

Political Science: US National Security Policy

Semester Year
University of Notre Dame
Class Meetings: T/Th

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Office Hours: 9-10 Wednesdays; 5-6 Thursdays

Introduction

This survey course in contemporary U.S. national security policy has two basic objectives. Its primary goal is to provide a solid and fairly broad introduction to concepts, issues, and debates related to this critical area of public policy. The first portion of the course will address essential *background* information, such as interests, capabilities, standing and strategy. The second and larger portion of the course will focus on a range of *real and potential threats* to the U.S. national security. As we examine these many challenges, we will stop to consider several *responses*.

Given time constraints of this course, our treatment of U.S. national security policy must be selective. There are clearly additional subjects that could be included in each part of the course. The choice of topics is designed to demonstrate the diverse nature of security policy as well as identify many (but certainly not all) of the leading issues that challenge U.S. policy-makers today. In particular, the course draws a clear distinction between foreign policy and security policy, placing emphasis on real threats to the safety and survival of the United States.

The secondary course objective is to have some fun putting ourselves in the shoes of national security policy-makers without sharing their stress, perhaps with the added benefit of preparing, just a bit, for a career in public service. We will accomplish this goal in a number of ways, including mimicking policy maker discussions, writing policy briefs, and case study work.

Prerequisite and Recommendations

This is a fairly challenging upper level course designed primarily for POLS majors and minors with a strong interest in international politics. Students should hold a junior or senior standing. It is also strongly recommended that student complete the Introduction to International Relations Course before enrolling.

Good national security policy students keep up with breaking events. Staying informed allows one to make better sense of class examples and allows for richer discussion. Monitoring the news will also help students draw linkages between the course material and the "real world." Students are recommended to reference the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Chicago Tribune*, or the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Washington Post (go to <http://www.washingtonpost.com> click on “News” and then click on “Nation” and “World” Under “Nation” click “National Security”

New York Times (go to <http://www.nytimes.com> click on “U.S.” and “World”)

Class Format

Classes will be a combination of lecture and discussion. During lectures, students are encouraged to interrupt the instructor to ask questions or make comments about the material. Students should also be prepared to answer questions and offer opinions regarding class material. Regular and thoughtful participation will be rewarded. During discussions, everyone’s active and thoughtful participation is absolutely essential and expected.

During discussions, everyone’s active and thoughtful participation is absolutely essential and expected. To ensure the quality of these class periods, everyone is expected to do three things:

1. First, all assigned readings on the issue under discussion should be *read carefully before class*.
2. Second, *copies of these readings should be brought to class* as reference material for discussion and group exercises.
3. Third, some time should be spent prior to class *considering any questions or guidelines that the instructor may have highlighted at the previous meeting*.

Course Policies

Assigned Readings

There are no textbooks assigned to this course. All readings will be accessible through the course website on Sakai. Assigned readings should be completed before the class for which they are assigned.

Academic Integrity

All students must abide by the Notre Dame Honor Code: “As a member of the Notre Dame community, I will not participate in or tolerate academic dishonesty.” Details are available at <http://www.nd.edu/~hnr/code/docs/index.htm>. Please note that academic dishonesty (including plagiarism and unauthorized multiple submissions of work for assignments) will not be tolerated and will be punished severely.

Students with Disabilities

I am strongly committed to working with students who have any disability recognized under the Americans with Disabilities Act to ensure that they are able to fully participate in class activities. If you feel you require a “reasonable accommodation,” please follow the process through <http://www.nd.edu/~osd/>.

Classroom Ettiquette and Computer Policy

Students are to arrive in class on time. *Two tardy arrivals are equivalent to one class absence.* Students are to remain for the entire session unless excused by the professor beforehand or confronted with a serious personal emergency. Cell phones and other electronic devices that make noise must be *turned off* or set to vibrate during class. No one should talk while someone else is speaking. Overall, classroom dialogue and behavior should always be courteous, respectful of others, and consistent with the expectations set forth by the university.

Often laptops and tablets distract from classroom participation as students do non-class related activities while in class. However, due to the increasing preference for students to use electronic copies of articles and take digital notes, laptops and tablets are not banned. BUT, if the instructor catches students using laptops and tablets for nonclass related activities, she reserves the right to treat that class period as an absence for that student.

Makeup Exams

Makeup Exams will only be given in extraordinary circumstances. If such circumstances arise, please contact the instructor as soon as possible *and before* the scheduled exam. A missed exam without prior notification and a documented excuse will result in a zero for the exam.

Unannounced Quizzes

Thee instructor reserves the right to conduct pop quizzes if it becomes grossly apparent through class discussions that students are not completing the assigned readings on a regular basis. These quizzes will replace 5% of the participation grade.

Graded Requirements

There are three graded components to the course. First, *written exams* will be given at the midterm and final. The midterm exam is scheduled for Month XX and will be worth 25% of the final course grade. The final exam will be administered during the university's examination period and will be worth 30% of the final course grade. Each test will have a combination of short answer and essay questions. Prior to each exam, the specific exam format will be outlines, grading procedures and standards will be discussed and a study guide will be distributed.

The second course requirement is *participation*. Components of this grade include: (a) regular and thoughtful participation in class lectures and discussions, (b) regular attendance (no more than three absences). Failure to fulfill one of these expectations satisfactorily will significantly reduce the participation grade, which is worth 15 percent of the final course grade. General grading will follow the following scale:

A = regular and thoughtful participation

B = occasional and thoughtful participation

C = regular attendance, but little or no thoughtful participation

D = less than regular attendance

F = little or no attendance

The third course requirement is a *policy paper* of 8-10 pages. The paper is worth 30% of the final course grade. The paper should correspond to all of the guidelines summarized within the last portion of the syllabus. The paper is due during the last class meeting of the semester, in hard copy at the beginning of class. Late submissions drop one half letter grade (5%) per day late.

Summary of Graded Requirements

Midterm Exam 25%

Final Exam 30%

Participation 15%

Policy Paper 30%

Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

Week 1: Intro and National Interests, Capabilities, and Standing

Date 1: Introduction

No assigned readings

Date 2: Interests, Capabilities, and Standing

Sarkensian (2012) "National Interests and National Security" in *U.S. National Security: Policymakers, Processes, and Politics*, 5th ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Chapter 1

Mead (2004) "America's Sticky Power" *Foreign Policy* 141 (March/April): 46-53

Wallerstein (2002) "The Eagle has Crash Landed." *Foreign Policy* 131 (July/August): 60-68

Week 2: Grand Strategy

Date 1: National Security Strategy in the Post-9/11 Era and Force Structure

The National Security Strategy of the United States, 2010:

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf

Executive Summary of the Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2014:

http://www.defense.gov/pubs/2014_Quadrennial_Defense_Review.pdf

Date 2: Grand Strategy

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996/97): 5-53.

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge. "America's Security Strategy." *U.S. Defense Politics: The Origins of Security Policy*. New York: Routledge. Chapter 2

Week 3: Terrorism and the Global War on Terror

Date 1: What is Terrorism?

Hoffman (2006) "Defining Terrorism" *Inside Terrorism*. New York. Columbia University Press. Chapter 1

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

Homer-Dixon (2002) "The Rise of Complex Terrorism" *Foreign Policy* 128 (January/February): 52-62.

Date 2: How Should the U.S. Respond to Terrorism?

Byman (2007) "U.S. Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy" *Survival* 49 (3): 121-150.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Politics of Rage: Why Do They Hate Us?" *Newsweek*, March 13, 2010, available at: <http://www.newsweek.com/politics-rage-why-do-they-hate-us-154345>

Extra Credit Opportunity: View the Film "Dirty War" and write a one page response of how the U.S. could/should respond to this type of threat.

Week 4: Substate Conflict and Interventionism/Counterinsurgency

Date 1: Substate Conflict

Chenoweth and Stephan (2014) "Drop Your Weapons When and Why Civil Resistance Works" *Foreign Affairs* 93 (4): 94-106

Kuran (1991) "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in East European Revolution of 1989" *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

Date 2: Invention and Counterinsurgency

Edelstein, David M., *Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail*, *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer, 2004), pp. 49-91.

United States Army Counterinsurgency Field Manual, Introduction and Chapter 1: <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf>

Week 5: Afghanistan and ISIS

Date 1: Afghanistan

Stephen Biddle, Fotini Christia, and J. Alexander Thier. 2010. "Defining Success in Afghanistan." *Foreign Affairs* 89(4): 48-60

Country Profile by the U.S. Congressional Research Service: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Afghanistan.pdf>

U.S. Government Accountability Office. "Afghanistan's Security Environment." 2010. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d10613r.pdf>

Seth G. Jones. 2008. "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency." *International Security* 32 (4): 7-40

Date 2: ISIS

CNN, ISIS Fast facts: <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/08/world/isis-fast-facts/>

Gottlieb "Four Reasons ISIS is a Threat to the American Homeland" on The National Interest: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/four-reasons-isis-threat-the-american-homeland-11317>

Francis "The Islamic State Threat Comes to American Shores" on Foreign Policy: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/25/islamic-state-threat-comes-to-american-shores/>

Week 6: China

Date 1: China Rising

Country Profile: China from the U.S. Congressional Research Service: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

David M. Lampton. 2007. "The Faces of Chinese Power, *Foreign Affairs* 86 (1):115-127.

Esther Pan. 2006. "The Scope of China's Military Threat," Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, http://www.cfr.org/publication/10824/scope_of_chinas_military_threat.html.

Date 2: How should the U.S. respond to China?

Chong and Hall (2014) "The Lessons of 1914 for East Asia Today: Missing the Trees for the Forest" *International Security*. MIT Press.

Jonathan Spence. 2005. "The Once and Future China. *Foreign Policy* 146 (January/February):44-50. (Focus on Brzezinski-Mearsheimer debate.)

Aaron L. Friedberg. 2005. "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* 30 (2):7-45.

Week 7: Russia (and Ukraine)

Date 1: Resurgent Russia

Country Profile: Russia from the U.S. Congressional Research Service: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Russia.pdf>

Andrei Shieifer and Daniel Treisman. 2011. "Why Moscow Says No: A Question of Russian Interests, Not Psychology." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (1): 122-138

Date 2: How Should the U.S. Respond to Russia?

Ukraine crisis Timeline from the BBC: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26248275>

Charles Kupchan. 2010. "NATO Final's Frontier." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (3): 100-112

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexi Shevchenko. 2010. "Status Seeks: Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy." *International Security* 34 (4): 63-95

Week 8: NATO/EU

Date 1: The history and structure of NATO and the EU

The Origins of the North Atlantic

Treaty," <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/1.htm>

"The North Atlantic Treaty," <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/2.htm>

The North Atlantic Treaty, <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm>

History of the EU from Kingdom of Belgium:

http://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/policy/european_union/members_history/history/an_unprecedented_union/

Date 2: NATO and the EU for U.S. National Security Policy

Christopher M. Jones. 2006. "NATO's Transformation." In *Old Europe, New Security: Evolution for a Complex World*, Janet Adamski, Mary Troy Johnston and Christina Schweiss. eds. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited.71-84.

William Drozdiak. 2010. "The Brussels Wall." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (3): 7-12

Week 9: midterm

Date 1: Review

No assigned readings

Date 2: Midterm

Week 10: Nuclear Weapons

Date 1: Nuclear (Non) Proliferation

Scott D. Sagan. 1996-97. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security* 21 (3):54-86.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty <http://www.armscontrol.org/documents/npt>

Summary of Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

<http://www.ctbto.org/the-treaty/the-comprehensivenuclear-test-ban-treaty/summary-of-the-treaty/summary-of-the-comprehensivenuclear-test-ban-treaty/>

Date 2: Cases of Nuclear Acquisition

Boehlefeld (n.d.) "To Sanction or Not to Sanction, That is the Question: A Study of Contemporary U.S.-Iranian Relations"

Paul (2005) "India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia is Not Like Cold War Europe" *International Security* 30 (2): 127-152.

Week 11: National Missile Defense

Date 1: What is NMD?

Steven A. Hildreth. 2007. "Ballistic Missile Defense: Historical Overview." *CRS Report for Congress*, 9 July. <http://www.cdi.org/PDFs/RS22120.pdf>

Jeff Sessions, "Ballistic Missile Defense: A National Priority," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 2(2):22-30.

Date 2: Should the U.S. Continue to Pursue NMD?

Waltz (1990) "Nuclear Myths and political Realities" *American Political Science Review*, 84 (3): 731-745

Ivo Daalder and Jan Lodal. 2008. "The Logic of Zero." *Foreign Affairs* 87 (6):80-95

Week 12: Cybersecurity

Date 1: Cybersecurity

Wesley K. Clark and Peter L. Levin. 2009. "Securing the Information Highway." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (6): 2-10

William J. Lynn, III. 2010. "Defending a New Domain: The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (5): 97-108

Date 2: Cyber Defense/Attack

Zetter, Kim. 2014. "Inside Stuxnet, the World's First Digital Weapon," in *Wired* Available at: <http://www.wired.com/2014/11/countdown-to-zero-day-stuxnet/>

Perlroth, Nicole. 2013. "Hackers Attacked the Times for Last 4 Months," in *The New York Times*, January 30

Week 13: Environment and Energy

Date 1: Energy: Protecting

Energy Security Leadership Council. 2008. *A National Strategy for Energy Security: Recommendations to the Nation on Reducing U.S. Oil Dependence*, Introduction and Policy Recommendation Summary:

http://www.secureenergy.org/sites/default/files/936_A_National_Strategy_for_Energy_Security.pdf

Christof Ruhl. 2010. "Global Energy After the Crisis: Prospects and Priorities." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (2): 63-75

Date 2: Environmental Security

Marc A. Levy. 1995. "Is the Environment a National Security Issue?" *International Security* 20 (2):35-62

Schiermeier, Quirin. 2012. "The Kyoto Protocol: Hot Air," in *Nature* 491, pp. 656- 658

Week 14: Transnational Threats

Date 1: Pirates and Private Security Companies

Max Boot. 2009. "Pirates, Then and Now." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (4): 94-107

Avant (2007) "The Emerging Market for Private Military Services and the Problems of Regulation" in *From mercenaries to market: The Rise and regulation of private military companies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press

Date 2: Transnational Migration

Fiona B. Adamson. 2006. "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security." *International Security* 31 (1):165-199

Week 15: Grand Strategy Revisited

Date 1: Selecting a Grand Strategy

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996/97): 5-53.

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*; Executive Summary: http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/GlobalTrends_2030.pdf

Date 2: Review for Final; Policy Papers Due

Week 16:Final

Policy Paper Guidelines

Goal: Policy Papers address a significant national security problem by outlining and advocating a particular solution (i.e. policy, strategy, or plan) to a particular audience (i.e. individual, organization, or state).

Selecting a topic: Select a *contemporary* national security issue, and an audience that has a stake in the problem (i.e. the National Security Council, State Department, etc.). Use news sources to generate ideas. Paper topics can always be discussed with the instructor.

Policy Design: There are a number of ways to present a proposed policy solution, including:

1. Medical Model: what is your diagnosis of the issue, your prognosis for the United States, and recommended policy treatment?
2. Options Model: There is a widely recognized problem and several widely recognized potential options to address the problem. Discuss strengths and weaknesses of each alternative while making a case for the option you favor.
3. Difficult Problems Model: Offer an approach or series of first steps to begin addressing the issue
4. Discovery model: analyze the problem from the perspectives of the parties involved, and lay out complementary interests, and show which option offers the greatest benefit to all interested parties.
5. Principal Obstacle Model: focus on recommendations for overcoming the greatest obstacle to solving this issue or achieving a national security goal. This works well when dealing with issues that extend over a long period of time.
6. Active Opposition by Another Party Model: focus on overcoming the objections of an opponent to a current policy or problem. Find a way to bridge the gap, break the ice, or win over the opponent.
7. Pure Functional Model: recognize the common interests or goal of all parties and work backward to describe how to attain that goal.

Paper Specs:

- 8-10 pages in length, not including bibliography
- 12 pt font, double space with 1 inch margins
- you may use whatever citation style you like, as long as you use it properly.
- A bibliography containing at least 10 sources
- Free of grammatical errors, typos, misspellings, and mechanical errors (read it over!)

Grading: Papers will be graded on the quality of the research, the demonstrated understanding of the subject, quality of the analysis, quality of the overall presentation, degree of independent thinking, and use of evidence and reasoning to reach meaningful conclusions.