

POSC 4376/5376
National Security Policy
Spring 2010

Instructor: Mark Armstrong
Classroom: Lalumiere 216
Class Meeting time: M, W, F, 3-3:50
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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:

Three books have been ordered for this course.

Neyla Arnas, Ed. 2009. *Fighting Chance: Global Trends and Shocks in the National Security Environment* (Washington, DC: Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University and Potomac Books)

This book was written at the request of the Secretary of Defense by analysts working for the National Defense University. It sets out to examine potential national security threats that could arise in the near future. It represents the thinking of officials and experts within the national security policy-making bureaucracy.

Stanley A. Renshon. 2010. *National Security in the Obama Administration: Reassessing the Bush Doctrine* (New York: Routledge)

This book attempts to assess the national security threats faced by the United States and place the policy options within a broader theoretical framework – it is the most theoretical book we will read this semester. The author defends the Bush Doctrine as it evolved over the past eight years and argues (as others have as well) that there is a significant degree of continuity in policy under President Obama.

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.

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. In particular we will use an edited volume put together by the United States Army War College: *US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, 3rd Ed.* This is a two volume set, one focusing on policy and the other on theory. We will read chapters from both volumes. (Both volumes can be accessed from the Strategic Studies Institute at the US Army War College at:

<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/tags.cfm?q=USAWC%20Strategy%20Guide>)

We will also read sections from the US military’s counterinsurgency field manual written by General David Petraeus and General James Mattis: *Counterinsurgency* (United States Army and United States Marine Corps Field Manual FM 3-24, FMFM 3-24) (Available online at <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24fd.pdf>)

We will read some chapters from the *9/11 Commission Report*. This report covers the evolution of al Qaeda as a security threat to the United States and the build-up to and execution of the 9/11 attacks as well as presenting suggestions for how the United States should seek to prevent or protect itself against future terrorist attacks. (It is available online at <http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/index.htm>)

One further online resource that may be of use is a report put together by the National Intelligence Council called *Global Trends 2025*. This is an attempt by intelligence experts to predict possible future national security challenges that may occur in the next fifteen years. We will not read the report for the class, but it may prove helpful for students in completing course assignments or simply thinking about future national security threats. (Available online at http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html)

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/>

Note: Links to all online readings will be available through D2L

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 20: **Introduction to the course**

Jan 22: **What threats do we face?**

Renshon, Chapter 1

Arnas, Chapter 1

Jan 25: **National Interests and National Security**

Alan Stolberg. 2008. "Crafting National Interests in the 21st Century" *US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*, 3rd Ed.

Jan 27: Liberalism and US National Security

Janeen Klingler. 2008. "International Relations Theory and American Grand Strategy" *US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy, 3rd Ed.*

Jan 29: Constructivism

Arnas, Chapter 10

Nina Tannenwald. 1999. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use" *International Organization*, Vol. 53

Feb 1: National Security Policymaking

Walter H Leach. 2008. "The National Security Community Revisited" *US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy, 3rd Ed*

Feb 3: National Security Policymaking

Gabriel Marcella. 2008. "National Security and the Interagency Process" *US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy, 3rd Ed.*

Feb 5: National Security Policymaking

Peter Baker. 2010. "Obama's War over Terror" *New York Times, Sunday Magazine*, January 17th, 2010 (Available online at <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/17/magazine/17Terror-t.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=print>)

Feb 8: 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>

Feb 10: The Military Aspects of National Security

Smith, Chapters 1 and 2

Feb 12: The Military Aspects of National Security

Arnas, Chapter 2

Feb 15: The Military Aspects of National Security

Smith, Chapter 3

Feb 17: The Bases of American Power

David Jablonsky. 2008. "National Power" *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Vol. I: Theory of War and Strategy, 3rd Ed.*

R. Craig Nation. 2008. "National Power" *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Vol. I: Theory of War and Strategy, 3rd Ed*

Feb 19: 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 22: The Cold War and the Development of a Formal National Security Strategy

Smith, Chapters 4 and 5

Feb 24: The End of the Cold War

Smith, Chapters 5 and 6

Feb 26: Post-Cold War Strategy

A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement, Chapters 1 and 2 (Available online at <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/nss/nss-95.pdf>)

Mar 1: What was the Bush Doctrine?

Renshon, Chapters 2 and 3

Mar 3: Evaluating the Bush Doctrine

Renshon, Chapter 4

National Security Strategy of the United States, 2006 (Skim)

Mar 5: Great Power Challenges to the U.S.

Arnas, Chapters 12, 13 and 14

Mar 8: Mid-Term Exam

Mar 10: Developing Nations and Challenges to US Security

Arnas, Chapters 11, 15 and 16

Mar 12: Globalization and New Challenges to National Security

Arnas, Chapter 4

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

Mar 15: No Class – Spring Break

Mar 17: No Class – Spring Break

Mar 19: No Class – Spring Break

Mar 22: Globalization and New Challenges to National Security

Arnas, Chapters 5 and 8

Mar 24: Immigration and Border Security

Arnas, Chapter 3

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

Mar 26: Terrorism

Arnas, Chapters 6, 7 and 9

Mar 29: Terrorism

Renshon, Chapter 5

Mar 31: 9/11 and the Evolution of Al Qaeda

9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 2

Apr 2: No Class – Easter Break

Apr 5: No Class – Easter Break

Apr 7: WMD Proliferation

Renshon, Chapter 6

Apr 9: Developing a Response to the Threats

Renshon, Chapter 7

Note: During the week of April 12-16 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 12: Responses to Terrorism

Renshon, Chapter 8

Smith, Chapter 7

Apr 14: The War in Afghanistan

Smith, Chapter 8

Apr 16: The War in Iraq

Smith, Chapter 9

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) Chapters 2 and 5

Apr 19: 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 21: Developing National Security Policies

Renshon, Chapter 9

Apr 23: The Politics of National Security

Renshon, Chapter 10

Apr 26: Group Presentations

Apr 28: Group Presentations

Apr 30: Group Presentations

May 3: **The New Face of National Security – Homeland Security**

Arnas, Chapter 17

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 12 and 13

May 5: **Homeland Security**

Arnas, Chapters 18 and 19

May 7: **Course Review**

Renshon, Chapter 11

May 14: **Final Exam, Lalumiere 216, 1pm-3pm**