



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME
STRA 531: STRATEGIC STUDIES**

**TRIMESTER 1 2013
4 March – 3 July 2013**

Trimester dates

Teaching dates: First lecture/seminar 5 March 2013; final lecture/seminar 28 May 2013

Last assignment (essay) due: 20 May 2013

Open book test to take place on: 4 June 2013 from 5:30pm

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at
www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds

Names and contact details

Course coordinator:

Professor Robert Ayson

Centre for Strategic Studies

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Class times and locations

Lecture Time: 5:40-8:30 Tuesdays

Lecture Venue: Room 129, Railway West Wing, Pipitea Campus

Teaching/learning summary

STRA 531 is a core 30 point course for students in the Strategic Studies programme and for students from related subject areas. It seeks to provide a comprehensive and systematic understanding of strategic studies in the context of leading problems in international security by first building an understanding of the conceptual apparatus of strategic studies before focusing on the application of strategic thinking to a number of these contemporary international issues. It is taught in 12 weekly teaching sessions to allow for step-by-step consideration of the curriculum. These weekly sessions are timed in the evening to allow for part-time students to attend. Most sessions will consist of one or more presentations by the lead teacher (or the guest lecturer where applicable). Time will also be devoted to

interactive class discussion which allows students to work with the ideas and issues being raised and for which students need to prepare by keeping up with the readings for each session.

Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding. Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and seminar programme will be advised by email, announced in lectures, and posted on the STRA531 Blackboard site.

Course prescription

This course covers strategic thinking from Clausewitz to to the 21st century. Emphasis will be placed on the relationship between force and international politics including the role of strategy in limiting international competition and attempts to restrain the use of force.

Course content

The dates and topics for the 12 sessions are as follows:

Tuesday 5 March 2013: Session 1: Strategy, Violence and War

Tuesday 12 March 2013: Session 2: Power, Politics and Influence

Tuesday 19 March 2013: Session 3: Strategic Objectives: Security, Peace, Victory?

Tuesday 26 March 2013: Session 4: Justice, Law and Strategic Ethics

Tuesday 2 April 2013: Mid-Trimester (Easter) Break: No class

Tuesday 9 April 2013: Session 5: Technology: Revolutions in Military Affairs?

Tuesday 16 April 2013: Session 6: Making Strategy: Culture, Policy-Making and Systems

Tuesday 23 April 2013: Session 7: The State System, State Collapse and Intervention

Tuesday 30 April 2013: Session 8: Counterinsurgency and Stabilisation Operations

Tuesday 7 May 2013: Session 9: Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Asymmetry

Tuesday 14 May 2013: Session 10: Old Armageddon? Proliferation and the Nuclear Age

Tuesday 21 May 2013: Session 11: Globalisation or Geopolitics? The US and China

Tuesday 28 May 2013: Session 12: New Armageddon? Climate, Resources & Security

Learning objectives

Students who pass this course should be able to:

1. Analyse the relationship between force and politics
2. Analyse the mix of competition and cooperation in strategic relationships
3. Evaluate major aspects of the evolution of strategic thought
4. Apply strategic thinking to a range of international security problems

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 300 hours to STRA531 throughout the trimester. This includes weekly attendance at lectures/seminars, completion of all set weekly readings and research and writing for set assessment tasks.

Readings

A series of required and further readings for each of the 12 teaching sessions has been selected for students to assist with their studies. Students are expected to read *all of the Required Readings* – please consult the Blackboard site for STRA 531. As time allows, they should also follow up on the Further Readings by using the resources of the Victoria University of Wellington library (including the valuable electronic journal holdings). Students working on a long assignment topic should read beyond the required and further readings, locating additional reading material which will deepen their research and the quality of their written work.

The required and further readings for each of the twelve sessions are as follows:

Session 1: Strategy, Violence and War

Required Readings

- Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 16-47.
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Indexed edition, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, Book 1, Ch 1 & Bk 8 Ch 6B; pp. 75-89, 605-610.
- Robert Ayson, 'Strategic Studies', in Chris Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 558-575.

Further Readings

- Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (various editions/translations).
- Hew Strachan, 'The Lost Meaning of Strategy', *Survival*, 47:3, Autumn 2005, pp. 33-54.
- Alan Beyerchen, 'Clausewitz, Nonlinearity and the Unpredictability of War', *International Security*, 17:3, Winter 1992/93, pp. 59-90.

Session 2: Power, Politics and Influence

Required Readings

- Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics*, New York: The Free Press, 1994, pp. 1-22, 306-11.
- Lawrence Freedman, 'Strategic studies and the problem of power', in Thomas G. Mahnken and Joseph A. Maiolo (eds), *Strategic Studies: A Reader*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 22-33.
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1966, pp. 1-34.

Further Readings

- Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964.
- Bernard Brodie, *War and Politics*, New York: Macmillan, 1973.
- Pierre Hassner, *Violence and Peace*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 1997.
- R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.

Session 3: Strategic Objectives: Security, Peace, Victory?

Required Readings

- Lawrence Freedman, *Deterrence*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005, pp. 26-42, 133.
- Terry L. Diebel, *Foreign Affairs Strategy: Logic for American Statecraft*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 281-321.
- Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998, pp. 49-70.

Further Readings

- Colin Gray, *Defining and Achieving Decisive Victory*, Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2002, available at www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=272
- Michael Howard, *The Causes of War and Other Essays*, London: Temple Smith, 1983.
- Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Patrick Morgan, 'The state of deterrence in international politics today', *Contemporary Security Policy* 33: 1, 2012, pp. 85-107.

Session 4: Justice, Law and Strategic Ethics

Required Readings

- Justin Morris, 'Law, Politics and the Use of Force', in John Baylis et al (eds), *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 2d ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 101-121.
- P.W. Singer, 'The Ethics of Killer Applications: Why Is It So Hard To Talk About Morality When it Comes to New Technology', *Journal of Military Ethics*, 9:4, 2010, pp. 299-312.
- Hedley Bull, 'Strategic Studies and Its Critics', *World Politics*, 20:4, July 1968, pp. 593-605.

Further Readings

- Martin Ceadal, *Thinking About Peace and War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, New York: Basic Books, 1977.
- Terry Nardin (ed), *The Ethics of War and Peace*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Ilan Cooper and Eric Patterson, 'UN Authority and the Morality of Force', *Survival*, 53:6, December 2011-January 2012, pp. 141-158.

Session 5: Technology: Military Revolutions? Cyberwar?

Required Readings

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, pp. 52-77, 262-70.
- Jacqueline Newmyer, 'The Revolution in Military Affairs With Chinese Characteristics', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 33:4, August 2010, pp. 483-504.
- Herbert Lin, 'Offensive cyber operations and the use of force', *Journal of National Security, Law and Policy* 4:63, 2010, pp. 63-86

Further Readings

- P.W. Singer, *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and 21st Century Conflict*, New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Lawrence Freedman, *The Revolution in Strategic Affairs*, London: IISS, 1998.
- Stephen J. Blank, 'Preparing for the Next War: Reflections on the Revolution in Military Affairs', in John Aquilla and David Ronfeldt, (eds), *In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age*, Santa Monica: RAND, 1997, pp. 61-77.

Session 6: Making Strategy: Culture, Policy-Making and Systems

Required Readings

- Williamson Murray and Mark Grimsley, 'Introduction: On strategy', in Williamson Murray et al, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 1-23.
- P.H. Liotta and Richmond M. Lloyd, 'From Here to There: The Strategy and Force Planning Framework', *Naval War College Review*, 58:2, Spring 2005, pp. 121-137.
- Alistair Iain Johnston, 'Thinking About Strategic Culture', *International Security*, 19:4, Spring 1995, pp. 32-64.

Further Readings

- Peter Paret (ed), *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Colin Gray, 'Strategic culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back', *Review of International Studies* 25:1, January 1999, pp. 49-69.
- C.F. Kurtz and D.J. Snowden, 'The new dynamics of strategy: Sense-making in a complex and complicated world', *IBM Systems Journal*, 42:3, 2003, pp. 462-483.

Session 7: The End of State System, State Collapse and Intervention

Required Readings

- Martin van Creveld, *On Future War*, London: Brassey's 1991, pp. 1-32.
- Mary Kaldor, *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Cambridge: Polity, 1999, pp. 69-89, 162-4.
- Robert Layton, *Order and Anarchy: Civil Society, Social Disorder and War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 92-137.
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001, pp. 1-18.

Further Readings

- Robert I. Rotberg, 'The New Nature of Nation-State Failure', *Washington Quarterly*, 25:2, June 2002, pp. 83-96.
- Benjamin Reilly, 'The Africanisation of the South Pacific', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 54:3, 2000, pp. 261-8.
- S. Neil MacFarlane, *Intervention in Contemporary World Politics*, Adelphi Paper 350, London: IISS, 2002.
- Hedley Bull, (ed), *Intervention in World Politics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Session 8: Counterinsurgency, Peacekeeping and Stabilisation Operations

Required Readings

- David Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency*, Melbourne: Scribe, 2010, pp. 17-49, 230-1.
- David Martin Jones, M.L.R. Smith and John Stone, 'Counter-COIN: Counterinsurgency and the Preemption of Strategy', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 35:9. September 2012, pp. 597-617.
- Mats Berdal, *Building Peace After War*, Abingdon: Routledge for IISS, 2009, pp. 95-134, 199-207.
- Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 151-178.

Further Readings

- John A. Nagl, *Learning to eat soup with a knife: counterinsurgency lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- James F. Dobbins, 'America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq', *Survival*, 45:4, Winter 2003-4, pp. 87-110.
- Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.

Session 9: Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Asymmetry

Required Readings

- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, 'How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict', *International Security*, 26:1, Summer 2001, pp. 93-128.
- Max Abrahms, 'What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy', *International Security*, 32:4, Spring 2008, pp. 78-105.
- Robert Ayson, 'After a Terrorist Nuclear Attack: Envisaging Catalytic Effects', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 33:7, July 2010, pp. 571-593.

Further Readings

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, New York: Random House, 2005.
- Gil Merom, *How democracies lose small wars: state, society, and the failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Simon Cottee and Keith Hayward, 'Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34:12, December 2011, pp. 963-986.

Session 10: Old Armageddon? Proliferation and the Nuclear Age

Required Readings

- Muthiah Alagappa, 'Exploring Roles, Strategies and Implications', in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008, pp. 78-107.
- Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin, *Strategy and Arms Control*, New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961, pp. 9-24.
- James M. Acton, 'Bombs Away? Being Realistic about Deep Nuclear Reductions', *The Washington Quarterly*, 35:2, Spring 2012, pp. 37-53.

Further Readings

- Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, various editions.
- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, New York: Norton, 1995.
- C. Braun and C.F. Chyba, 'Proliferation Rings: New Challenges to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime', *International Security*, 29: 2, Fall 2004, pp. 5-49.
- Tom Sauer, 'A Second Nuclear Revolution: From Nuclear Primacy to Post-Existential Deterrence', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32:5, October 2009, pp. 745-767.

Session 11: Globalisation or Geopolitics? The US and China

Required Readings

- Hugh White, *The China Choice: Why America Should Share Power*, Collingwood Vic: Black Inc, 2012, pp. 128-154
- Rosemary Foot, 'China and the United States: Between Cold and Warm Peace', *Survival*, 51:6, December 2009-January 2010, pp. 123-146.
- Christian Le Miere, 'America's Pivot to East Asia: The Naval Dimension', *Survival*, 54:3, June-July 2012, pp. 81-94.

Further Readings

- Joseph F. Nye Jr, 'American and Chinese Power After the Financial Crisis', *Washington Quarterly*, 33:4, October 2010, pp. 143-153.
- Gregory Chin and Ramesh Thakur, 'Will China Change The Rules of Global Order', *Washington Quarterly*, 33:4, October 2010, pp. 119-138.
- Wang Jisi, 'China's Search for Stability with America', *Foreign Affairs*, 84:5, September-October 2005, pp. 39-48.
- Andrew F. Hart and Bruce D. Jones, 'How Do Rising Powers Rise?', *Survival*, 52:6, December 2010-January 2011, pp. 63-88.

Session 12: New Armageddon? Climate, Resources & Security

Required Readings

- Alan Dupont, 'The Strategic Implications of Climate Change', *Survival*, 50:3, June-July 2008, pp. 29-54.
- Paul F. Herman Jr and Gregory Treverton, 'The Political Consequences of Climate Change', *Survival*, 51:2, April-May 2009, pp. 137-148.
- Brahma Chellaney, 'Asia's Worsening Water Crisis', *Survival*, 54:2, April-May 2012, pp. 143-156.

Further Readings

- Jon Barnett and W. Neil Adger, 'Climate change, human security and violent conflict', *Political Geography*, 26, 2007, pp. 639-655.
- Jonathan Boston et al, *Climate Change and Security: Planning for The Future*, Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, 2009.
- Daniel Yergin, 'Ensuring Energy Security', *Foreign Affairs*, 85:2, March-April 2006, pp. 69-82.
- Suisheng Zhao, 'China's Global Search for Energy Security: cooperation and competition in Asia-Pacific', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 17: 55, 2008, pp. 207-227.

Assessment requirements

| Assessment task | Weighting | Due date | Learning outcomes | Word length |
|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Short essay | 25% | Wednesday 3 April 2013 | 1, 3 | 2,500 |
| 2. Long essay | 40% | Monday 17 May 2013 | 1-4 | 5,000 |
| 3. Final Test | 35% | Tuesday 4 June 2013 at 5:30pm | 1-4 | 3 hour test |

There will be three pieces of assessment for this course:

- 1. A first written assignment (25%) to be submitted to the Blackboard site for STRA531.** Please write **2,500 words** on ONE of the following topics:
 - (a) Using a significant number of the required readings from the first three sessions of the course, examine the extent to which there is a consistent approach to the question of power in modern strategic studies.
 - (b) Provide an explanation of a contemporary crisis or issue in strategic affairs through the lens of the required readings from the first three sessions of the course. (The crisis or issue might be the debate over what to do about Syria,

China-Japan tensions, the North Korean nuclear program, the intervention in Mali, or transition in Afghanistan).

2. A second and longer written assignment (40%) to be submitted to the Blackboard Site. Please write **5,000 words** on ONE of the following topics:

- (a) 'Because of its innate connection to the use of violence, attempts to bind to ethical considerations are doomed to fail.' Evaluate this claim.
- (b) 'You cannot deter cyber-attacks.' Evaluate this claim.
- (c) 'The strategic culture debate is only of interest to scholars. It has no value to policy-makers.' Evaluate this claim.
- (d) 'Martin van Creveld and Mary Kaldor got it completely wrong. There is no need for a fundamental rethink about war and politics.' Evaluate this claim.
- (e) 'Counterinsurgency is a recurring fad that has (once again) come and gone.' Evaluate this claim.
- (f) 'When we look back on the terrorism of the post-9/11 years, Al Qaeda will come to look a great deal like a Middle Eastern IRA'. Evaluate this claim.
- (g) 'When any one country develops nuclear weapons, further proliferation is not bound to follow'. Evaluate this claim.
- (h) 'Whether they like it or not, China and the United States are stumbling into a new Cold War.' Evaluate this claim.
- (i) A topic formulated in consultation with the course teacher. If you wish to choose this option, please consult Professor Ayson.

3. Open Book Test (35%) to be sat, and submitted, VIA BLACKBOARD. A list of questions, dealing with the entire course, will be put up on Blackboard at **5.30pm on the day of the test**. Students will be required to answer 3 essay-style questions from the list. Answers are to be submitted **VIA BLACKBOARD** by **9.00pm**.

This is a three hour test and you have been given an extra 30 minutes to get yourself organised. It is therefore expected that everyone will sit the test at the same time.

As this test is conducted via Blackboard, students need to have access to a computer with an internet connection – this should all be organised by the student in advance to avoid any problems.

Penalties may apply to tests that are submitted after the 9.00pm deadline.

Students should keep a copy of all submitted work.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of assignments – **a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days.** Work that is more than 10 weekdays late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but may not be marked. Penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- Attend all of the lectures and seminars conducted (permission must be gained in advance for any absences)
- Complete the open-book test

Class representative

A class representative will be elected in the first week, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas

- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism>

Where to find more detailed information

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the Academic Office website, at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic.