

Political Science 688.004
Security Studies Seminar
1:00-3:00 PM, Mondays; Room: Mason Hall G421B

Instructor: Yuri M. Zhukov, Assistant Professor of Political Science, zhukov@umich.edu

Office Hours: W 1000-1200. 4252 ISR, 426 Thompson St.

Signup sheet (24 hours in advance): <https://doodle.com/poll/8czm576mi9faap55>

Course Description: This course provides an overview of prominent theories and debates in security studies, their applications to contemporary issues in defense policy and strategy, and their study in political science and other academic disciplines. The class emphasizes coverage of theoretical debates in the study of war, but we will also discuss prominent empirical research on conflict. Topics include classical and modern strategy, land warfare and combined arms, air power and coercion, nuclear weapons and deterrence, logistics, intelligence, insurgency, terrorism and legacies of violence.

This is a World Politics course.

Grade Policy: Grades will be based on weekly attendance and participation (20%), 2 research proposals (30%), and a final research paper (50%).

1. **Classroom participation** (20%). Students are expected to engage the readings fully and actively participate in all discussions and debates.
2. **Research proposals** (30%; 15% each). Students will prepare two 750-1000 word proposals identifying a theoretical or empirical problem in the course readings and a research question and preliminary design for addressing that problem. The proposal are due at the start of class during Weeks 4 and 8.
3. **Final research paper** (50%). The final requirement is a research paper that could serve as a second-year paper and/or a published article (9000-12,000 words). The research paper should be based on one of the research proposals.

Class Schedule:

1. *Classical and Modern Strategy* Monday, September 10

Classical strategy:

- Felix Gilbert. 1986. 'Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Peter Paret ed. Princeton University Press: Chapter 1.
- Carl von Clausewitz. 2007. *On War*. Michael Howard and Peter Paret editor and translator. Princeton University Press: Book I.
- John Shy. 1986. 'Jomini,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*: Chapter 6.

Recommended:

- Carl von Clausewitz. 2007. *On War*. Michael Howard and Peter Paret editor and translator. Princeton University Press: Book II Chapters 1-4; Book III Chapters 1-5, 11, 14, 17; Book VI Chapters. 1-8, 26; Book VII Chapters 1-8.
- Peter Paret. 1986. 'Clausewitz,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Peter Paret ed. Princeton University Press: Chapter 7.
- Barry R. Posen. 1993. 'Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power,' *International Security* 18 (2): 80-124.
- Antoine Henri de Jomini. 1836/2007. *The Art of War*. Rockville, MD: Arc Manor.

Modern strategy:

- Thomas Schelling. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: Chapters 1 and 2.
- Brian Bond, Martin Alexander. 1986. 'Liddell Hart and De Gaulle: The Doctrines of Limited Liability and Mobile Defense,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*: Chapter 20.
- Michael Howard. 1986. 'Men Against Fire: The Doctrine of the Offensive in 1914,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*: Chapter 18.
- Anatol Rapoport. 1957. 'Lewis F. Richardson's mathematical theory of war.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1(3).

Recommended:

- Barry R. Posen. 1984. *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars*. Cornell University Press, 1984: Chapters 1, 2, 7.
- John Lewis Gaddis. 1981. 'Containment: Its Present and Future,' *International Security* 5(4).
- Seth Bonder. 2002. 'Army Operations Research: Historical Perspectives and Lessons Learned,' *Operations Research* 50 (1): 25-34.

2. *Ground Warfare* Monday, September 17

- John J. Mearsheimer. 1989. 'Assessing the Conventional Balance: The 3:1 Rule and Its Critics,' *International Security* 13(4): 54-89.

- John J. Mearsheimer, Barry R. Posen and Eliot A. Cohen. 1989. ‘Correspondence,’ *International Security*,13(4): 128-179.
- Stephen Biddle. 2004. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton University Press: Chapters 1-3.
- Kristopher W. Ramsay. 2008. ‘Settling It on the Field Battlefield Events and War Termination.’ *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(6): 850-879.
- Niall J. McKay. 2007. ‘Lanchester combat models,’ working paper.
- Alex Weisiger. 2016. ‘Learning from the Battlefield: Information, Domestic Politics, and Interstate War Duration,’ *International Organization* 70 (Spring): 347-375.
- Todd Lehmann and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. ‘Until the Bitter End? The Diffusion of Surrender Across Battles,’ *International Organization* (forthcoming).

Recommended:

- John J. Mearsheimer. 1983. *Conventional Deterrence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press: Chapters 1, 2 and 7.
- Joshua M. Epstein. 1984. *The Calculus of Conventional War: Dynamic Analysis without Lanchester Theory*, Washington, DC: Brookings.
- Jerome Bracken. 1995. ‘Lanchester models of the Ardennes campaign.’ *Naval Research Logistics* 42(4): 559-577.

3. *Air and Naval Warfare* Monday, September 24

Air power:

- Edward Warner. 1943. ‘Douhet, Mitchell, Seversky: Theories of Air Warfare” in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Edward Mead Earle, ed. Princeton University Press: 485-503.
- Robert Pape. 1996. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996. Chapters 1-3.
- Ian R. Johnson and Niall J. MacKay. 2011. ‘Lanchester models and the battle of Britain.’ *Naval Research Logistics* 58(3): 210-222.
- Jason Lyall. 2017. ‘Bombing to Lose? Airpower and the Dynamics of Coercion in Counterinsurgency Wars,’ working paper.

Recommended:

- Barry D. Watts. 1997/1998. ‘Ignoring Reality: Problems of Theory and Evidence in Security Studies.’ *Security Studies* 7(2).
- David R. Lake. 2009. ‘The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO’s “Victory” in Kosovo Revisited,’ *International Security* 34(1): 83-112.
- Niall McKay and Christopher Price. 2011. ‘Safety in Numbers: Ideas of Concentration in Royal Air Force Fighter Defence from Lanchester to the Battle of Britain,’ *History* 96(323): 304-325.
- Aqil Shah. 2018. ‘Do U.S. Drone Strikes Cause Blowback? Evidence from Pakistan and Beyond.’ *International Security* 43(4): 47-84.

Sea power:

- Alfred T. Mahan. 1894. *The Influence of Sea Power on History 1660-1783*. New York: Dover: Chapter 1.
- Karl Lautenschlager. 1983. 'Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare,' *International Security* 8(2): 3-51.
- Wayne P. Hughes. 1995. 'A salvo model of warships in missile combat used to evaluate their staying power.' *Naval Research Logistics* 42: 267-289.
- Michael J. Armstrong. 2005. 'A Stochastic Salvo Model for Naval Surface Combat.' *Operations Research* 53 (5): 830-841.

Recommended:

- Wayne P. Hughes, Jr. 2002. 'Navy Operations Research.' *Operations Research* 50 (1): 103-111.

4. ***Nuclear Warfare***.....Monday, October 1

- Lawrence Freedman. 1986. 'The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategy,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*: Chapter 25.
- Keir Lieber and Daryl Press. 2006. 'The End of MAD?' *International Security* 30(4): 7-44.
- Gerald Brown, Matthew Carlyle, Douglas Diehl, Jeffrey Kline, Kevin Wood. 2005. 'A Two-Sided Optimization for Theater Ballistic Missile Defense,' *Operations Research* 53 (5): 745-763.
- Robert Powell. 2015. 'Nuclear Brinkmanship, Limited War, and Military Power.' *International Organization* 69(Summer): 589-626.
- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press. 2017. 'The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence.' *International Security* 41(4): 9-49.

Recommended:

- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*: Chapters 3-7.
- Scott D. Sagan. 1989. *Moving Targets: Nuclear Strategy and National Security*. Princeton University Press: 11-13, 22-34, 42-54.
- Charles Glaser and Steve Fetter. 2005. 'Counterforce Revisited: Assessing the Nuclear Posture Review's New Missions,' *International Security* 30(2): 84-126.
- Muhammet A. Bas and Andrew J. Coe. 2016. 'A Dynamic Theory of Nuclear Proliferation and Preventive War.' *International Organization* 70(Fall): 655-685.
- Nicholas L. Miller. 2017. 'Why nuclear energy programs rarely lead to proliferation.' *International Security* 42(2): 40-77.
- Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2017. 'Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans really think about using nuclear weapons and killing noncombatants.' *International Security* 42(1): 41-79.

5. ***Logistics and Intelligence***.....Monday, October 8

Logistics:

- Martin Van Creveld. 2004. *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press: Chapters 1-5, 8.
- Moshe Kress. 2002. *Operational logistics: The art and science of sustaining military operations*. Springer Science and Business Media: Chapters 1-2.
- Yuri M. Zhukov. 2017. 'External Resources and Indiscriminate Violence: Evidence from German-occupied Belarus,' *World Politics* 69(1): 54-97

Recommended:

- Monica Duffy Toft and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2012. 'Denial and punishment in the North Caucasus: Evaluating the effectiveness of coercive counter-insurgency.' *Journal of Peace Research* 49(6): 785-800.
- Jesse Hammond. 2018. 'Maps of mayhem: Strategic location and deadly violence in civil war.' *Journal of Peace Research* 55(1): 32-46.

Intelligence:

- Richard Betts. 1978. 'Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable,' *World Politics* 31(1).
- Richard Heuer. 1999. *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis*. Central Intelligence Agency.
- *The 9/11 Commission Report*, New York: WW Norton: Chapter 11.
- Jeffrey A. Friedman, Jennifer S. Lerner and Richard Zeckhauser. 2017. 'Behavioral consequences of probabilistic precision: experimental evidence from national security professionals.' *International Organization* 71(4): 803-826.

Recommended:

- Mark M. Lowenthal. 2008. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 4th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press. 2008: Chapters 1-6, 9 and 11.
- Jeffrey A. Friedman and Richard Zeckhauser. 2012. 'Assessing uncertainty in intelligence,' *Intelligence and National Security* 27(6): 824-847.

6. ***Insurgency*** Monday, October 22

- Mao Tse-Tung. 1989. *On Guerilla Warfare*. Washington, DC: Department of the Navy: 41-70.
- Andrew J.R. Mack. 1975. 'Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict,' *World Politics* 27(2): 175-200.
- David Galula. 1964/2006. *Counter-Insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* New York: Praeger: Chapters 1-5.
- Michael J. Reese, Keven G. Ruby and Robert A. Pape. 2017. 'Days of action or restraint? How the Islamic calendar impacts violence.' *American Political Science Review* 111(3): 439-459.
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey Friedman and Jacob Shapiro, "Testing the Surge: Why Violence Declined in Iraq in 2007," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 1-34.

- Niall McKay. 2013. ‘When Lanchester met Richardson, the outcome was stalemate: a parable for mathematical models of insurgency,’ *Journal of the Operational Research Society* 66(2): 191-201.

Recommended:

- T.E. Lawrence. 1920. ‘Evolution of a Revolt,’ *Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*.
- Roger Trinquier. 1985. *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*. Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army CGSC.
- Robert Thompson. 1966. *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Ralph Peters. 2007. ‘Progress and Peril,’ *Armed Forces Journal* (February).
- Jason Lyall. 2009. ‘Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya.’ *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331-362.
- Adam Scharpf. 2018. ‘Ideology and state terror: How officer beliefs shaped repression during Argentinas Dirty War.’ *Journal of Peace Research* 55(2): 206-221.

7. **Terrorism** Monday, October 29

- Robert Pape. 2003. ‘The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,’ *American Political Science Review* 97(3).
- Max Abrahms. 2006. ‘Why Terrorism Does not Work,’ *International Security* 31(2).
- Michael C. Horowitz. 2010. ‘Nonstate actors and the diffusion of innovations: the case of suicide terrorism.’ *International Organization* 64: 33-64.
- Max Abrahms and Philip Potter. 2015. ‘Explaining terrorism: Leadership deficits and militant group tactics,’ *International Organization* 69(2): 311-342.
- Huseyin Cavusoglu, Byungwan Koh, Srinivasan Raghunathan. 2010. ‘An Analysis of the Impact of Passenger Profiling for Transportation Security.’ *Operations Research* 58(5): 1287-1302.

Recommended:

- Michael J. Armstrong. 2014. ‘Modeling Short-Range Ballistic Missile Defense and Israel’s Iron Dome System.’ *Operations Research* 62 (5): 1028-1039.
- David B. Carter. 2016. ‘Provocation and the strategy of terrorist and guerrilla attacks.’ *International Organization* 70(1): 133-173.

8. **Cyber Warfare and ICT** Monday, November 5

Cyber Warfare:

- Robert Axelrod and Rumen Iliev, “Timing of cyber conflict,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111, no. 4 (2014): 1298-1303.
- Erik Gartzke. 2013. ‘The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth.’ *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 41-73.

- Rebecca Slayton. 2017. ‘What is the cyber offense-defense balance? Conceptions, causes, and assessment.’ *International Security* 41(3): 72-109.
- Joseph S. Nye Jr. 2017. ‘Deterrence and dissuasion in cyberspace.’ *International Security* 41(3): 44-71.

Recommended:

- Martin C. Libicki, “Cyberwar as a Confidence Game,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Spring 2011).
- Richard J. Harknett and Joseph S. Nye Jr. 2017. ‘Is Deterrence Possible in Cyberspace?’ *International Security* 42(2): 196-199.
- Nadiya Kostyuk and Yuri M. Zhukov, “Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (forthcoming)

Information and Communication Technology:

- Johan Galtung, J. and Mari Holmboe Ruge. 1965. ‘The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers.’ *Journal of Peace Research* 2(1): 64-90.
- Jacob N. Shapiro and Nils B. Weidmann. 2015. ‘Is the phone mightier than the sword? Cellphones and insurgent violence in Iraq.’ *International Organization* 69(2): 247-274.
- Anita R. Gohdes. 2015. ‘Pulling the plug: Network disruptions and violence in civil conflict.’ *Journal of Peace Research* 52(3): 352-367.
- Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld. 2017. ‘Spontaneous collective action: Peripheral mobilization during the Arab spring.’ *American Political Science Review* 111(2): 379-403.

Recommended:

- Thomas Zeitzoff. 2017. ‘How social media is changing conflict.’ *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1970-1991.
- Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld. 2017. *Twitter as Data* (book manuscript)
- William R. Hobbs and Margaret E. Roberts. 2018. ‘How sudden censorship can increase access to information.’ *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming).

9. ***Economic Sanctions***Monday, November 12

- Robert A. Pape. 1997. ‘Why economic sanctions do not work,’ *International Security* 22(2): 90-136.
- Daniel W. Drezner. 2003. ‘The hidden hand of economic coercion,’ *International Organization* 57(3): 643-659.
- Nikolay Marinov. 2005. ‘Do economic sanctions destabilize country leaders?’ *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 564-576.
- Jon Hovi, Robert Huseby and Detlef F. Sprinz. 2005. ‘When do (imposed) economic sanctions work?’ *World Politics* 57(4): 479-499.
- Daniel P. Ahn and Rodney D. Ludema. 2017. ‘The Sword and the Shield: The Economics of Targeted Sanctions.’ (working paper)

Recommended:

- Lisa L. Martin. 1993. 'Credibility, costs, and institutions: Cooperation on economic sanctions,' *World Politics* 45(3): 406-432.
- Daniel W. Drezner. 2011. 'Sanctions sometimes smart: targeted sanctions in theory and practice,' *International Studies Review* 13(1): 96-108.
- David Lektzian and Mark Souva. 2007. 'An institutional theory of sanctions onset and success,' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(6): 848-871.
- Colin M. Barry and Katja B. Kleinberg. 2015. 'Profiting from sanctions: Economic coercion and US foreign direct investment in third-party states.' *International Organization* 69(4): 881-912.

10. **Genocide and Mass Killings** Monday, November 19

- Charles King, "Can There Be a Political Science of the Holocaust?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 323-341.
- Paul Gregory, Philip Schröder and Konstantin Sonin, "Rational Dictators and the Killing of Innocents: Data from Stalin's Archives," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 39, no. 1 (2011): 34-42.
- David Yanagizawa-Drott. 2014. 'Propaganda and conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan genocide.' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129(4): 1947-1994.
- Robert Braun. 2016. 'Religious minorities and resistance to genocide: The collective rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust.' *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 127-147.

Recommended:

- Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. ' 'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare.' *International Organization* 58(2): 375-407.
- Evgeny Finkel and Scott Straus. 2012. 'Macro, meso, and micro research on genocide: gains, shortcomings, and future areas of inquiry.' *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 7(1): 56-67.
- Yuri M. Zhukov. 2017. 'Repression Works (just not in moderation).' (working paper)

11. **Legacies of Violence** Monday, November 26

- Nico Voigtländer and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2012. 'Persecution perpetuated: The medieval origins of anti-Semitic violence in Nazi Germany.' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127(3): 1339-1392.
- Volha Charnysh and Evgeny Finkel. 2017. 'The Death Camp Eldorado: Political and Economic Effects of Mass Violence.' *American Political Science Review* 111(4): 801-818.
- Noam Lupu and Leonid Peisakhin. 2017. 'The legacy of political violence across generations.' *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4): 836-851.

- Yuhua Wang. 2018. 'For Whom the Bell Tolls: The Political Legacy of China's Cultural Revolution.' (working paper)

Recommended:

- Guy Grossman, Devorah Manekin and Daniel Miodownik. 2015. 'The political legacies of combat: Attitudes toward war and peace among Israeli ex-combatants.' *International Organization* 69(4): 981-1009.
- Arturas Rozenas, Sebastian Schutte and Yuri Zhukov. 2017. 'The political legacy of violence: The long-term impact of Stalin's repression in Ukraine.' *The Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1147-1161.
- Elias Dinas and Vasiliki Fouka. 2018. 'Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis.' (working paper)

12. ***Student presentations 1*** Monday, December 3

13. ***Student presentations 2*** Monday, December 10