

## INTA 4016/8803: Strategy and Arms Control

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Office Hours: MW 12:30-1:30 PM (in office) and by appointment<sup>1</sup>

### Goals, Requirements, and Expectations of INTA 4016/8803:

As suggested by the course title, the goals of this course are two-fold. The first is to explore military strategy, doctrine and tactics. The second is to understand the state of arms control policy and scholarship. This is a heavily analytical course; critical thinking is required equipment.<sup>2</sup> My intent is not to teach you or measure your ability to commit 'facts' to memory by rote. While there are dates and actors that will be of significance, of far more importance will be your ability to take the concepts and theories we discuss in class and use them to analyze issues confronting societies and the policy responses mounted by political leaders.

Be warned, the reading load for this class is not light! We will be making use of a number of excellent textbooks as well as range of popular and academic readings.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the course, your understanding of military strategy and arms control will be significantly more sophisticated and nuanced. Light bulbs will go off. Mysteries will be revealed and resolved. You might even enter a higher plane of consciousness.

This assumes, of course, that you study. I have high expectations in this regard. This course has been structured under the assumption that every student in this class *wants* to be here. Accordingly, I have expectations regarding your desire to commit time and energy to this course. Among other things, this means showing up for class. Course attendance, however, will not be enforced. I expect that you, as adults, are responsible for your decisions. While this means you have the freedom to skip class without immediate consequence, it also means that stories of woe at the end of semester will have very little audience with me (i.e. extra credit will not be forthcoming). Similarly, claiming that you 'don't get it' before the course final when I have not seen you in office hours or heard questions from you in class will find little sympathy.

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<sup>1</sup> Because unexpected meetings and assorted similar events occur all the time, office hours must inevitably be flexible and I may, from time to time be required to cancel them. If this becomes necessary, I will notify you as far in advance as possible and endeavor to arrange alternative office hours. If you cannot make office hours, I am available for scheduled appointments.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Jason Enia at Sam Houston State University defines critical thinking in the International Relations context thus: "Critical thinking is not about blindly accepting the wisdom of the 'talking heads' you see on television or the information you get online. It is about admitting and being comfortable with uncertainty. In the complex arena of international politics—where there are almost always multiple and competing assessments of and solutions to international problems—this type of analysis is crucial. It includes the ability to *break a problem into its component parts, to question assumptions, to recognize and critically assess multiple and competing sources of information, to evaluate alternative perspectives on problems, and finally to design and evaluate solutions to those problems.* The value of the study of the social sciences lies in the development of these critical thinking skills."

<sup>3</sup> In addition, you should also be regularly reading a current events news source like the *New York Times* or the *Economist*. You will find that doing so will be a significant boon on the exams.

Given that this course is double listed as a graduate course, it is structured similarly to a graduate seminar. Accordingly, participation is critical for the success of the class and the value you derive from it. This is a discussion-based class. That, however, does not absolve you of your obligations to prepare for class. That means you need to **complete the assigned reading before the class date to which it is attached**. Let me say this again. If chapter 4 is listed next to January 23, that means you need to read chapter 4 *by* that date, *not* on that date.

The course texts require intensive, sustained focus and engagement; this is not light reading to be done while you watch television or wait for the latest YouTube video to download. International Relations is *not supposed* to be easy. If it were, we would have figured it all out a long time ago. The fact that so many problems and issues today can be traced to international political behavior clearly proves that we have not. Underestimate this course, and its subject, at your own (grade) peril.

### Objectives for Students:

- Appreciate the origins and significance of military strategy.
- Understand the current state of debate (academic and policy) of arms control
- Develop analytical skills
- Demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence social behavior and the global system
- Use knowledge of international affairs in a practical problem-solving way to address issues of immediate international concern
- Express arguments clearly and effectively both in written reports and in their research and oral presentations.

### Course Texts:

- Gray, Colin S. (2009). *Fighting Talk: Forty Maxims on War, Peace, and Strategy*. Washington D.C.: Potomac Books (ISBN: 978-1597973076)
- Payne, Kenneth (2015). *The Psychology of Strategy: Exploring Rationality in the Vietnam War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (ISBN: 978-0190227234)
- Chivers, C.J. (2010). *The Gun*. Simon & Schuster. (ISBN: 978-0743271738)
- Freedman, Lawrence (2013). *Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 978-0190229238)
- Gill, David (2014). *Britain and the Bomb: Nuclear Diplomacy, 1964-1970*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. (ISBN: 978-0804786584)

Additionally, useful websites include: the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (<http://www.unidir.ch/>), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (<http://www.sipri.org>), the Institute for International Strategic Studies (<http://www.iiss.org/>), the U.S. Dept. of Homeland Security (<http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/>), the International Atomic Energy Agency (<http://www.iaea.org/DataCenter/index.html>) and the Center for Defense Information ([www.cdi.org](http://www.cdi.org)).

### Course grading:

Participation (questions/discussion)	25 percent
Film Quiz (5 percent)	5 percent
Group Strategy Exercise	20 percent
3,750 word (UG)/6,250 (G) page <b>analytical</b> paper (April 13)	40 percent
Final exam (May 4 (Wed) 8:00am - 10:50am)	10 percent

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Grade Scale: 100-90 (A) | 89-80 (B) | 79-70 (C) | 69-60 (D) | 59-0 (F).

Grading Policy: Grade inflation is a documented problem in U.S. higher education. While no single class will change the phenomenon to any significant degree, this course will be graded to the original conceptualization of the letter grades. As such, an A represents excellent work, a B marks good or above average work, a C indicates average work, a D represents below average, and F indicates unacceptably subpar work. This does not mean that the average or median of the class will be a C. The descriptors are meant to signal the assessed level of understanding of the course material demonstrated by the student rather than a measure against the performance of other students.

Participation: As a discussion-based class, participation by students is absolutely critical to success! The more you engage, the greater value the class will have for everyone. To facilitate communication and communal development of knowledge, I have established a class account at the online Q&A/discussion forum *Piazza*, where you and your fellow classmates (using either your real names or anonymously) can discuss the ideas, concepts, and theories in class and I can provide guidance in your discussions. To access the site, you need to sign-up for an account at: [piazza.com/gatech/spring2016/inta40I68803/home](http://piazza.com/gatech/spring2016/inta40I68803/home)

Exams: The nature of the course and the reading material makes exams problematic as a metric for evaluating student development. Accordingly, exams play a very small role in the course grade.

Analytical paper: The analytical paper comprises a very large portion of the course grade. It is critically important you dedicate significant effort to the paper over the course of the semester. Attempting to write the paper at the last minute is a tremendously risky proposition. This point cannot be emphasized strongly enough. Given the somewhat unusual grading structure of the course, it is important that you not underestimate the analytical paper is you hope to do well.

The paper represents an opportunity for you to explore in depth an issue of strategy or arms control in a way we cannot cover in class. The subject of the paper is *completely up to you*. You may decide you want to explore how strategies differ between large and small countries, or the relationship between academic research on arms control and arms control policy. You may choose to write the paper as a policy briefing for major policy-makers, or you may choose a more academic route.

Citations are required both for academic sources and popular media. This is an in depth research and analysis project; to do well, you must demonstrate a significant level of knowledge and understanding about your chosen topic as well as high quality analysis regarding the sources of security construction as well as the effects. Given the fluid nature of the paper, generalized advice on structure would not be useful. However, you will also be graded on the quality of your writing (syntax, subject verb agreement, appropriate use of transitions, etc.) as well as how you structure it (argument and narrative flow, clear signposting, etc.). If you are concerned about your writing, or just want to improve it (a most admirable desire), I highly recommend you contact the fine people at the new GT communication center housed in the Clough Commons (<http://www.communicationcenter.gatech.edu/>).

**You must discuss your paper ideas as well as present a written proposal (topic, possible sources, etc) to me by February 24. Failure to do so will result in a 5% automatic markdown on your paper.** When you discuss your paper ideas with me, you need to bring them in the form of a question, i.e. starting with why or how. For example, do not simply come to office hours with the claim that you are interested in French strategy. You must come with specific why/how questions

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about French strategy. **Do not** wait until February 24 to meet with me. I will not schedule additional office hours on this day nor will I be available for appointments. If the line to meet with me on February 28 precludes you from seeing me that day, you will still lose the 5%.

Papers must be submitted using the Assignments feature on T-Square. Hard copies will not be accepted. Be aware that these papers will be analyzed using a plagiarism detection service.

Group Strategy Project: This is an opportunity for students working in small groups (3 members) to hone their strategic analytical skills. Students will 1) identify a strategic problem (this may be military/political in nature, but may also address economic, environmental, or societal topics) and 2) develop a strategy for dealing with the problem. In the process of developing the strategy, students **MUST** interview at least two individuals with applicable background/experience. Your deliverables are:

- a well crafted five-minute presentation that:
  - provides an overview of the problem and strategy to resolve it
  - Who you interviewed
  - Who you send your strategy memo to and why.
- no more than 1000 word strategy memo that clearly states:
  - the problem
  - the strategy
  - how the strategy addresses the problem, (that is, how does the strategy connect means to ends)
  - provides in an appendix (not part of the 1000 word maximum) the verifiable results of your interviews (that is, interviews are not anonymous, and I will check to ensure they were performed!)

As part of the memo, you will submit it to a policymaker or other decision maker of relevance (and provide proof of submission—this is not part of the 1000 word maximum). This may be one of the people you interviewed, or it may be someone else.

A basic grading rubric will be distributed closer to the presentation weeks.

Miscellaneous: Students are required to take exams and submit assignments at the scheduled time.

Students with excused absences will be able to take a make-up, but are responsible for arranging the time. All work for the semester should be kept until final grades are processed. Grades will be posted to T-Square.

Policy on letters of recommendation:

You must have taken at least two courses with me before I will consider writing a letter of recommendation for you. I will only write letters for students that have performed well in class, which means usually an A- or better in both classes, although I would be open to writing a letter for an individual who shows improvement from the first to second class (e.g. B or B+ in the first class to A in second class). Since a recommendation relies on personal knowledge, it would be in your interest to distinguish yourself in class. If I don't know you, I cannot comment on anything besides your course performance. Trust me when I tell you that a letter solely comprised of "Jim/Jane did well in two courses, receiving an A in both," hardly makes for a compelling recommendation.

Laptops in class:

Unless you have a *documented* learning disability that requires access to a laptop or other electronic device, no laptops, tablets, or phones are permitted to be used in class without explicit permission from the professor. Failure to abide by this rule will result in a zero for participation and the student being requested to leave the classroom.

Cheating and plagiarism:

Don't do it. I have a zero tolerance with respect to these activities. Cheating and plagiarism demean the efforts of others who put in blood, sweat, and tears to do well in the class. I will not allow the above-board work of honest students to be undermined by those who seek shortcuts. Cheating includes, but is not limited to, receiving unauthorized assistance on exams and asking another student to respond to clicker questions in your absence. The Georgia Tech Honor Code is available online: <http://www.honor.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=9>. If caught cheating, you will be dealt with according to the GT Academic Honor Code.

Students with Disabilities:

Georgia Tech is committed to providing reasonable accommodation for all students with disabilities through the ADAPTS program (<http://www.adapts.gatech.edu/>). Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent them from fully demonstrating their abilities should contact me as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate their educational opportunities. Students with disabilities must be registered with the ADAPTS-Disability Services Program prior to receiving accommodations in this course. The ADAPTS-Disability Services Program is located in Smithgall Student Services Building, phone 404-894-2564 or TDD only 404-894-1664.

Religious Observance:

It is the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty for the rescheduling of examinations and additional required class work that may fall on religious holidays. Please see me immediately if you will need to miss class at any point during this semester.

Add/Drop:

Please consult the GT academic calendar to make sure you observe add/drop deadlines (<http://www.registrar.gatech.edu/home/calendar.php>)

Course Schedule

Key: | ➔ Marks an important date, usually exam dates or assignment deadlines.

*Strategy*

Week I: Introduction to Strategy and War

January 11 |

- ✘ Introduction, Syllabus
- ✘ *Strategy* Chapters 1-5

January 13 |

- ✘ Howard, M. (1983). *The Causes of War*. (23-35)
- ✘ Clausewitz, Book I (75-123)

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January 15 |

- ✘ *Fighting Talk*, Maxims 1-4, 6-10

Week II: What is Strategy?

January 18 | **MLK JR. DAY**: No class

January 20 |

- ✘ *Strategy* Chapters 6-7

January 22 |

- ✘ Holmes – “Everything You About Clausewitz is Wrong”
- ✘ *Fighting Talk*, Maxims 11-15

Week III: Strategy Continued

January 25 |

- ✘ Betts, R. K. (2000). Is Strategy an Illusion? *International Security*, 25(2), 5-50.
- ✘ Elkus, Adam. “CSI: Pentagon – Who Killed American Strategy?”

January 27 |

- ✘ *Strategy* **Chapters 9-11**
- ✘ *Fighting Talk*, Maxims 16-21

January 29 |

- ✘ *Strategy* Chapters 12-13
- ✘ Edelstein, David and Ronald Krebs. “Delusions of Grand Strategy.”

Week IV: Strategic Success?

February 1 |

- ✘ *Strategy* Chapters 14-17

February 3 |

- ✘ Kagan, Frederick. (2006). “Measuring Success.” *Armed Forces Journal*.
- ✘ *Fighting Talk*, Maxims 22, 24-28

February 5 |

- ✘ Mandel, Robert. *The Meaning of Military Victory*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006. Chapters 1, 2, 4 (1-52, 75-96)
- ✘ Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Myers Marissa Edson. “Body Counts And “Success” In the Vietnam and Korean Wars.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25, no. 3 (1995): 377-95.

Week V: Psychology of Strategy

February 8

- ✘ *The Psychology of Strategy*, Chapters 1&2

February 10

- ✘ *The Psychology of Strategy*, Chapters 3&4

February 12

- ✘ *The Psychology of Strategy*, Chapters 5&6

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Week VI: Strategy in War: WWII

February 15 |

- ✘ *The Psychology of Strategy*, Chapters 7&8

February 17 |

- ✘ Gat, Azar (2002). *A History of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to the Cold War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Book 3, Chapter 4 (598-621)

February 19 |

- ✘ Gat, Azar (2002). *A History of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to the Cold War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Book 3, Chapter 5-6 (621-639)
- ✘ Cole, Hugh M. *The Ardennes: Battle of the Bulge*. (1965). Chapters 1-2, 4 Online at [http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/7-8/7-8\\_cont.htm](http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/7-8/7-8_cont.htm)

Week VII: Modern Warfare

February 22 |

- ✘ Biddle, Stephen. (2004). *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* Chapters 2,3,5

➔ February 24 | **Paper Meeting Deadline**

- ✘ Petraeus, D. H., and James F. Amos. *Fm 3-24: Counterinsurgency*. Chapter 1
- ✘ Phillips, Rufus. *Why Vietnam Matters*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press (2008): 305-314.

February 26 |

- ✘ **Paper workshop I**

Week VIII: Out with the Old? Cyber Strategy/Hybrid Warfare

February 29 |

- ✘ Samaan, Jean-Loup. "Cyber Command." *The RUSI Journal* 155, no. 6 (2010): 16-21.
- ✘ Farwell, James P. and Rafal Rohozinski. "The New Reality of Cyber War." *Survival*, 54, no. 4 (2012): 107-120

March 2 |

- ✘ Department of Defense Cyber Strategy
- ✘ Rid, Thomas. "Cyber War Will Not Take Place" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 35, no.1 (2012): 5-32

March 4 |

- ✘ Snegovaya, Maria. "Putin's Information Warfare in Ukraine." (2015)
- ✘ Schadlow, Nadia. "The Problem with Hybrid Warfare." (2015)
- ✘ Pukhov, Ruslan. "Nothing 'Hybrid' About Russia's War in Ukraine" (2015)
- ✘ Gibbons-Neff, Thomas. "The 'new' type of war that finally has the Pentagon's attention" (2015)

*Arms Control*

Week IX: Arms Control Debates & History

March 7 |

- ✘ Spear, Joanna and Neil Cooper. "The Defence Trade."
- ✘ Kaldor, Mary. "Beyond Militarism, Arms Races and Arms Control"

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March 9 |

- ✘ Grey, Colin S. *House of Cards: Why Arms Control Must Fail*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, (2001). Chapters 1-2, 7 (1-69, 179-214)
- ✘ Betts, Richard K. "Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe." *International Security* 17, no. 1 (1992): 5-43.

**March II |**

- ✘ *A Future Arms Control Agenda* (1999). Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Available at: [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=153](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=153). Chapters 1, 2, 6, 12, 15

Week X: Conventional

March 14 |

- ✘ Grip, Lina. "History Never Repeats? Imports, Impact and Control of Small Arms in Africa." *Contemporary Security Policy* 36, no. 1 (2015): 79-103.
- ✘ Waiss, Taya. "A Demand-Side Approach to Fighting Small Arms Proliferation." *African Security Review* (2003): 5-16
- ✘ Suchman, Mark C., and Dana P. Eyre. "Military Procurement as Rational Myth: Notes on the Social Construction of Weapons Proliferation." *Sociological Forum* 7, no. 1 (1992): 137-61.

March 16 |

- ✘ **Group Project workshop**

March 18 | Film

Week XI:

March 21 | **SPRING BREAK: No Class!**

March 23 | **SPRING BREAK: No Class!**

March 25 | **SPRING BREAK: No Class!**

Week XII: Small Arms Case Study

March 28 |

- ✘ Chivers, Chapters 1&2 (1-67)

March 30 |

- ✘ Chivers, Chapters 3&4 (68-142), optional: Chivers, Chapters 7-8 (263-414)

April 1 |

- ✘ **Paper workshop II**

Week XIII: Nuclear

April 4 |

- ✘ Sagan, Scott D. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996): 54-86.
- ✘ Fields, Jeffrey, and Jason S. Enia. "The Health of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime -- Returning to a Multidimensional Evaluation." *The Nonproliferation Review* 16, no. 2 (2009): 173-196.

April 6 |

- ✘ Case Study: *Britain and the Bomb* Chapters 1-2



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April 8 |

- ✘ Case study: *Britain and the Bomb* Chapters 5,6, and Conclusion

Week XIV: Chemical and Biological

➔ **April 11 | Analytical paper DUE!**

- ✘ Biological Weapons Convention
- ✘ Chemical Weapons Convention, Articles I-XVI (I-43)
- ✘ Ward, Kenneth D. "The BWC Protocol: Mandate for Failure." *The Nonproliferation Review* 11, no. 2 (2004): 183-99.

April 13 |

- ✘ Chyba, Christopher, and Alex Greninger. "Biotechnology and Bioterrorism: An Unprecedented World." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 46, no. 2 (2004): 143 - 62.
- ✘ Harris, Elisa D., and John D. Steinbruner. "Scientific Openness and National Security after 9-11." *Chemical and Biological Conventions Bulletin* 67 (2005): 1-6.
- ✘ Baum, Seth D. "Winter-Safe Deterrence: The Risk of Nuclear Winter and Its Challenge to Deterrence." *Contemporary Security Policy* 36, no. 1 (2015): 123-48.

April 15 |

- ✘ Shamai, Patricia. "Name and Shame: Unravelling the Stigmatization of Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Contemporary Security Policy* 36, no. 1 (2015): 104-22.
- ✘ Kenyon, Ian R. "Chemical Weapons in the Twentieth Century: Their Use and Their Control," *The CBW Conventions Bulletin* no. 48, June 2000, pp. 1-15.
- ✘ Hart, John and Peter Clevestig. "Reducing Security Threats from Chemical and Biological Materials." in SIPRI Yearbook 2010. Chapter 10

Week XV: Future of Arms Control and Presentations

April 18 |

- ✘ Schell, Jonathan. "The Folly of Arms Control." *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 5 (2000): 22-46.
- ✘ Larson, Jeffrey A., and James J. Wirtz, eds. *Arms Control and Cooperative Security*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009. Chapter 2 (21-38)
- ✘ Bohlen, Avis. "The Rise and Fall of Arms Control." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 45, no. 3 (2003): 7-34

April 20 | Presentations

April 22 | Presentations

Week XVI: Wrap-up

➔ April 25 | Wrap up/**Group projects DUE**

April 27 | Reading period

➔ May 4 (Wed) 8:00am - 10:50am