

POSC 129

National Security Policy

Spring 2009

Instructor: Mark Armstrong
Classroom: Lalumiere 232
Class Meeting time: M, W, F, 12-12:50
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Since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 there has understandably been an increase in the attention paid to national security within the United States. However, the concept of a formal national security policy is not a new idea. All countries have developed national security strategies that seek to identify core national interests and devise means of defending them.

In this course we will examine current threats to US national interests and how the United States can protect itself against them. We will also look at the process in which these policies are developed and examine some of the basic assumptions that make up this process: Do objective national interests actually exist? Can we identify them? What are they? If we can identify them can we then identify clear strategies that would protect them?

These are general questions, but in this course we will seek as much as possible to ground our analysis and discussion in the real world. As a result most of what we will cover in the course will consist of examining actual factors that have been identified by others as national interests and then asking these questions with regard to those issues.

The course is primarily a lecture course and the size of the class makes deviating from this format somewhat difficult, but I do want student input into the course and I will try to encourage debate on these issues. As will become obvious during the semester many of the questions raised in this course do not have settled answers that are widely accepted, but rather are sources of great debate both politically and academically.

The principle goal of this course is to introduce students to the core debates surrounding the issue of US national security policy. Students should come away from the course with an understanding of the processes that go into the development of these policies and also the main issues that are debated and the nature of those debates.

Reading:

Five books have been ordered for this course – four that are required and one that is recommended. (Note that three of the books are available free online.)

Dennis M. Drew and Donald M. Snow. 2006. *Making Twenty-first Century Strategy: An Introduction to Modern National Security Processes and Problems* (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press)

This book is the closest to a main textbook that we will use in this class. It is written for a primarily military audience and as such focuses more on the military requirements for national security rather than the political processes that also go into national security policymaking. That said, it covers

many of the key questions of we will focus on in this course and in particular it emphasizes the issue of the development of a grand strategy for national security.

This book is available online directly from the Air University Press – go to http://aupress.maxwell.af.mil/catalog/books/Drew_Snow_B104.html to download it.

Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffrey W. Legro, Eds. 2008. *To Lead the World: American Strategy after the Bush Doctrine* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press)

This is a collection of essays by some of the leading scholars of national security policy about the potential future direction of US national security policy. The book includes a wide range of different arguments and approaches and presents a good basis for debates about new national security strategies.

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. 2004. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton)

This is the report put together in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. It addresses the attacks themselves but also the buildup to the attacks, including the evolution of Al Qaeda in the 1990s and the responses of the United States to earlier terrorist attacks. The report also includes suggestions for policies going forward to develop more effective responses to the threat of terrorism.

This book is available online – go to <http://www.9-11commission.gov/> to download it.

General Rupert Smith. 2007. *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (New York: Knopf)

This is a recent book written by a former British General addressing contemporary changes in the nature of warfare. Smith's main argument is that threats to the main powers in the world today will not be from traditional military forces but will come more from militias, terrorists and other smaller groups – what is sometimes referred to as the “war of the people.” Smith argues that to ensure national security in the future, states will have to adapt their military strategies to this new reality.

Recommended reading:

Lieutenant General David H. Petraeus and Lieutenant General James N. Mattis. 2006. *Counterinsurgency* (United States Army and United States Marine Corps Field Manual FM 3-24, FMFM 3-24)

This is the core US military document on how to deal with insurgency warfare. It lays out the strategy and tactics that the military ought to employ when faced with this type of threat. Petraeus, of course, is now charged with putting this into practice in Iraq and Afghanistan.

This book is available online – go to <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24fd.pdf> to access it.

There are also several other readings assigned for this course. They are all available online and will be linked from the D2L page for this course.

A lot of the material that is covered in this course deals with military matters and we will read several military publications. The military often uses terminology that may be unfamiliar to you. If you come across terms that you do not understand this website may be helpful – the Department of Defense Dictionary of Military Terms – <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict/>

Finally, this is a political science course and as such you are expected to be reasonably conversant with current events that are relevant to this course. To this end you should read a newspaper that covers national security issues in a serious and detailed way. I would recommend the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Times*, *Los Angeles Times* or the *Christian Science Monitor*. All of these are available online if you do not want to order a hard copy.

Course Requirements:

There are three assignments for this course:

1. Mid-term exam: This will include both an in-class exam and a take-home exam. More details will be provided in class. (30 points)
2. Final exam: Like the mid-term, this will include an in-class exam and a take-home exam. Again, more details will be provided in class. (30 points)
3. Group project: The class will be split into groups to do a project for this course. You will be asked to develop your own version of the National Security Strategy. In the class we will read the most recent National Security Strategy from 2006. I will provide links to other NSS documents on the D2L page and we will read several pieces that consider future national security concerns. Your project will be to write your own version of a National Security Strategy dealing with current and potential future threats and outlining a set of policies to deal with them. You will also be asked to make a group presentation in class based on the strategy that your group has written. More details will be provided in class. (40 points – 30 for the strategy document, 10 for the presentation)

Schedule of Classes:

Note: This schedule may be subject to change, especially if events occur that merit our attention in the class.

Also, be aware that the readings that are listed below a particular date are the readings that you should complete for that class.

Jan 12: **Introduction to the course**

Jan 14: **What threats do we face?**

Drew and Snow, Chapter 1

Stephen Van Evera, “A Farewell to Geopolitics” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 1

Niall Ferguson, “The Problem of Conjecture” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 10

Jan 16: **National Interests and National Security**

Smith, Introduction

Drew and Snow, Chapter 3

Jan 19: **No Class – Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday**

Jan 21: **Liberalism and US National Security**

G. John Ikenberry, “Liberal Order Building” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 4

James Kurth, “Boss of Bosses” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 5

Jan 23: **Constructivism**

Nina Tannenwald. 1999. “The Nuclear Taboo” *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3

Thomas H. Johnson and M Chris Mason. 2008. “All Counterinsurgency is Local” *The Atlantic*, October 2008 (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200810/afghan>)

Jan 26: **National Security Policymaking**

Drew and Snow, Chapter 2

Jan 28: **National Security Policymaking**

Drew and Snow, Chapter 4

Jan 30: **National Security Policymaking**

Drew and Snow, Chapter 5

Feb 2: **The Military Aspects of National Security**

Carl von Clausewitz. 1873. *On War* (translated by Col. J.J. Graham) Book One, Chapter One (“What is War?”) and Chapter Two (“Ends and Means in War”) available online at <http://www.clausewitz.com/CWZHOME/VomKriege2/ONWARTOC2.HTML>

Drew and Snow, Chapter 10

Feb 4: **The Military Aspects of National Security**

Smith, Chapters 1 and 2

Feb 6: The Military Aspects of National Security

Drew and Snow, Chapters 6 and 7

Feb 9: The Military Aspects of National Security

Smith, Chapter 3

Drew and Snow, Chapter 11

Feb 11: American Power

Drew and Snow, Chapter 9

Francis Fukuyama, “Soft Talk, Big Stick” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 9

Feb 13: Soft Power and National Security

Samantha Power, “Legitimacy and Competence” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 6

David M. Kennedy, “Two Concepts of Sovereignty” in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 7

Feb 16: Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence

Frank J. Cilluffo, Ronald A. Marks and George C. Salmoiraghi. 2002. “The Use and Limits of U.S. Intelligence” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 1

Feb 18: The Cold War and the Development of a Formal National Security Strategy

Smith, Chapters 4 and 5

Feb 20: The End of the Cold War

Smith, Chapters 5 and 6

Feb 23: Post-Cold War Strategy

A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement, Chapters 1 and 2

Feb 25: What Threats Does the United States Face Now?

National Security Strategy of the United States, 2006, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 8, 10 and 11

Feb 27: State-Based Challenges to US Security

Dmitri Trenin. 2006. "Russia Leaves the West" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 4

Robert Kagan, "End of Dreams, Return of History" in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 2

Mar 2: Mid-Term Exam

Mar 4: State-Based Challenges to US Security

Drew and Snow, Chapter 12

Mar 6: Globalization and New Challenges to National Security

Stanley Hoffmann. 2002. "Clash of Globalizations" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4

Mar 9: No Class – Spring Break

Mar 11: No Class – Spring Break

Mar 13: No Class – Spring Break

Mar 16: Globalization and New Challenges to National Security

Charles S. Maier, "Beyond Statecraft" in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 3

Mar 18: Immigration and Border Security

Peter Andreas. 2003. "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the 21st Century" *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2

Mar 20: Terrorism – The Threat

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 1 and 2

Mar 23: Terrorism – Al Qaeda

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 3 and 4

Mar 25: 9/11

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 5 and 6

Mar 27: Terrorism and the Threat of WMDs

Andrew O'Neil. 2003. "Terrorist Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction: How Serious Is the Threat?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 1

Ashton B. Carter, Michael M. May and William James Perry. 2007. "The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No.4

Mar 30: Responses to Terrorism

9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 7 and 8

Matthew Levitt. 2004. "Untangling the Terror Web: Identifying and Counteracting the Phenomenon of Crossover between Terrorist Groups" *SAIS Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1

Note: During this week I will arrange a showing of the movie *The Battle of Algiers*. You should watch the movie as it will form an integral part of the course. If you cannot watch it when I screen it, the library has a copy that you can check out and watch and it is also readily available from Netflix, Blockbuster and other movie rental stores.

Apr 1: Responses to Terrorism

9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 9

Smith, Chapter 7

Apr 3: Afghanistan

9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 10

Smith, Chapter 8

Apr 6: Iraq

Smith, Chapter 9

Petraeus, Chapters 1 and 5

Apr 8: The Utility of Power

Drew and Snow, Chapter 8 and 13

Robert Kaplan. 2008. "Asymmetry at Sea" *The Atlantic*, October 2008, (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200810u/kaplan-iran-war>)

April 10: No Class – Easter Break

Apr 13: Counterinsurgency warfare

Smith, Conclusion

Edward Luttwak. 2007. "Dead End: Counterinsurgency Warfare as Military Malpractice" *Harpers Magazine*, February 2007, (<http://www.harpers.org/archive/2007/02/0081384>)

Apr 15: Ethics in the War on Terror

Petraeus, Chapter 7

Neta C. Crawford. 2003. "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War" *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1

Apr 17: Group Presentations

Apr 20: Group Presentations

Apr 22: Group Presentations

Apr 24: Group Presentations

Apr 27: The New Face of National Security – Homeland Security

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 11 and 12

Apr 39: Homeland Security

9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 13

May 1: Summing up the Course/Final Exam Review

Drew and Snow, Chapter 14

Melvyn Leffler and Jeffrey Legler, "Dilemmas of Strategy" in Leffler and Legro, Chapter 11

May 7: Final Exam, Lalumiere 232, 8am-10am