

U.S. National Security Policy

Political Science 424

Instructor: Dr. Thomas Preston

Fall Semester 2014

Office: 801 Johnson Tower

Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday 11-12

Or by appointment (335-5225 or tpreston@wsu.edu)

Class Time: Tuesday, Thursday 12-1:15p.m.; COLL Rm125

Course Description and Objectives

This course is designed to provide students of national security policy with a solid foundation in modern post-Cold War security studies. The first section of the course will focus upon a review of the traditional security studies literature, covering topics such as: the causes of international conflict, the nature of war and its conduct, and various theories regarding the use of force and deterrence. Both classic and contemporary works will be examined in order to provide students with an appropriate theoretical and historical background in U.S. National Security Policy. The second section of the course will explore a number of important issues in great depth, including: how applicable is deterrence and arms control to post-Cold War security; what is the appropriate use of force in conventional conflicts; what is the threat from terrorism to state security; what theoretical impact might nuclear proliferation have upon international politics and interstate relations; and does nuclear proliferation challenge or reinforce the predictions of realism? Throughout these discussions, an emphasis will be placed upon the implications these issues have for the formulation of U.S. defense policy - especially regarding defense spending, force structure requirements, and the adoption of different military strategies/policies. In addition, students will be involved in a policy simulation game lasting the entire semester in which they will become staff members in a National Security Council (NSC) working group addressing a problem area for U.S. national security. The final two weeks of the semester will consist of full-scale NSC meetings in which the working groups will report their findings and debate their security issue with other working groups. This is intended to provide students with a realistic policy experience mimicking that which they would have as actual members of an NSC working group.

Course Requirements

There are two in-class exams and a policy paper required for this course. The first midterm will cover Part A (sections I-IV) of the syllabus and the second midterm will cover Part B (sections V-IX). The exact times of the exams and their composition will be announced in class. This is a "writing in the major" course (M), which means that students will be rigorously graded on their written material and receive instructor feedback upon their writing in order to improve their writing styles. Although not required, students may submit drafts of their main policy paper to the instructor for feedback before submitting a final draft for grading. **The main writing assignments are: 1) a two page, double-spaced paper** explaining your policy topic and summarizing how you intend to write about it in your main policy memorandum; and **2) a 15 page policy memorandum (minimum length)** on a contemporary security policy problem (topic to be decided upon during class simulation early in semester). Information about these assignments will be handed out at the first meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) working groups to which students are assigned. **Students are expected to attend class, read the assigned readings, and participate in class discussions. Be aware that 10% of your final grade (a whole letter grade) is based upon your: general attendance and active participation in class discussions/simulation exercises.**

During the last two weeks of the semester, students will participate in a policy simulation, present their policy papers for group discussion, and receive feedback from President Marshall (chosen from outside of the class). **Note: Attendance is mandatory during simulation sessions.** It is the

student's responsibility (not mine) to stay informed about exam times and paper deadlines. If you miss class, arrange to get the notes from a classmate. Since you are adults, and should understand the concept of "responsibility" by now, you will be treated as such with regard to missed exams and late papers. Unless you notify me prior to a scheduled exam with a valid excuse, you will not be permitted to retake the exam at a later date. Leave a message for me in the Political Science Dept. or on my voice mail (335-5225) beforehand. Any makeups are solely at the discretion of the instructor. **Late papers - unless prior arrangements have been made with the instructor - will not be accepted.** The final grade breakdown is as follows:

Midterm #1 Exam	25%
Midterm #2 Exam	25%
Individual Policy Memorandum	30%
Overall Group Memorandum	
- Quality of Substance of Report	5%
- Quality of Presentation to President	5%
Active Class Participation and Attendance	<u>10%</u>
Total	100%

Required Texts & Readings

All of the reading materials below are required. Two books have been ordered for this course and are at the bookstore.

1. Thomas Preston. *From Lambs to Lions: Future Security Relationships in a World of Biological and Nuclear Weapons*. Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009.
2. Thucydides. *The History of the Peloponnesian War*.

All of these books are inexpensive and cheap, used copies should be readily available. I have also placed a number of handouts and journal articles/readings online at the WSU Angel website (<https://lms.wsu.edu/>), which you can access as students by clicking onto the course. These readings available on angel are denoted by an asterisk (*) next to the citation in your list of weekly readings in the syllabus. It is your responsibility to read all assigned readings (there will be questions on both exams from them). So, as a bit of helpful advice, let me tell you it is wise to immediately begin reading these early in the semester (along with the two books) rather than waiting until later in the semester when you will be slammed with getting your memos written! Understand that given I DON'T lecture straight from a book, you absolutely need to attend class and take notes in order to pass my exams! Don't make the mistake of thinking you don't need to attend class and can do well - you can't.

Code of Conduct

The University Student Handbook states that students have the right to freedom of expression but that disruptive behavior in classes will not be permitted. You are expected to participate in classroom activities in a professional manner. Private discussions with other students, passing notes, reading newspapers, disruptive eating, sleeping, or persistently arriving late or leaving early constitute inappropriate classroom behavior. If you demonstrate such behavior, you will be verbally warned in class to cease. If you persist in disruptive or distracting behavior, formal action, in accordance with WSU policy, will be taken. Expectations for student assignments and participation are set by the course syllabus and are not negotiable. Students who decline to fulfill those expectations should select another course.

Statement of Disability Policy

Students with Disabilities: Reasonable accommodations are available for students with a documented disability. If you have a disability and need accommodations to fully participate in this class, please either visit or call the Access Center (Washington Building 217; 509-335-3417) to schedule an appointment with an Access Advisor. All accommodations MUST be approved through the Access Center.

Academic Dishonesty: WAC 504-25-015 and WAC 504-25-315

Academic integrity will be strongly enforced in this course. Any student caught cheating on any assignment will be given an F grade for the course and will be reported to the Office Student Standards and Accountability. I encourage you to work with classmates on assignments. However the guiding principle of academic integrity shall be that your submitted work, examinations, reports, and projects must be your own work. No copying will be accepted. Students who violate WSU's Standards of Conduct for Students will receive an F as a final grade in this course, will not have the option to withdraw from the course and will be reported to the Office Student Standards and Accountability. Cheating is defined in the Standards for Student Conduct WAC 504-26-010 (3). It is strongly suggested that you read and understand these definitions. You can learn more about Academic Integrity on your campus using the URL listed in the Academic Regulations section or to <http://conduct.wsu.edu/academic-integrity-policies-and-resources>. Please use these resources to ensure that you don't inadvertently violate WSU's standard of conduct. “

Safety and Emergency Notifications

Washington State University is committed to enhancing the safety of the students, faculty, staff, and visitors. It is highly recommended that you review the Campus Safety Plan (<http://safetyplan.wsu.edu/>) and visit the Office of Emergency Management web site (<http://oem.wsu.edu/>) for a comprehensive listing of university policies, procedures, statistics, and information related to campus safety, emergency management, and the health and welfare of the campus community.”

Student Learning Outcomes

This course **is designed to train students to become well-versed in U.S. national security and defense policy**. Throughout the semester, student's analytical skills will be sharpened by in-depth classroom discussions and use of a simulation exercise designed to create a realistic policy formulation experience. Students will actively participate throughout the semester in a policy simulation and research/write a policy memorandum for the President which will be presented by their group during a mock NSC session.

Students will be evaluated on their command of the course lecture/reading materials in two in-class exams during the semester, on their writing/research/analytical skills in their 15-20 page policy memorandum, their writing skills on the provisional outline of the memorandum, and on the professionalism of their presentation to the US President during the mock NSC sessions. The learning outcomes for ALL students is for them to develop and hone their objective analytical abilities, develop a deeper, more sophisticated understanding of defense policy and national security issues, and improve their writing/presentational skills. This is intended to be a stepping stone to careers as a professional analyst in the government or business communities, preparation for the analytic demands of graduate school, and geared to improving the critical thinking abilities of students generally.

Resources Available on the Web:

There are a number of exceptionally good web sites on the Internet which have material on foreign affairs and security matters that will be very useful for this course. Below, I have provided you with a selection of some of the best sites available and, more importantly, ones that are reasonably credible. Do recognize that all sites will come with some level of bias, so as you gather information or follow events, you should always pay attention to see if other sources you look at corroborate (or dispute) the information (or perspectives on policy) you found at the original site. In addition, most of the sites below also provide sets of links to other sites that ‘they’ think are good ones – by all means surf around, but do be wary of other sites (i.e., make sure they have real data to support their assertions; aren't special interest groups beholden to particular points of view; don't slant (or selectively present) much of their information to support particular policy views, etc.). While such sites can be interesting because of their biases, as an analyst, you must be careful to corroborate you information. Don't merely stop looking for information when you find something that fits your own beliefs (you might be wrong).

Recommended Websites

Newspapers and News Organizations:	
Newspapers Online – link to virtually all of the world’s newspapers! Helpful for those looking for local (regional) papers in countries of interest.	http://www.newspapers.com
<i>The Washington Post</i>	http://www.washingtonpost.com
<i>The New York Times</i>	http://www.nytimes.com
CNN	http://cnn.com
<i>The Los Angeles Times</i>	http://www.latimes.com
<i>The Herald Sun</i>	http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/
<i>International Herald Tribune</i>	http://www.iht.com/frontpage.html
<i>The BBC</i>	http://news.bbc.co.uk/
<i>The Financial Times</i>	http://www.ft.com
<i>The London Times</i>	http://www.thetimes.co.uk
<i>The London Guardian – Observer</i>	http://www.guardian.co.uk
<i>The Economist</i>	http://www.economist.com
<i>The Christian Science Monitor</i>	http://www.csmonitor.com
<i>National Public Radio</i>	http://www.npr.org
<i>The Washington Times</i>	http://www.washtimes.com
<i>MSNBC News</i>	http://www.msnbc.msn.com/
<i>ABC News</i>	http://abcnews.go.com/
<i>CBS News</i>	http://www.cbsnews.com
<i>Television One New Zealand</i>	http://tvnz.co.nz/
<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	http://www.smh.com.au/
Itar-Tass News Agency	http://en.itar-tass.com/
<i>The New Republic</i>	http://www.thenewrepublic.com
<i>The Times of India</i>	http://www.timesofindia.com
<i>The Moscow Times</i>	http://www.moscowtimes.ru
<i>Pravda</i>	http://english.pravda.ru/
<i>Kyodo News Agency</i>	http://home.kyodo.co.jp/
<i>The Japan Times</i>	http://www.japantimes.com/
<i>The Jerusalem Post (Internet Edition)</i>	http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/P/FrontPage/FrontPage&cid=1002116796299
<i>AlJazeera</i>	http://english.aljazeera.net/English
Government Sites, Research Institutes and International Organizations	
DefenseLinks	http://www.defenselink.mil
U.S. Department of State	http://www.state.gov
U.S. Central Intelligence Agency	http://www.cia.gov/index.html
U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency	http://www.dia.mil/
United States Intelligence Community	http://www.intelligence.gov/
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	http://www.iaea.or.at/worldatom
Federation of American Scientists	http://www.fas.org
The Henry Stimson Center	http://www.stimson.org
The Brookings Institution	http://www.brookings.org
The Project on Defense Alternatives	http://www.comw.org/pda/index.html
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	http://www.ceip.org
Monterey Institute of International Studies	http://cns.miis.edu/
Congressional Research Service (CRS) Reports: Military and National Security	http://fas.org/man/crs/index.html
<i>2010 Quadrennial Defense Review (DoD)</i>	http://www.defense.gov/qdr/

<i>Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists</i>	http://www.thebulletin.org/
Center for Strategic and International Studies	http://www.csis.org
School of Public Health – John Hopkins	http://www.jhsph.edu
Center for Biosecurity – Univ. of Pittsburgh Medical Center	http://www.upmc-biosecurity.org
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)	http://www.sipri.se
The Washington Institute for Near-East Policy	http://www.washingtoninstitute.org
<i>Nuclear Iran</i>	http://isisnucleariran.org/
Federation of American Scientists	http://www.fas.org/index.html
The United Nations	http://www.unsystem.org
Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	http://www.ipcc.ch
USAF Institute for National Security Studies	http://www.usafa.edu/df/inss/
Aerospace Power Chronicles	http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil
Institute for National Strategic Studies – National Defense University	http://inss.dodlive.mil/
National Security Research and Analysis – Rand Corporation	http://www.rand.org/research_areas/national_security/index.html
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	http://www.iaea.org
The U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases - Fort Detrick, Maryland	http://www.usamriid.army.mil
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention	http://www.cdc.gov
The National Security Archive – George Washington Univ.	http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/
Military Full Text E-Journals	http://www.ndu.edu/library/ejrnل_military.html
Nuclear Control Institute	http://www.nci.org/index.htm
Arms Control Association	http://www.armscontrol.org/
Union of Concerned Scientists	http://www.ucsusa.org
Council on Foreign Relations	http://www.cfr.org/index.html
Natural Resources Defense Council	http://www.nrdc.org/contactUs/default.asp
Nautilus Institute	http://www.nautilus.org/
World Health Organization	http://www.who.int/en/
Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford	http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/peace/contact/contact.htm
The Middle East Institute	http://www.mei.edu/
The Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies	http://www.apcss.org/
James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies	http://cns.miis.edu/
The Center for Counterintelligence and Security Studies	http://www.cicentre.com/
The National Security Archive	http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/
Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI)	http://www.odni.gov/index.php
The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	http://www.nato.int/

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY: THE THEORETICAL & HISTORICAL BACKDROP.

I. The New Post-Cold War Security Environment: Introduction to security studies, international system change, new security threats, old dangers, and formulating new policy.

Week 1 (8/26, 8/28)

Required Readings:

*Nye, Jr., Joseph S. "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No.4 (July/August 2009): 160-163.

Optional Readings (not required):

*Nye, Jr., Joseph S. (1999). "Redefining the National Interest." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.78, No.4 (July/August), pp.22-35.

II. The Origins and Nature of War: Multiple causes and competing viewpoints on war (*Thucydides, Sun Tzu, Clausewitz*).

Weeks 2 & 3 (9/2, 9/4, 9/9)

Required Readings:

Thucydides. *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. (all)

Optional Readings (not required):

Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*.

Clausewitz, *On War*. Read Book One "On the Nature of War": Chapters 1, 2, 6, and 7, pp.101-138; 162-167. Also, Book Five "Plan of War": Chapters 1-6, pp.365-410. (These are very short chapters) .

Tuchman, Barbara W. (1962). *The Guns of August*. New York: Macmillan Company.

Keegan, John. (1998). *The First World War*. New York: Vintage Books.

SEPTEMBER 4th (Thursday) - FIRST MEETING OF NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC) WORKING GROUPS: Issue Areas for 1st Memo Project Assigned to Group Members.

III. The Evolution of Nuclear Deterrence Theory and the Utility of Nuclear Weapons: Deterrence thinking Hiroshima to Star Wars.

Weeks 3, 4, & 5 (9/11, 9/16, 9/18, 9/23, 9/25)

Required Readings:

Thomas Preston (2009). *From Lambs to Lions: Future Security Relationships in a World of Biological and Nuclear Weapons*. (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield), chapters 1-2, pp. 1-82.

*Keir Lieber and Daryl Press. (2006) "The Rise of U.S. Nuclear Primacy." *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 85, No.2 (March/April): 42-54.

*Lieber, Keir A. and Press, Daryl G. (2009). "The Nukes We Need: Preserving the American Deterrent." *Foreign Affairs* Vol.88, No.6 (November/December), pp.39-51.

*Sauer, Tom. (2009). "A Second Nuclear Revolution: From Nuclear Primacy to Post-Existential Deterrence." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 32, No.5 (October), pp.745-767.

Optional Readings (not required):

Bundy, McGeorge. (1982). "Existential Deterrence and Its Consequences." In D. MacLean, ed., *The Security Gamble: Deterrence Dilemmas in the Nuclear Age*, pp.3-13. Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Allanheld.

Powell, Robert. (1990). *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IV. Conventional Deterrence and the “Limited” Use of Force: From Clausewitz and Mearsheimer to the Gulf War.

Week 6 (9/30, 10/2)

Required Readings:

- *Major Gen. Robert H. Scales, Jr. (1999). "Adaptive Enemies: Dealing with the Strategic Threat After 2010." *Strategic Review*, Vol.27, No.1 (Winter), pp.5-14.
- *H.R. McMaster (2008). "On War: Lessons to be Learned." *Survival*, Vol. 50, No.1 (February/March): 19-30.
- *John Mueller and Karl Mueller (1999). "Sanctions of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.78, No.3 (May/June), pp.43-53.
- *Edward N. Luttwak (1999). "Give War a Chance." *Foreign Affairs*, 78, 4 (July/August): 36-44.

Optional Readings (not required):

- Mearsheimer, John J. (1983) *Conventional Deterrence*, Chapters 1-5 and 7-8, pp.13-164; 189-212.
- Harknett, Richard J. (1994). "The Logic of Conventional Deterrence and the End of the Cold War." *Security Studies*, Vol.4, No.1, pp.86-114.
- Cohen, Eliot A. "The Mystique of U.S. Air Power." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.73, No.1, January/February 1994, pp.109-124.
- *Kevin Woods, James Lacy, and Williamson Murray, "Saddam's Delusions: The View From the Inside," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006.

SECURITY THREATS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: OLD DANGERS AND NEW DILEMMAS.

V. How Much Is Enough for Security?: Defense budgets, security requirements, and politically-driven spending.

Weeks 7, 8 & 9 (10/7, 10/9, 10/14, 10/16, 10/21, 10/23)

Required Readings:

- *Andrew J. Bacevich (2011). "The Tyranny of Defense Inc." *The Atlantic* (January/February): 74-79.
- *Tim Kane (2011). "Why Our Best Officers Are Leaving." *The Atlantic* (January/February): 80-85.
- *Paul R. Pillar (2006). "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq." *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 85, No.2 (March/April): 15-27.
- *Chaim Kaufmann (2004). "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War." *International Security*, (Summer): 5-48.
- *Richard K. Betts (2007). "A Disciplined Defense: How to Regain Strategic Solvency." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.86, No.6 (November/December): 67-80.
- *Robert Jervis (2006). "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29, No.1 (February), pp.3-52.
- *Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr.. "The Pentagon's Wasting Assets." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No.4 (July/August 2009): 18-33.
- *Michael Crepon. "The Mushroom Cloud That Wasn't: Why Inflating Threats Won't Reduce Them." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No.3 (May/June 2009):2-6.

Note: SECOND MEETING OF NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC) WORKING GROUPS (Last half of class, Tuesday, October 21st): Progress Reports & Work on Memo Project Assigned to Groups. And, MIDTERM EXAM: Thursday, October 23rd)

VI. Nuclear, Chemical, & Biological Proliferation: The Nature of the Problem, International Efforts to Control Its Spread, & the Great Nuclear Proliferation Debate (Pro & Con).

Weeks 10 & 11 (10/28, 10/30, 11/4, 11/6)

Note: November 6th: General Policy Memo Outline Due.

Required Readings:

Thomas Preston (2009). *From Lambs to Lions: Future Security Relationships in a World of Biological and Nuclear Weapons*. (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield), chapters 3-5, pp. 83-330.

*Philip H. Gordon (2007). "Can the War on Terror Be Won?: How to Fight the Right War." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.86, No.6 (November/December): 53-66.

VIII. International Terrorism and Challenges to U.S. Security Policy.

Weeks 12-13 (11/13, 11/18, 11/20)

Required Readings:

Thomas Preston (2009). *From Lambs to Lions: Future Security Relationships in a World of Biological and Nuclear Weapons*. (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield), chapter 6, pp. 333-368.

*Marc Sageman (2008). "The Next Generation of Terror." *Foreign Policy* (March/April): 37-42.

*Bruce Hoffman (2008). "The Myth of Grass-Roots Terrorism: Why Osama bin Laden Still Matters." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.87, No.3, (May/June): 133-138.

Optional Suggested Readings (not required):

Hoffman, Bruce (1998). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

(MIDTERM EXAM: TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18TH)

Thursday, November 20th Meeting of NSC Working Groups:

*(Note - Final Written Reports by Individual Members of Workgroups Due to **BOTH** Instructor and Your Department Secretary on 11/20)*

THANKSGIVING BREAK (11/24-11/28)

(class attendance unexpected, unnecessary, & unfulfilling)

(Final Written Reports by Workgroups Due to Instructor from the 3 Department Secretaries PRIOR to class on 12/2)

Week 14 (12/2-12/4) - **NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC) Meetings**
(Simulation: Class Attendance Required)

Week 15 (12/9-12/11) - **NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC) Meetings**
(Simulation: Class Attendance Required)

Final Exam Week (12/15-12/19) – No Final in this Course!