

PSCI 225: International Security

**Williams College
Fall 2019**

Professor Galen Jackson

Schapiro 226

Email: 09gej@williams.edu

Telephone: x2760

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

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

Course Description

This is a course about war and peace. It deals with some of the most foundational questions that concern scholars of security studies: What accounts for great power conflict and cooperation? Is intense security competition between major states inevitable or can they get along provided their main interests are protected? Do different types of states behave differently in international politics? Does the structure of the international system cause conflict? Do particularly aggressive states? Can wars occur “by accident”? When and why do states choose to use military force? What role does statecraft play in matters of war and peace? How do nuclear weapons affect great power politics? What fundamentally causes states to change their behavior? The course will consider these questions from an interdisciplinary perspective that combines political science concepts with an historical approach to the evidence.

The first section of the course deals briefly with theoretical and methodological issues. It begins with a conceptual overview of the logic of international anarchy, examining where and why certain scholars disagree about how systemic forces affect questions of war and peace. It then considers 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. This portion of the course ends with a discussion of strategy and decision-making.

The bulk of the course, however, deals with the major events in the history of great power politics. Students should be aware that this course takes a somewhat “traditional” approach. The class deals primarily with the twentieth century and focuses rather heavily on Europe. There are exceptions—we will discuss World War II in the Pacific theater, the Vietnam War, the Cold War in the Middle East, and contemporary policy issues related to China and Iran—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.

Specifically, this section of the course begins with two sessions on the origins of the First World War. We will also spend a session on the entry of the United States into that conflict in 1917. Likewise, we will spend two classes studying the origins of the Second World War in Europe, as well as one class on the origins of the war in the Pacific Theater. The final class on World War II

focuses on the American decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan. We will then spend several classes on the Cold War, discussing its origins; conduct; and end. We will conclude by looking at some contemporary policy issues having to do with Iran, China, and U.S. grand strategy.

The objective of this part of the course is not principally for students to gain insight into these specific topics—though that is, of course, a very key goal as well—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. 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. 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. Because of its importance, **class participation will account for 15 percent of the final grade.**

Two Analytical Essays

Students will also be required to write two analytical papers, six to eight pages in length, which will deal with particular subjects 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. These papers will *not* require research. They must include references to the readings using properly formatted citations.

The first paper is due on **Wednesday, October 16 at 5 p.m.** The second paper is due on **Wednesday, November 13 at 5 p.m.** **We will not meet as a class on either of those days so that you can focus on writing. Each 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 papers, it is only fair that I provide you with extensive comments in a timely manner. 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.

Final Exam

There will also be a **self-scheduled final exam worth 35 percent of the final grade**. It will consist of a combination of identification, short answer, and essay questions. I will go over the format of the test in greater detail in class toward the end of the semester. I will also provide study guides to help students prepare.

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. In addition, **students should pay especially careful attention to the primary documents we read in this course**. Those sources are the empirical leverage we have for assessing the various arguments and perspectives we will be discussing.

Writing development is also an important objective. The ability to write well is an invaluable skill, one that will benefit students in the future. The analytical papers 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. Likewise, each body paragraph should begin with a clear topic sentence, which is then supported by the analysis provided in the remainder of that paragraph. I am happy to discuss the structure, organization, logic, and evidence relating to student essays during office hours, but I will not read rough drafts. Again, we will discuss this in class in greater detail.

Office Hours

Please feel free to send me an email to set up an appointment or simply come by my office on Wednesdays between 2 and 4 p.m. I am happy to talk about anything related to the course and to try to answer any questions you might have. 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 final exam together or exchanging ideas about what they plan to do in their papers. In fact, I welcome that sort of collaboration. **However, all written work must be done independently and students must formulate their own arguments in their papers. And obviously no sort of collaboration is allowed during the final exam.**

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 these issues. So please feel free to express your opinions confidently in class. On the other hand, **I will not tolerate students being disrespectful to each other.** 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.

Computer and Phone Policy

In previous years I have allowed students to use their computers to take notes during class. But as the saying goes, one bad apple can spoil the bunch. I have simply seen too many students be distracted by other students' misuse of their computers in class to continue to allow them. Phones are not permitted to be used in class either. However, if you have an accommodation that allows you to use such devices, please bring it to my attention.

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 my office (Schapiro 226).

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 troubling aspects of the conversation. If you find you are having difficulties for this reason, please come speak to me.

Course Schedule

Friday, September 6: Introduction to the Course (no reading)

Monday, September 9: World Order (56 pages)

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.

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

Wednesday, September 11: How Should We Study International Security? (68 pages)

Joe Cirincione, "Trump's Nuclear Insanity," *Politico Magazine*, March 30, 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. 97-103.

Primary Documents:

- Memorandum of Conversation (Memcon), "Subject: Israeli Atomic Energy Program," May 16, 1961.
- 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.
- Memorandum (Memo) from the Director of the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs Rodger P. Davies to Talbot, "Subject: Second Inspection of Israel's Dimona Reactor," December 27, 1962.
- Memcon, "Subject: 1969 Dimona Visit," August 13, 1969.

- 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: *Near East, 1962-1963* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1995), pp. 543-544.
- Memo for the Record of Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Komer's Meeting with Mordechai Gazit of the Israeli Embassy, April 21, 1964.
- Memcon, "Subject: Nuclear Proliferation," February 9, 1966, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 18: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1964-1967* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2000), pp. 549-550.
- 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.
- Memo of Telephone Conversation between Rusk and Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, November 1, 1968, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 20: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1967-1968* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2001), pp. 585-586.
- National Security Decision Memorandum 6, "Presidential Decision to Ratify Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," February 5, 1969.
- Memo from National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger to President Richard Nixon, "Israeli Nuclear Program," with Attached Tab A, "Summary of the Situation and Issues," July 19, 1969.

Monday, September 16: Strategy and Decision-Making (67 pages)

Richard K. Betts, "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2000), pp. 5-50.

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 18: NO CLASS

Monday, September 23: The Coming of the First World War, Session I (83 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, ed., *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.
- Letter from Chief of the German General Staff Helmuth von Moltke to Bethmann-Hollweg, “Summary of the Political Situation,” July 29, 1914, in Geiss, *July 1914*, pp. 282-284.
- 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, September 25: The Coming of the First World War, Session II (46 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.

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

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

Friday, September 27: American Intervention in the First World War (60 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, eds. 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: November 20, 1916-January 23, 1917, eds. Link et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 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: January 24-April 6, 1917, eds. Link et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 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 *FRUS 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, September 30: The Coming of the Second World War, Session I (93 pages)

A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), pp. 7-39, 248-278.

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.
- Record of Conversation between Hitler and Italian Foreign Minister Count Ciano, August 12, 1939, in *Documents on German Foreign Policy (DGFP)*, 1918-1945 (London: HMSO, 1956), pp. 39-49.
- Excerpts from the Notebook of Colonel General Halder, August 14, 1939, in *DGFP*, pp. 551-556.
- 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.
- Contents of the Speech by Hitler to the Chief Commanders and Commanding Generals on the Obersalzberg, August 22, 1939, in *DBFP*, Third Series, Vol. 7, pp. 258-260.
- 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 *DGFP*, p. 410.

Wednesday, October 2: The Coming of the Second World War, Session II (92 pages)

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

Stephen A. Schuker, “France and the Remilitarization of the Rhineland, 1936,” *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1986), pp. 299-338.

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.
- 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.

Monday, October 7: The Causes of the Second World War in the Pacific (94 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.

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.
- Letter from Roosevelt to Ickes, July 1, 1941.

- Minutes of the Cabinet Meeting, July 18, 1941.
- Excerpts of Memcon between 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 of Memcon 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)
- Excerpts of Diary Entry of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, October 16, 1941.
- Excerpts of Stimson Diary Entry, November 25, 1941.
- Unsent Letter from the former American Ambassador in Japan, Joseph Grew, to President Roosevelt, August 14, 1942.

Wednesday, October 9: The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bombs on Japan (38 pages)

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.

Monday, October 14: NO CLASS—READING PERIOD

Wednesday, October 16: NO CLASS—FIRST PAPERS DUE AT 5 P.M.

Monday, October 21: The Origins of the Cold War, Session I (81 pages)

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

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.

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

Primary Documents:

- Churchill-Stalin "Percentages Agreement," October 9, 1944.
- Letter from Soviet Leader Joseph Stalin to President Harry Truman, in *FRUS, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, Vol. 5: *Europe* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1967), pp. 263-264.
- Excerpt of Entry from Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal's Diary, July 28, 1945.
- Excerpts of Memcon, September 16, 1945, in *FRUS, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, Vol. 2: *General—Political and Economic Matters* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1967), pp. 194-200.
- Memcon, October 24, 1945, in *FRUS, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, Vol. 6: *The British Commonwealth, the Far East* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969), pp. 782-785.
- Telegram from Secretary of State James Byrnes to the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, W. Averell Harriman, November 7, 1945, in *FRUS, 1945*, Vol. 6, pp. 834-836.

Wednesday, October 23: The Origins of the Cold War, Session II (71 pages)

Robert Kagan, "The New German Question: What Happens When Europe Comes Apart?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 3 (2019), pp. 108-120.

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

Monday, October 28: Nuclear Weapons, Session I (71 pages)

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

Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace*, pp. 146-200.

John Ausland, "A Nuclear War to Keep Berlin Open?" *International Herald Tribune*, June 19, 1991.

Primary Documents:

- Excerpt of Record of Meeting of the Interdepartmental Coordinating Group on Berlin Contingency Planning, June 16, 1961, in *FRUS 1961-1963*, Vol. 14: *Berlin Crisis, 1961-1962* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office [GPO], 1993), pp. 119-122.
- Paper Prepared by Thomas C. Schelling, “Nuclear Strategy in the Berlin Crisis,” July 5, 1961, in *FRUS, 1961-1963*, Vol. 14, pp. 170-172.

Wednesday, October 30: Nuclear Weapons, Session II (44 pages)

Robert Jervis, “Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn’t Matter,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 4 (1979-1980), pp. 617-633.

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

Bret Stephens, “The U.S. Needs More Nukes,” *New York Times*, August 9, 2019.

Monday, November 4: 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.

Michael Lind, *Vietnam: The Necessary War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), pp. 256-284.

Primary Documents:

- 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 6: The Rise and Fall of Détente (64 pages)

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

Richard Pipes, "Misinterpreting the Cold War: The Hard-Liners Had It Right," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (1995), pp. 154-160.

Primary Documents:

- Memo by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (approved by the Politburo), January 13, 1967, in Anatoly Dobrynin, *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents* (New York: Times, 1995), pp. 640-642.
- CIA Intelligence Information Cable, "Subject: Comments by Brezhnev and Suslov to Visiting Finnish Communist Party Delegation on Near Eastern Crisis," June 15, 1967.
- 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: *Soviet Union, June 1972-August 1974* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2011), pp. 538-542.
- Message from Brezhnev to Nixon, undated, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25: *Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1973* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2011), pp. 734-735.
- Excerpt of Diary Entry of Soviet International Department Analyst Anatoly Chernyaev, November 4, 1973.
- Telecon between Kissinger and Nixon, October 14, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 495-499.
- Excerpts of Memcon between Kissinger and French President Georges Pompidou, May 18, 1973.
- Memcon, "Subject: Draft Statement for Senate Foreign Relations Committee Appearance," August 1, 1974.
- Excerpt of Memcon between President Gerald Ford, Kissinger, and Scowcroft, June 6, 1975.

Monday, November 11: Economic Statecraft (78 pages)

Robert A. Pape, “Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work,” *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1997), pp. 106-109.

Jonathan Kirshner, “Economic Sanctions: The State of the Art,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (2002), pp. 160-179.

Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 595-614.

Trita Parsi, “No, Sanctions Didn’t Force Iran to Make a Deal,” *Foreign Policy*, May 14, 2014.

Farhad Rezaei, “Sanctions and Nuclear Rollback: The Case of Iran,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (2017), pp. 74-90.

Jacob J. Lew and Richard Nephew, “The Use and Misuse of Economic Statecraft: How Washington Is Abusing Its Financial Might,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 6 (2018), pp. 139-149.

Wednesday, November 13: NO CLASS—SECOND PAPERS DUE AT 5 P.M.

Monday, November 18: 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.

Wednesday, November 20: NATO Expansion (68 pages)

Mark Kramer, “The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (April 2009), pp. 39-61.

Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin, “Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion,” *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Spring 2016), pp. 7-44.

Mark Kramer and Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin, “Correspondence: NATO Enlargement—Was There a Promise?” *International Security*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2017), pp. 186-192.

Monday, November 25: Policy Issue I—Iran (50 pages)

Michael Crowley, “The Iran Crisis, Explained,” *New York Times*, June 17, 2019.

Michael R. Pompeo, “Confronting Iran: The Trump Administration’s Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 6 (2018), pp. 60-71.

Bret Stephens, “A Deal for Iran: Normalization for Normalization,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2019.

Max Boot, “A War with Iran Would Be the Mother of All Quagmires,” *Washington Post*, May 20, 2019.

Ilan Goldenberg, “What a War with Iran Would Look Like: Neither Side Wants a Fight, but That Doesn’t Eliminate the Danger,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 4, 2019.

John J. Mearsheimer, “Iran Is Rushing to Build a Nuclear Weapon—and Trump Can’t Stop It,” *New York Times*, July 1, 2019.

Ali Vaez, “Trump’s ‘Maximum Pressure’ Won’t Make Iran Yield,” *The Atlantic*, May 12, 2019.

James M. Lindsay and Ray Takeyh, “After Iran Gets the Bomb: Containment and Its Complications,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (2010), pp. 33-49.

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

John R. Bolton, “To Stop Iran’s Bomb, Bomb Iran,” *New York Times*, March 26, 2015.

Wednesday, November 27: NO CLASS—THANKSGIVING BREAK

Monday, December 2: Policy Issue II—China (54 pages)

Kurt M. Campbell and Jake Sullivan, “Competition Without Catastrophe: How America Can Both Challenge and Coexist With China,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (2019), pp. 96-110.

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

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

Graham Allison, “China vs. America: Managing the Next Clash of Civilizations,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (2017), pp. 80-89.

John J. Mearsheimer, “Taiwan’s Dire Straits,” *The National Interest*, No. 130 (March/April 2014), pp. 29-39.

Wednesday, December 4: Policy Issue III—American Grand Strategy (77 pages)

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

Barry R. Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 69-134.