

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
PLSC 380U
Fall 2016

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Office hours: TR, 10-11:30, LNG-55

This course will explore the ways political entities, especially states, have formulated their security interests, and the strategies they have adopted to pursue them. A central theme of this course is that both the goals political leaders select and the means they have available—their "grand strategies," to put it differently—depend on the nature of the society they rule and the economic resources at their disposal. During the semester, we will examine the historical development of grand strategy and the linkages between states' domestic social, political, and economic structures and their international behavior in a variety of historical cases. After examining how several different types of historical actors developed their national security policies, we will consider the linkages between economic and political considerations on the national security policies of major powers in the modern world.

COURSE MATERIALS

The assigned reading is a vital part of this class. In some cases, we will spend a class period discussing a specific book or a set of articles. In other cases, the readings have been selected to complement material presented in lecture. Most of the reading consists of articles and excerpts from books. **It is just as important to read them as it is to read the books.** These readings are available through the Blackboard page for this course.

The following four books are available at the University bookstore:

- Hoffman, Philip T. 2015. *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kilcullen, David. 2009. *The Accidental Guerrilla*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rabe, Stephen G. 2016. *The Killing Zone*, second edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Russett, Bruce M. 1997. *No Clear and Present Danger*. Twenty-fifth anniversary edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

COURSE POLICIES

1. Assignments and Grading. Your grade in this class will be based on two papers due during the semester, five quizzes, a mid-term exam, and a final exam.

Grading Scale. Your semester grade will be computed on a 100-point scale as follows: 94-100 = A; 91-93 = A-; 88-90 = B+; 84-87 = B; 81-83 = B-; 78-80 = C+; 74-77 = C; 71-73 = C-; 65-70 = D; 0-64 = F. You will receive a letter grade on each essay. These correspond to numeric grades as follows: A = 100; A- = 93; B+ = 89; B = 85; B- = 82; C+ = 79; C = 75; C- = 72; D = 67; F = 50. Your quiz grade for the semester will be the percentage of questions you answered correctly, dropping the two quizzes on which you received the fewest points.

Papers. Each student will write two 4-8 page essays, each responding to one of the five paper questions given in the course schedule below. *You must write at least one essay about the first three questions.* Each of these papers will be worth 30% of your final grade. Each essay question is connected to a set of readings that will be discussed in class on the day the paper is due. You must attend the class in order to submit the paper. The five papers are due at different points during the semester, so you will have some discretion about when you submit each of the required two. It is your responsibility to make sure you submit the essays on time, and that I receive them in a readable form.

Turnitin.com. In addition to submitting a hard copy to me in class, you must also submit an electronic version of each paper to turnitin.com. You can do this through the Blackboard Page for this class. Make sure you submit the paper under the correct link. Papers must be submitted to turnitin.com within 48 hours of when the assignment is due in class or they will not be graded.

Quizzes. There will be at least six unannounced quizzes during the semester. When they happen, these quizzes will cover either the assigned reading for that day's class, or the lecture from the preceding class meeting. I will let you know if there are any changes in the reading schedule. No make-up quizzes will be given for any reason, but I will drop your lowest two quiz grades. Collectively, the quizzes will count for 20% of your final grade.

Final Essay. The class has no in-class final exam, but there will be a final essay assignment. You will receive the essay question on the last day of classes, and your answer will be due on Monday, December 12th. This essay will count for 20% of your final grade.

2. Missed and Late Assignments. As noted above, there will be no makeup assignments for the unannounced quizzes. It is your responsibility to make sure you submit the papers on time. No late papers will be accepted. Because there are six opportunities to submit papers, handing in two of them on time should not be a problem. If the final exam is late, there will be a penalty of one letter grade for each day, or fraction of a day, that it is late.

3. Grade Appeals. If you are unsatisfied with the grade you received on an assignment, you may appeal your grade. To do so, you should submit a brief memorandum explaining your concerns. *All grade appeals must be handled in writing. I will not discuss your grade with you in person.*

4. Electronic Devices. Students may not use electronic devices of any kind (phones, laptops, tablets, etc.) during class without special permission.

5. Cheating and Plagiarism. All the assignments you complete in this class must be your own work. The sources you use must be properly cited using a recognized citation system of your choice. If you have any doubt about the propriety of what you are doing, please consult me or review the Harpur College rules on academic honesty. (You can find these on the university's website.) Anyone caught cheating or plagiarizing will be dealt with as harshly as University policies permit. No excuses for this behavior will be accepted.

6. Classroom Decorum. I encourage you to express your views on the course material. You are free to disagree with me or with your fellow students, just as others are free to disagree with you.

In doing so, however, please refrain from personal insults or inflammatory remarks that may disrupt the class. Those who do not follow this rule will be asked to leave the class.

TENTATIVE COURSE SCHEDULE

(All dates are subject to change during the semester)

| <u>Dates:</u> | <u>Topic and Reading Assignment:</u> |
|------------------------------|--|
| August 25 | Introduction |
| August 31 and September 6 | "Realist" Ideas about Threats and Interests Jervis, Robert. 1979. "Systems Theory and Diplomatic History." In <i>Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy</i> , edited by Paul Gordon Lauren. New York: Free Press. 212-44. |
| September 1 | No class meeting--American Political Science Association annual meeting |
| September 8-13 | Geopolitics and Strategy Gray, Colin S. 1988. <i>The Geopolitics of Super Power</i> . Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. Chapter 2. Kennedy, Paul M. 1984. "The First World War and the International Power System." <i>International Security</i> 9 (1): 7-40. Sprout, Margaret Tuttle. 1948. "Mahan: Evangelist of Sea Power." In Edward Meade Earle, ed., <i>Makers of Modern Strategy</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 415-45. |
| September 15 | Discussion: What makes something an "international threat"? Paper question 1: In <i>No Clear and Present Danger</i> , Russett argues that the United States did not need to become involved in World War II. Is he correct? Key reading: Russett, Bruce M. 1997. <i>No Clear and Present Danger</i> . Twenty-fifth anniversary edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. |
| September 20 | War, Economics, and Society: Ancient Greek City-States Cornford, Francis MacDonald. 1971 [1907.] <i>Thucydides Mythistoricus</i> . Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1-76. |
| September 22- 27 | War, Economics, and Society: Ancient Rome Mattern, Susan P. 1999. <i>Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 1. Kagan, Kimberley. 2006. "Redefining Roman Grand Strategy." <i>Journal of Military History</i> 70(2): 333-62. |
| September 29 | War, Economics, and Society: Medieval Europe White, Lynn. 1962. <i>Medieval Technology and Social Change</i> . New York: Oxford University Press. 1-38. |

- October 6 **War, Economics, and Society: Absolutist States**
 Gat, Azar. 2006. *War in Human Civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 14.
- October 11 **War, Economics, and Society: the Evolution of the Modern State**
 Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Development, and Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.
- October 13 **Discussion: Why Did European States Become Dominant?**
 Paper question 2: Hoffman's book is an effort to explain a complex historical phenomenon with a few relatively simple economic models. Is his explanation satisfying? Is this general approach to explaining important historical processes promising?
 Key reading: Hoffman, Philip T. 2015. *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- October 18-25 **The Political Economy of Modern Strategy**
 Fordham, Benjamin O. 1997. "Domestic Politics, International Pressure, and Policy Change: The Case of NSC 68." *Journal of Conflict Studies* 17(1): 126-47.
 Gordon, Michael R. 1974. "Domestic Conflict and the Origins of the First World War: The British and the German Cases." *Journal of Modern History* 46(2): 191-226.
- October 20 **No Class Meeting--Peace Science Society annual meeting**
- October 27 **Catch-Up Day**
- November 1 **Political and Economic Influence**
 Hirschman, Albert O. 1980 [1945]. *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 3-52.
 Keohane, Robert O. 1971. "The Big Influence of Small Allies." *Foreign Policy* 2: 161-182.
- November 3 **Discussion: The Cold War in Latin America**
 Paper question 3: As Stephen Rabe explains in *The Killing Zone*, the United States was intensely concerned about the internal politics of many Latin American states during the Cold War. Outline at least two possible explanations for this preoccupation. Which one is best?
 Key Reading: Rabe, Stephen G. 2016. *The Killing Zone*, second edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

- November 8 **War and International Trade**
 Gallagher, John A., and Ronald E. Robinson. 1953. "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 6 (1): 1-15.
 Russett, Bruce, and John Oneal. 2001. *Triangulating Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton. Chapter 4.
- November 10 **Hegemony and Empire**
 Hobson, J. A. 1965 [1902.] *Imperialism: A Study*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 4.
 Ferguson, Niall. 2004. *Colossus*. New York: Penguin Press. Chapter 5.
 Frieden, Jeffrey. 1994. "International Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation." *International Organization* 48(4): 559-93.
- November 15 **Discussion: Genocide and Military Intervention**
 Paper question 4: Should it be the policy of the United States to use military force in order to prevent genocide? Explain your position.
 Key reading: Power, Samantha. 2002. *A Problem From Hell*. New York: Basic Books. Chapter 10.
- November 17 **The Political Economy of War-Fighting**
 Milward, Alan. 1977. *War, Economy and Society, 1939-1945*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1-51.
 Ransom, Roger L. 1989. *Conflict and Compromise*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.
- November 22 **Military Spending**
 Fordham, Benjamin O. 2007. "Paying for Global Power: The Costs and Benefits of Cold War Military Spending," In *The Long War*, edited by Andrew J. Bacevich. New York: Columbia University Press. 371-404.
- November 24 **No class--Thanksgiving**
- November 29 **Mobilization in Modern Developed Democracies**
 Readings TBA
- December 1 **War and Non-State Actors**
 McClintock, Michael. 1991. "American Doctrine and Counterinsurgent State Terror." In Alexander George, ed., *Western State Terrorism*. New York: Routledge. 121-54.
 Robinson, Ronald. 1972. "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration." In *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*. London: Longman.

December 6

Discussion: Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency

Paper Question 5: Should the United States prepare to fight counter-insurgency wars?

Key reading: Kilcullen, David. 2009. *The Accidental Guerrilla*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gentile, Gian. 2008. "Misreading the Surge Threatens U.S. Army's Conventional Capabilities." *World Politics Review*, March 4, 2008.