420 course on the nuclear revolution.

Specifically, in this course we will examine the nineteenth century European state system in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars with a special focus on the Concert of Europe and the rise of Germany as an independent great power. We will then turn our attention to the origins of the First World War, which we will spend two whole class sessions on. In addition, we will spend a session on the conduct of that war and the entry of the United States into it in 1917. Similarly, we will spend two classes studying the origins of the Second World War in Europe. We will begin with an examination of the Treaty of Versailles and its consequences. We will also cover the rise of the Nazis and the Anglo-French appeasement policy in the 1930s. Thereafter, we will discuss the origins of the war between Japan and the United States in the Pacific Theater. The class also covers the conduct of the war, in both theaters, focusing on why the outcome was what it was; the targeting of civilians; and the American decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We will then spend several classes on the Cold War, discussing its origins; conduct; whether opportunities for peace were missed while it lasted; and its end. In our last substantive class session, we will consider the prospects for the future by examining the great power rivalry between the United States, China, and Russia. The objective of the course is not principally for students to gain insight into these specific topics—though that is, of course, a key goal—but for them to develop an ability to think critically and analytically about the logic and evidence of the various arguments they will be exposed to over the course of the semester.

Class Requirements and Format

Class Participation

Despite its size, this is *not* a “lecture” course. This class does not work without consistent input from students and regular attendance is therefore a key requirement. Although I will begin most class sessions by providing some background and context related to the day’s topic and readings, class participation is critically important and expected of each and every student. Class discussion is *the heart of this course*—it is during these discussions that we will really wrestle with the fundamental issues at stake. Students should come to class ready to talk, having thought seriously about the major concepts raised in the readings. If you really want to get something out of this course, you must be prepared to think and talk in a serious way. Discussion will allow students to consider the assigned readings analytically in greater depth and provide a forum of debate. I expect students to come to class prepared to discuss the readings, ask questions, and engage with their peers. If you don’t want to participate in class, then this course, frankly, is probably not for you. It is the students, rather than myself, who will be driving the discussion. The basic format for each session will be “Socratic,” meaning I will ask questions and structure the debate to get students to express key ideas and to think analytically. The goal of this method

is to teach students *how* to think and argue, rather than *what* to think and argue. If you have to miss a class, be sure to inform me well ahead of time and be prepared to make it up. Because of its importance, **class participation will account for 25 percent of the final grade.** Students will be graded on both attendance and the quality of their preparation.

Analytical Essay

Students will also be required to write an analytical paper, five to seven pages in length, which will deal with a particular topic we have covered in class. Students will be given a choice of several topics to write about. Students will be evaluated based on the quality of their writing; demonstrated knowledge of the subject material and readings; and, above all, the persuasiveness and clarity of the analytical argument they make. It is much better to write a paper with a bad argument than one with no argument at all. Papers that merely summarize the material we have discussed—even though they may demonstrate that one has carefully done the assigned reading—will not fare as well as papers that incorporate less of the subject matter but take a clear position. The most important thing is for students to *advance a clear, compelling, and analytical argument.* I will go over in class more thoroughly what I am expecting.

The paper will not require any additional research beyond the assigned readings (please see me ahead of time if you are thinking about using any outside sources; in general, I tend to discourage students from doing this). Papers must include references to the readings using properly formatted citations. This can be done either through footnotes or parenthetical notation, and I will go over in class how to do this. There is also an excellent citation guide on the College's library website. I encourage students to take advantage of the Writing Workshop—a truly wonderful resource—to get feedback on their writing mechanics.

The paper is due on **Monday, November 5 by 5 p.m. We will not meet as a class that day so that you can focus on writing. The paper will be worth 25 percent of the final grade.** Late papers will be penalized a half letter grade per day past the deadline.

Since I am requiring you to write a paper, it is only fair that I provide you with extensive and thoughtful comments once I have read them. I urge students to consider my feedback carefully. The goal is to make you all better writers and thinkers. If you have questions about what I have written on your paper, please drop by my office hours to discuss them.

Midterm and Final Exams

There will also be a midterm and final in this course. **The midterm will take place in class on Monday, October 15. The final will be scheduled during finals period. Each of these tests is worth 25 percent of the final grade.** The exams will be a combination of identification, short answer, and essay questions. I will go over the format of each test in class when the respective dates get closer. I will also provide study guides to help students prepare. In addition, on **December 5—the last day of the semester—we will have an in-class review session to help students prepare for the final.** There is no assigned reading for that day or for the day of the midterm exam. The final will *not* be comprehensive in scope, i.e., it will only cover material from the second half of the course.

How to Read and Write for this Course

A key goal of this course is to help students improve their ability to read critically. Everything we will read advances a basic point. While doing the assigned reading, students should ask themselves a series of questions: What is the author's basic argument? What is the logic that supports that argument? Is the evidence that she/he brings to bear compelling? Students who read actively in this way will not only absorb the material more thoroughly, but will also come to class ready to participate with greater confidence. The goal should be to dissect the piece—to understand its logical and empirical weaknesses/strengths and to comprehend its significance in conceptual, historical, and policy terms.

Writing development is also an important objective for this course. The ability to write well is an invaluable skill, one that will benefit students well into the future. The analytical paper must have a clear thesis statement (typically stated at the end of the first paragraph) and the logical/empirical arguments students include in their papers should be geared toward supporting that statement. I am happy to discuss the structure, logic, and evidence relating to student essays during office hours, but I will not read rough drafts.

Office Hours

Please feel free to send me an email to set up an appointment or simply come by my office on Mondays between 2 and 4 p.m. I am happy to talk about anything related to the course, to answer any questions you might have, and to discuss how to approach the papers and exams. In my experience, office hours can present an excellent opportunity for students to enhance their comprehension of the concepts we discuss in class and to develop a framework for their papers, so I encourage everyone who feels they need help—or is simply interested in further discussion of the class material—to set up a meeting.

Academic Integrity and the Honor Code

All submitted work must be your own. I take plagiarism and cheating extremely seriously and will not hesitate to pursue the maximum penalty allowed by the College. If you are confused about what might constitute plagiarism or cheating, or have questions about specific aspects of the Honor Code, feel free to come talk to me or to consult the many resources the College provides to help students in this area. I am always happy to advise students about this issue.

On the issue of student collaboration, my policy is straightforward. There is absolutely nothing wrong with students studying for the exams together or with students exchanging ideas about what they plan to do in their papers. In fact, I welcome that sort of collaboration (group discussions of this sort can be especially fruitful during office hours). **However, all written work must be done independently and students must formulate their own arguments in their papers. And, obviously, no sort of collaboration whatsoever is allowed during the exams.**

Issues of Health and Accessibility of Key Resources

Students with disabilities who may need an accommodation can contact Dr. G.L. Wallace at x4672. In addition, students experiencing physical or mental health challenges that is affecting their academic performance can come speak with me or with a dean so that they can be given access to the right resources. The deans can be reached at x4171.

A Note about Classroom Inclusivity

Some of the topics we will study in this class are controversial. It is only natural that students will disagree with me and with each other about certain concepts and events covered in this course. That is no bad thing—having these debates is vitally important to improving our collective understanding of issues in international security. So please feel free to express your opinions confidently in this class.

On the other hand, **I will not tolerate students being disrespectful to each other.** Again, debating the issues is both healthy and productive. But class can only take place in an environment where everyone feels welcome and able to express themselves.

With that in mind, I want to remind students that the College is committed to embracing diversity of age, background, beliefs, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, gender expression, national origin, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and other visible and nonvisible categories. If you feel you are not being welcomed in this class or that it suffers from a lack of inclusivity, please come talk to me or to a college administrator to share your concerns.

A Few Things to Keep in Mind

There are no assigned books for this class. The readings will all be included in a series of course packets, which students can pick up from the packet room.

Some of what we study in this class can be very hard to talk about. Whenever war is the topic of discussion there are going to be some very troubling aspects of the conversation. If you find you are having difficulties for this reason, please come speak to me and I'm sure we can work something out.

Course Schedule

Friday, September 7: Introduction to the Course (no reading)

Monday, September 10: Theory and the Logic of International Anarchy (61 pages)

Marc Trachtenberg, "History Teaches," *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2012), pp. 23-32.

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), pp. 29-54.

Marc Trachtenberg, “The Problem of International Order and How to Think About It,” *The Monist*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (2006), pp. 207-231.

Wednesday, September 12: Theories of War and Peace I—Structural Factors (55 pages)

Stephen Van Evera, “Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War,” *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1998), pp. 5-43.

Kenneth N. Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1988), pp. 620-624.

Kenneth N. Waltz, “Why Iran Should Get the Bomb,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (2012), pp. 2-5.

Barry R. Posen, “The Price of War With North Korea,” *New York Times*, December 6, 2017.

Graham Allison, “Can North Korea Drag the U.S. and China into War?” *The Atlantic*, September 11, 2017.

Monday, September 17: Theories of War and Peace II—Societal/State Factors (45 pages)

Stephen Van Evera, “Hypotheses on Nationalism and War,” *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1994), pp. 5-39.

Aaron Friedberg, “Hegemony with Chinese Characteristics,” *The National Interest* (July/August 2011), pp. 18-27.

Wednesday, September 19: How Should We Study International Security? (50 pages)

Joe Cirincione, “Trump’s Nuclear Insanity,” *Politico Magazine*, March 30, 2016.

Mira Rapp-Hooper, “Trump’s Nuclear Views Are Terrifying,” *USA Today*, March 29, 2016.

Avner Cohen and William Burr, “How the Israelis Hoodwinked JFK on Going Nuclear,” *Foreign Policy*, April 26, 2016.

Nicholas L. Miller, *Stopping the Bomb: The Sources and Effectiveness of US Nonproliferation Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 95-103.

Primary Documents:

- Memorandum of Conversation (Memcon), “Subject: Conversation between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Ben Gurion,” May 30, 1961, in United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1961-1963, Vol. 17: Near East, 1961-1962* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office [GPO], 1994), pp. 134-135.

- Assistant Secretary of State Philips Talbot's Notes of the Meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, May 30, 1961.
- National Intelligence Estimate 35-61, "The Outlook for Israel," October 5, 1961, pp. 2, 6-7.
- Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Israel (enclosing a letter from Kennedy to Ben-Gurion), May 18, 1963, in *FRUS, 1962-1963*, Vol. 18, pp. 543-544.
- Memo for the Record, "Subject: President's Talk with Israeli Foreign Minister Eban," February 9, 1966, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 18, pp. 547-549.
- Memcon, "Subject: Nuclear Proliferation," February 9, 1966, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 18, pp. 549-550.
- Memo of Telephone Conversation between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, November 1, 1968, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 20, pp. 585-586.
- National Security Decision Memorandum 6, "Presidential Decision to Ratify Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," February 5, 1969
- Memo by National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger to President Richard Nixon, "Summary of the Situation and Issues," July 19, 1969.

Monday, September 24: The Problem of Strategy (46 pages)

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 75-89, 119-121.

Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2011), pp. 199-208.

Primary Documents:

- Eyre Crowe, "Memorandum on the Present State of British Relations with France and Germany," January 1, 1907, in G.P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, eds., *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. 3: *The Testing of the Entente, 1904-1906* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office [HMSO], 1928), pp. 397-405, 416-420.
- Memo by Lord Thomas Sanderson, "Observations on Printed Memorandum on Relations with France and Germany, January 1907," February 21, 1907, in *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. 3, pp. 420-422, 428-431.

Wednesday, September 26: The Congress of Vienna and the Rise of Germany (64 pages)

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp. 78-136.

Jonathan Green, "Europe's Enlightened Order," *The American Conservative* (July/August 2015), pp. 38-42.

Monday, October 1: The Coming of the First World War I (81 pages)

Fritz Fischer, *War of Illusions: German Policies from 1911 to 1914* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969), pp. 461-515.

Primary Documents:

- Diary Entry of Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller of the "War Council" Meeting, December 8, 1912.
- Report from the German Ambassador in Vienna, Heinrich von Tschirschky, to German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg with Kaiser Wilhelm II's marginal notes, June 30, 1914, in Imanuel Geiss, *July 1914: The Outbreak of the First World War, Selected Documents* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), pp. 64-65.
- Chef de Cabinet of the Imperial Foreign Minister Hoyos' Conversation with Victor Naumann, July 1, 1914, in Geiss, *July 1914*, pp. 65-66.
- Letter from German Foreign Minister Gottlieb von Jagow to the German Ambassador in London, Prince Lichnowsky, July 18, 1914, in Geiss, *July 1914*, pp. 122-124.
- Telegram from the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin, László Szögyény, to Foreign Minister Count Leopold Berchtold, July 25, 1914, in Geiss, *July 1914*, pp. 200-201.
- Telegram from Bethmann-Hollweg to the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg, Friedrich Pourtalés, July 26, 1914, in Karl Kautsky, comp., and Max Montgelas and Walther Schücking, eds., *Outbreak of the World War: German Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 222.
- Telegram from Pourtalés to Jagow, July 29, 1914, in Geiss, *July 1914*, p. 281.
- Telegram from Lichnowsky to the Foreign Office, July 29, 1914, in Kautsky, *Outbreak of the World War*, pp. 321-322.
- Telegram from Pourtalés to Jagow with Kaiser's marginal notes, July 30, 1914, in Geiss, *July 1914*, pp. 293-295.

- Telegram from Bethmann-Hollweg to Tschirschky, July 30, 1914, in Kautsky, *Outbreak of the World War*, pp. 344-345.
- Telegram from Bethmann-Hollweg to Tschirschky, July 30, 1914, in Kautsky, *Outbreak of the World War*, pp. 345-346.
- Protocol of the Session of the Royal Prussian Ministry of State, July 30, 1914, in Kautsky, *Outbreak of the World War*, pp. 380-383.

Wednesday, October 3: The Coming of the First World War II (41 pages)

Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: Ballantine, 1962), pp. 85-89.

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 221-225.

Marc Trachtenberg, "The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1990-1991), pp. 120-150.

Monday, October 8: NO CLASS—READING PERIOD

Wednesday, October 10: The Conduct of the War and American Intervention (63 pages)

Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, pp. 252-254.

George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 55-73.

Primary Documents:

- Letter from the British Ambassador in Washington, Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, to British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey, September 8, 1914, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson (PWW)*, Vol. 31: September 6-December 31, 1914, ed. Arthur S. Link et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 13-14.
- Excerpt from the Diary of President Woodrow Wilson's Adviser, Edward House, November 4, 1914, in *PWW*, Vol. 31, pp. 265-266.
- Memo by Secretary of State Robert Lansing, July 11, 1915, in Robert Lansing, *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1935), pp. 19-21.
- Excerpts from House Diary, December 14, 1916
- Excerpt of Dispatch from the American Ambassador in Petrograd, David Francis, to the

State Department, March 15, 1917, in David R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy: April, 1916-November, 1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), p. 72.

- “New Russia and the War,” *New York Times*, March 17, 1917.
- Cable from the Head of the British Secret Intelligence Service in Washington, William Wiseman, to the Foreign Office, January 16, 1917, in *PWW*, Vol. 40, pp. 503-504.
- Wilson’s Address to the Senate, “A World League for Peace,” January 22, 1917
- Notes of a Conversation with House by Wiseman, January 26, 1917
- Letter from House to Wilson, March 19, 1917, in *PWW*, Vol. 41, pp. 428-429.
- Excerpts of Cable from Admiral William Sims to Josephus Daniels, “First Detailed Report on the Allied Naval Situation,” April 19, 1917.
- Telegram from Lansing to the American Ambassador in Berlin, James Gerard, Enclosing a Letter from Wilson to Senator William Stone, February 25, 1916, in United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Supplement on the World War, 1916* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1929), pp. 177-178.
- Letter from Lansing to Wilson with Enclosure, February 2, 1917, in *PWW*, Vol. 41, pp. 96-99.
- Letter from Lansing to Wilson, March 19, 1917, in *FRUS: The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1939), pp. 626-628.
- Memo by Lansing, “Memorandum of the Cabinet Meeting,” March 20, 1917, in *PWW*, Vol. 41, pp. 436-444.
- Wilson’s Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War against Germany, April 2, 1917
- Letter from Lansing to Wilson, May 25, 1916, in *Lansing Papers*, pp. 16-18.

Monday, October 15: MIDTERM EXAM (no reading)

Wednesday, October 17: The Causes of the Second World War, I (64 pages)

Raymond Sontag, “The Last Months of Peace, 1939,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (1957), pp. 507-524.

A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), pp.

7-39.

Primary Documents:

- Excerpts from the Treaty of Versailles Relating to Germany, in Richard Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Fourth Edition (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 107-108.
- The “Hossbach Memorandum,” November 5, 1937, in Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 110-111.
- Memo, “Hitler Plans to Crush Poland,” May 23, 1939, in Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, p. 120.
- Excerpt of Record of Interview between the League of Nations High Commissioner for the Free City of Danzig, Carl Burckhardt, and Hitler, August 11, 1939, in E.L. Woodward and Rohan Butler, eds., *Documents on British Foreign Policy (DBFP)*, Third Series, Vol. 6: 1939 (London: HMSO, 1953), pp. 691-693.
- Telegram from the British Ambassador in Rome, Sir Percy Loraine, to British Foreign Secretary Lord Viscount Halifax, August 18, 1939, in *DBFP*, Third Series, Vol. 7, pp. 59-60.
- “Hitler Gambles on Western Weakness,” August 22, 1939, in Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, p. 126.
- Letter from British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to Hitler, August 22, 1939, in *DBFP*, Third Series, Vol. 7, pp. 170-171.
- Annex II, “Addendum to Cabinet 42 (39), Conclusion 1,” Most Secret, August 24, 1939.
- Telegram from Halifax to the British Ambassador in Warsaw, Sir Howard Kennard, August 25, 1939, in *DBFP*, Third Series, Vol. 7, pp. 249-250.
- Message from the Head of the Italian Government, Benito Mussolini, to Hitler, August 29, 1939, in *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945* (London: HMSO, 1956), p. 410.

Monday, October 22: The Causes of the Second World War, II (59 pages)

Robert Burns, “Rumsfeld Warns Against Appeasement,” *Washington Post*, August 30, 2006.

Christopher Layne, “Security Studies and the Use of History: Neville Chamberlain’s Grand Strategy Revisited,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2008), pp. 397-437.

Richard Bernstein, “No One Thought France Would Fall—Only a Gambler,” *New York Times*,

November 1, 2000.

Primary Documents:

- Memo by British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, “The Search for a Settlement,” November 26, 1937, in Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 108-109.
- Letter from the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Neville Henderson, to Halifax, July 26, 1938, in *DBFP*, Third Series, Vol. 2, pp. 10-12.
- Letter from Henderson to Mr. William Strang, July 27, 1938, in *DBFP*, Third Series, Vol. 2, pp. 13-14.
- Winston Churchill’s Address to the House of Commons, October 5, 1938
- British Strategic Memorandum for Anglo-French Staff, “The Franco-British ‘War Plan,’ 1939,” March 20, 1939, in Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, p. 121.

Wednesday, October 24: The Causes of the Second World War in the Pacific (95 pages)

John M. Schuessler, “The Deception Dividend: FDR’s Undeclared War,” *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2010), pp. 133-165.

Dan Reiter, “Democracy, Deception, and Entry into War,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2012), pp. 594-623.

Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 300-303.

Primary Documents:

- Excerpt of Letter from Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark to Admiral H.E. Kimmel, January 13, 1941, in *Congressional Investigation of Pearl Harbor Attack*, Exhibit No. 106, p. 2144.
- Letter from Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, June 23, 1941
- Note from Roosevelt to Ickes, June 23, 1941
- Letter from Ickes to Roosevelt, June 23, 1941
- Letter from Ickes to Roosevelt, June 25, 1941

- Excerpts of Memcon between U.S. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles and British Permanent Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs Alexander Cadogan, August 9, 1941, in *FRUS, Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, Vol. 1: *Soviet Union* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1959), pp. 346-349.
- Excerpts between Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, August 11, 1941, in *FRUS, 1941*, Vol. 1, pp. 357-360.
- Minutes of British War Cabinet Meeting, August 19, 1941
- Listen to Roosevelt's Fireside Chat 18 on the *Greer* Incident, September 11, 1941, at <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/september-11-1941-fireside-chat-18-greer-incident> (only until 3:37)
- Diary Entry of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, October 16, 1941
- Stimson Diary Entry, November 25, 1941
- Unsent Letter from the former American Ambassador in Japan, Joseph Grew, to President Roosevelt, August 14, 1942

Monday, October 29: How the War Was Fought in Europe (72 pages)

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), pp. 1-24, 314-325.

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 29-39.

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 1-2, 55-77.

Wednesday, October 31: The Decision to Drop Atomic Bombs on Japan (54 pages)

Henry L. Stimson, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harpers*, Vol. 194, No. 1161 (1947), pp. 97-107 (reprinted in *SAIS Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2 [1985], pp. 1-15).

Paul Fussell, "Thank God for the Atom Bomb," *The New Republic*, August 1981.

Ward Wilson, "The Winning Weapon? Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (2007), pp. 162-179.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic, 1977), pp. 262-267.

Gar Alperovitz, "Obama's Hiroshima Visit Is a Reminder That Atomic Bombs Weren't What Won the War," *Huffington Post*, May 24, 2016.

Monday, November 5: NO CLASS—PAPERS DUE BY 5 P.M.

Wednesday, November 7: The Cold War Begins I (83 pages)

Melvyn Leffler, *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), pp. 33-63.

Eduard Mark, "The War Scare of 1946 and Its Consequences," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1997), pp. 383-415.

Primary Documents:

George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1947), pp. 566-582.

Robert G. Kaiser, "Churchill-Stalin Agreement Is Reported," *Washington Post*, August 23, 1977.

Friday, November 9: The Cold War Begins II (88 pages)

Review/Skim Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," pp. 620-624.

James McAllister, *No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 1-25.

Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. vii-xi, 352-402.

Primary Documents:

- Excerpts of the Discussion of the 354th Meeting of the National Security Council, February 6, 1958, Declassified Documents Reference System, CK3100278522.

Wednesday, November 14: Conduct of the Cold War I—Nuclear Weapons (52 pages)

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (1990), pp. 731-745.

Marc Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 235-260.

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Monday, November 19: Conduct of the Cold War II—Containment (62 pages)

Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, pp. 35-36, 55-56, 63-66.

Daryl G. Press, “The Credibility of Power: Assessing Threats during the ‘Appeasement’ Crises of the 1930s,” *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2004-2005), pp. 136-142, 168-169.

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- Telephone Conversation (Telecon) between President Lyndon B. Johnson and John S. Knight, February 3, 1964, in Michael Beschloss, ed., *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), pp. 213-214.
- Memo from National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy to Johnson, “Basic Policy in Vietnam,” January 27, 1965, in *FRUS, 1964-1968, Vol. 2: Vietnam, January-June 1965* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1996), pp. 95-97.
- Memo from Vice President Hubert Humphrey to Johnson, “Subject: Vietnam,” February 17, 1965, in *FRUS, 1964-1968, Vol. 2*, pp. 309-313.
- Notes of Meeting, “Subject: Viet Nam,” July 21, 1965, in *FRUS, 1964-1968, Vol. 3*, pp. 189-197.
- Memo from Johnson’s Special Assistant Horace Busby to Johnson, “Subject: Impressions, Vietnam Discussion,” July 21, 1965, in *FRUS, 1964-1968, Vol. 3*, pp. 207-209.

Wednesday, November 21: NO CLASS—THANKSGIVING BREAK

Monday, November 26: The Rise and Fall of Détente (83 pages)

Joshua Muravchik and Stephen M. Walt, “The Neocons vs. The Realists,” *The National Interest*, No. 97 (September/October 2008), pp. 20-36.

Max Boot, “The Unrealistic Realism of Henry Kissinger,” *The Weekly Standard*, June 18, 2001.

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- “The Quest for Détente,” Statement by the Foreign Policy Task Force of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, July 31, 1974
- Memo from President Richard Nixon to Secretary of State William Rogers, May 26,

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- Memcon, “Subject: The Middle East,” May 26, 1972, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 14, pp. 1128-1139.
- Memo from National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger to Nixon, “Subject: Background for Your Meeting with Egyptian Emissary Hafiz Ismail,” February 23, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 69-71.
- Memo for the President’s File by Kissinger, “Subject: President’s Meeting with General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev,” June 23, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 15, pp. 538-542.
- Telecon between Kissinger and Nixon, October 14, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 495-499.
- Telegram from Deputy National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft to Kissinger, October 20, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 627-629.
- Message from Brezhnev to Nixon, undated, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 734-735.
- Diary Entry of Soviet International Department Analyst Anatoly Chernyaev, November 4, 1973
- Excerpts of Memcon between Kissinger and French President Georges Pompidou, May 18, 1973
- Memcon, “Subject: Secretary Kissinger’s Meeting with Jewish Intellectuals,” December 6, 1973, in Zaki Shalom, “Kissinger and the American Jewish Leadership after the 1973 War,” *Israel Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2002), pp. 198-208.
- Memcon between President Gerald Ford, Kissinger, and Scowcroft, June 6, 1975

Wednesday, November 28: Explaining the End of the Cold War (48 pages)

Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (1992), pp. 418-422.

Mark Kramer, “Ideology and the Cold War,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1999), pp. 539-541, 563-573.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2000-2001), pp. 14-34, 42-49.

Monday, December 3: Has the World Seen Its Last Major War? (77 pages)

Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York: Penguin, 2011), pp. 1-30.

Robert Kagan, *The Jungle Grows Back: America and Our Imperiled World* (New York: Knopf, 2018), pp. 3-14.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," *The Atlantic Monthly* (1990), pp. 35-50.

Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015.

John H. Maurer, "Kaiser Xi Jinping," *The National Interest* (September/October 2018), pp. 28-35.

Wednesday, December 5: Review Session for Final Exam (no reading)