



INSTEP-WFU London

## THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA

### **Introduction**

This course is an introduction to Security Studies, a branch of International Relations that dates back to the beginning of the Cold War. During the Cold War, the security environment was dominated by the Superpower struggle between the US and USSR and the focus was on nuclear deterrence, the arms race, national liberation struggles and Superpower involvement in proxy wars in the Third World.

Since the end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization, the strategic agenda has changed considerably. The traditional focus on peace and war between states has been broadened to include the threats to international peace and security deriving from conflicts within states, from transnational actors – such as terrorist groups, insurgents and criminal organizations – and from environmental factors. It also embraces a more inclusive understanding of security that includes individual and societal freedom in terms of human rights and development.

While the state remains the most important actor in the contemporary international security environment, it is facing new security threats such as weapons proliferation, international terrorism and migration. The course explores how contemporary states have met these challenges and if they have been successful in preserving their citizens' security.

### **Course Outline**

Week	
1	Security Studies vs. War Studies
2	Conflict and Society: why people fight
3	The Evolution of Warfare: the technological imperative
4	Know Your Enemy: the role of intelligence in warfare
5	Information and Propaganda: influencing minds
6	'Small Wars' I: insurgencies and civil wars
7	Class visit to the Imperial War Museum
8	'Small Wars' II: how government's respond
9	Terrorism and Counterterrorism
10	Weapons of Mass Destruction: a meaningless term?

## **Main Course Texts**

Students are required to prepare for seminars by reading, at the very least, the set readings listed under each subject heading. Several readings are to be found in two edited collections:

John Baylis et al., (eds), *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 7th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

Hew Strachan and Sibylle Scheippers, (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

The class will also rely on documents from the instructor's archive.

### **1. Security Studies vs. War Studies**

Required reading: Baylis et al, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, chapter 1

What is the difference between security studies and war/strategic studies? What are the most significant security threats today? Do states remain at the centre of analysis?

Kaldor, Mary, *New & Old Wars: organised violence in a global era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999). Especially chapter 2.

Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 109-133, 503-523.

### **2. Conflict and Society: the causes of war and why men fight**

Required reading: Baylis et al, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, pp. 57-90.

How does warfare differ from other forms of violence? Are wars an inevitable characteristic of human society? How do states guarantee 'national security'.

Freedman, Lawrence (ed), *War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Keegan, John, *The Face of Battle: a study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (London: Bodley Head, 2014).

Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 27-47.

### **3. The Evolution of Warfare: the technological imperative**

Required reading: Baylis et al, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, pp. 37-56.

How has the character of warfare changed historically? Have technological developments dominated the transformation of warfare? How have doctrine and logistics shaped the evolution of warfare?

Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 333-353.

#### **4. Strategic Culture: the ways of war**

Required reading: Baylis et al, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, pp.91-106

Are armed forces defined by a unique culture? Does 'culture' influence how wars are fought? Do insurgents/irregulars have a fighting culture?

H. Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 431-445.

Boot, Max, 'The New American Way of War', *Foreign Affairs*, v.82, no. 4 (2003), pp. 41-58

#### **5. Know Your Enemy: the role of intelligence in warfare**

Required reading: Baylis et al, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, pp. 145-164.

Why is intelligence the 'missing dimension' in strategic/security studies? Are covert operations effective? Is political oversight of intelligence agencies desirable and possible?

Betts, Richard K. 'Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable', *World Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1978), pp. 61-89.

The instructor will distribute an appropriate document/s from his archive prior to this class.

#### **6. Information and Propaganda: influencing minds**

Required reading: Welch, David, *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion: from World War I to WikiLeaks* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 3-18.

What is propaganda? Is it effective? Is fake news new?

Cormac, Rory, 'Techniques of Covert Propaganda: the British approach in the mid-1960s', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 34, no. 7, (2019), pp. 1064-1069.

Wilford, Hugh, 'The Information Research Department: The Foreign Office's secret Cold War weapon revealed', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1998), pp. 353-369.

#### **7. 'Small Wars' I: insurgencies and civil wars**

Required reading: Kilcullen, David, *Counterinsurgency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-13.

Are insurgencies wars without end? Are successful insurgencies 'wars of the flea'? Are insurgencies winnable?

Fall, Bernard B, 'The Theory and Practice of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency', *Naval War College Review*, vol. 18, no. 3. Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7049&context=nwc-review>

Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 202-219.

## **8. 'Small Wars' II: how government's respond**

Required reading: Kilcullen, David, *Counterinsurgency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 29-49.

What are hearts and minds operations? Are they effective? Can the war in Afghanistan be characterised as all tactics and no strategy?

Hughes, Geraint, 'Demythologising Dhofar: British Policy, Military Strategy, and Counter-Insurgency in Oman, 1963-1976', *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 79, no. 2 (April 2015), pp. 423-456.

Smith, Simon C., 'General Templar and Counter-Insurgency in Malaya: Hearts and Minds, Intelligence and Propaganda', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 16, no. 3 (2001), pp. 60-78.

## **9. Terrorism and Counterterrorism**

Required reading: Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 134-148.

Is/was the global war against terror/the long war a coherent strategy? Does suicide terrorism have a strategic logic? Can terrorists be defeated legally?

Hoffmann, Bruce, *Inside Terrorism*, revised ed., (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); pp. 1-42.

Pape, Robert A., 'The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism', *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 3 (2003), pp. 343-361.

## **10. Weapons of Mass Destruction: a meaningless term?**

Required reading: Baylis et al, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, pp. 223-240.

Why do states seek WMD? Is the spread of nuclear weapons desirable?

The following website is invaluable: <https://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/nuclear-notebook/>

Albright, David, 'Proliferation Primer', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June 1993, pp. 14-23.

Central Intelligence Agency, *Prospects for further proliferation of nuclear weapons*, SNIE 4-1-74.

Stober, Dan, 'No Experience Necessary', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March/April 2003, pp. 57-63.

Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 91-108.

## **Assessment**

There will be in-class assessments based on participation, and two 2,500-word essays.

Grade distribution:

Mid-term essay (2500 words): 40%

Final essay (2500 words): 40%

Class Participation: 20%

## **Participation and Attendance**

Participation accounts for 20% of your grade. You will find it difficult to do well in this class if you are not prepared and do not participate in discussions and do the required reading. Therefore, participation means more than just showing up for class.

## **Some Guidance for Essays**

1. Consider the question throughout – how does each point you make contribute to an answer to this question.
2. Know what you are talking about – do not include technical terms, names, quotes from books, just to impress the reader – only if you find them useful to help you express your answer to the question.
3. Be critical. If you consider someone's idea or explanation inadequate, say so and why – do it clearly and simply.
4. Make sure your essay has a structure to it: i.e., it must have an introduction, middle and a conclusion. Start by explaining what the question means; outline how you are going to answer it. Then move onto the main body of the essay making your points and backing them with references. Finally, draw some conclusions.
5. You are not expected to write papers of *exactly* 2,500 words. This is a guideline, but papers that are *markedly* short of this word count are likely to get a lower grade accordingly.
6. Footnotes/referencing and a full bibliography are mandatory.
7. Format: all essays should be double-spaced.
8. Under no circumstances will students use encyclopedic websites like Wikipedia.

## **Essay 1: Choose One Question**

1. What factors should decision makers consider prior to using force?
2. Are the causes of war unique in each case? Is it possible to identify patterns of behaviour?
3. Which technologies have been useful for the conduct of insurgencies and acts of terrorism?
4. What are origins of strategic cultures? Which are the most important and why?

**Essay 2: Choose One Question**

1. Is it possible to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons? If so, how?
2. Why are counter-insurgency strategies so difficult to implement? Use specific examples to support your argument.
3. What are the characteristics of irregular warfare or insurgency? Have they changed over time?
4. Using relevant examples discuss the argument that intelligence failures are inevitable.