

POL 348
Contemporary National Security
Spring 2004

Syllabus

Dr. Ken Menkhaus
Office: Chamber 2031
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T-Th 1:00-2:15
Chambers 2130
Davidson College

For the past half-century, the UN Security Council has dealt with the classic security agenda built upon common efforts to resist aggression, and to stop armed conflict. . . But while the old threats still face our global community, there are new things under the sun -- new forces arising that now or soon will challenge international order, raising issues of peace and war. . . We must forge a new agenda for world security, an agenda that includes the global environmental challenge. . . the global challenge of defeating drugs and corruption. . . the global challenge of terror. . . the new pandemics, laying waste to whole societies, and the emergence of new strains of old diseases. . .

Vice-President Al Gore, Opening Remarks to the UN Security Council, Jan. 10, 2000

Defending our Nation against its enemies is the first and fundamental commitment of the Federal Government. Today, that task has changed dramatically. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger America. Now, shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002.

This course will explore contemporary national security policies and issues, focusing principally on policies, debates, and security threats since the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 attacks. It will include a close look at conventional national security matters, but will focus as well on the government's efforts to broaden its definition of and strategies toward the new national security concerns which have emerged in recent years. The war on terrorism will feature prominently in this course but will not overshadow other security issues.

National security is an issue of tremendous importance. It is literally a matter of life and death, not only for American citizens and those serving in the US armed forces, but also for citizens of the rest of the world whose security can be dramatically impacted by US foreign policy. Providing security from external threats is seen as the first and most fundamental obligation of sovereign states to their citizens. We will focus primarily on the issue of national security from a US foreign policy perspective, but will also consider the notion of global security, the quest of other nations to define and achieve national security, and the relationship between US and global security.

Required texts:

- 1) Art, Robert, and Kenneth Waltz, eds. *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics* 6th edition. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.
- 2) Sarkesian, Sam, et al, eds. *US National Security: Policymakers, Processes, and Politics* 3rd edition Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- 3) Klare, Michael. *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. Owl Books: Reprint edition, 2002.

In addition, you will have reserved reading placed on the library website for this class. Those readings can be accessed from remote at your convenience, and read either on the PC or by printing them out. You may also be required to view documents and news on other websites.

You will be required to view several documentaries and films over the course of the semester. If you are unable to attend the evening viewing, it will be your responsibility to obtain the video to watch it on your own.

You are also required to stay actively informed about current news. We will use the *New York Times* as our base reference. The *New York Times* can be purchased at a low cost through the Davidson College bookstore; please subscribe. In addition, I will provide you with current news stories relevant to national security as they appear. They should be considered required reading. They will be provided either as photocopies, or as email attachments, or as additions to our electronic reserve reading.

Evaluation:

Review #1: 25%
Review #2: 25%
Review #3: 25%
Final exam: 25%

Numerical grades translate into final letter grades as follows:

93-100 A
90-92 A-
87-89 B+
83-86 B
80-82 B-
and so on.

Reviews #1 and #2 will be a combination of in-class tests and take-home essays. Review #3 is a take-home exam. The final exam will be a self-scheduled test to be taken during final exam week. Class participation will be assessed on the basis of your active involvement in class

discussions; this will be weighed by the quality, not the quantity, of your observations. Strong class participation may result in a final grade which is “on the bubble” being bumped up from, for instance, a B minus to a B. Otherwise final grades are calculated strictly by scores on the tests. College policies regarding the Honor Code will be fully enforced in class. This is especially important with regard to plagiarism; you are responsible for understanding and avoiding plagiarism. Ignorance of the rules regarding plagiarism will not constitute a valid excuse. When in doubt, consult me before turning in a take-home exam which might violate that rule.

Note the due dates for take-home exam questions. Late take-home exams will be penalized 10 points per day, beginning at the class period when the assignments are due. Take all precautions to save multiple copies of tests on computer diskettes, and periodically make paper copies of drafts. Computer and printer malfunctions will not constitute valid excuses for late work.

Office Hours

Monday, Wednesday: 9:30-10:30

Tuesday, Thursday: 2:30-3:30

Friday: 11:00-12:00

I will keep a sign-up sheet on my door so that you can reserve a time to meet with me. I strongly encourage you to use it. Use email for simple questions of clarification; office hours for more substantive questions and discussions. I will try to respond to email questions within 12 hours of receiving them.

Course Schedule

Part I. Introduction: Theories, Concepts and Histories of War and Peace

In this section of the class we conduct a brief overview of some of the most powerful competing theories which attempt to explain why wars occur, the nature of war, and why and how peace is maintained. Theories of war and peace are very powerful in framing national security policies and strategies, even if decision-makers are not explicitly aware of the theories they have internalized and which help define their worldview. Here, we will review key theories in the context of the particular timeframe in which they rose to prominence, linking them to the global trends and events which helped generate them. Theories are very much a product of their era, and theorists are greatly influenced by political events occurring in their lifetime. Note that theories are primarily designed to explain “why,” but that those “why” explanations very often have direct policy implications. Theories of war and peace are thus by no means divorced from applied national security policy. Think about the policy implications of each of the theories we explore.

Tuesday, Jan. 13: Introduction to the course: Defining national security, global security, national interest, war, and peace.

Read: Sarkesian, ch.1, 2; Kegley and Wittkopf, *World Politics Today*, ch. 13 (electronic reserve). Please also skim over the course of the next two weeks the following case study chapters in Art and Waltz: chapters 9-15 (about 100 pages, studies of key cases of wars from WWI through Vietnam. You should be generally familiar with all these cases, so we can make reference to them intelligently in class).

Thursday, Jan. 15: Classical theories of war and peace: Realism, idealism, and theories of imperialism

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 1, 3; Kegley and Wittkopf, *World Politics Today*, ch 2.

Tuesday, Jan. 20: The nuclear revolution and post-WWII strategies of deterrence

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 6-8, 12

Thursday, Jan. 22: Behavioralist and “levels of analysis” theories of war and peace: Political psychology, game theory, organizational theories, democratic peace theories

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 2, 14; Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision* (excerpts); Bruce Russett, “Preventing Violent Conflict through the Kantian Peace” (electronic reserve).

(note: Dr. Menkhaus will be out of the country from Jan. 23-31)

Tuesday, Jan. 27: in class film, TBA

Thursday, Jan. 29: in class film, TBA

Tuesday, Feb 3: Interdependence theories of war and peace: Globalization and regime theories

Read: Keohane, (electronic reserve); Sarkesian, pp. 30-35, and ch. 13; Friedman and Kaplan, "States of Discord" (electronic reserve); Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, excerpts (electronic reserve); Mason, "Globalization, Democratization, and the Prospects for Civil War in the New Millennium" (electronic reserve); Ferguson, "Think Again: Power" (electronic reserve); National Defense University, "Report on the Project on Globalization and National Security: Challenges of the Global Century" (excerpts, electronic reserve).

Thursday, Feb. 5: Greed and grievance theories of war and peace: Internal conflicts and warlordism

Read: Klare, ch. 8; Keen, *The Economic Functions of Civil War*, excerpts (electronic reserve); Menkhaus, "Non-State Actors" (electronic reserve).

Tuesday, Feb. 10: Political economy theories of war and peace: Resource wars

Read: Klare, ch. 1-4, 6-7, 9.

Thursday, Feb 12: Post 9/11 theories of war and peace: The "neoconservative" vision and its critics; theories of American exceptionalism; theories of terrorism and asymmetrical warfare.

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 5, 20; Sarkesian, ch. 1, 3, 4 (for chapter 1, just reread section on American values); Gaddis, "A Grand Strategy of Transformation" (electronic reserve); Mearsheimer and Walt, "Iraq: An Unnecessary War" (electronic reserve); Lobe, misc. articles from Altnet.org (electronic reserve); and selected pieces from the website of *Project for a New American Century* (to be announced).

Tuesday, Feb. 17: **Review #1 in class; take-home essay question handed out, due in class Feb. 24.**

Part II: US National Security Strategy and Policy Making Process

Thursday, Feb. 19: The product: National security strategy

Read: Sarkesian, 35-37; Art and Waltz, ch. 18-19; White House, *National Security Strategy*, excerpts, (electronic reserve)

Tuesday, Feb. 24: The tools: Instruments of statecraft and the "shaping" of the international environment

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 4.

Essay question due in class

Thursday, Feb. 26: Players in the process: President, Congress, and the NSC

Read: Sarkesian, ch. 5-6, 10-11, 16.

Feb. 28-March 7 – **Spring Break**

Tuesday, March 9: Players in the process: The military and DOD

Read: Sarkesian, ch. 7-8.

Thursday, March 11: Players in the process: Intelligence establishment
Read: Sarkesian, ch. 9; Betts, "Fixing Intelligence;" Deutsch and Smith, "Smarter Intelligence;" Klein, "Closework;" Dreyfuss, "The Pentagon Muzzles the CIA." (electronic reserve).

Tuesday, March 16: Players in the process: Interest groups, the public, and the media
Read: Sarkesian, 12.

Thursday, March 18: **Review #2 in class; take-home essay question handed out, due in class March 23.**

Part III. Contemporary Case Studies

Monday, March 22: Evening Film: Frontline, "The Gulf War: Five Years Later, Part I," 7:00-9:00pm, Room TBA

Tuesday, March 23: Collective security: The Gulf War
Discussion based on film
Essay question due in class

Wednesday, March 24: Evening Film, Frontline, "The Gulf War: Five Years Later, Part II" 7:00-9:00pm, Room TBA

Thursday, March 25: The Gulf War, continued
Discussion based on film; reading TBA

Tuesday, March 30: Peace operations and "operations other than war": The Somalia intervention
Read: Menkhaus and Ortmyer, "Key Decisions in the Somalia Intervention" (electronic reserve)

Evening film: Black Hawk Down, 7:00-9:00pm, Room TBA

Thursday April 1: Inside a peace operation: The Somalia case
Lecture and discussion only

Tuesday, April 6: The Balkans and the Kosovo Intervention
Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 16; "Kosovo" readings (electronic reserve)

Thursday April 8: Lessons learned/mislearned on peace operations and failed states in the 1990s
Read: Menkhaus, "Complex Emergencies, State Collapse, and National Security" (electronic reserve); Menkhaus, "Prevention" (electronic reserve); Art and Waltz, ch. 26-28.
Review #3: Take-home exam, handed out in class, due in class April 15

April 10-13 **Easter holiday**

Part IV: Contemporary National Security Challenges and Debates

Thursday April 15: Counter-terrorism strategy and debates after 9/11

Read: White House, “National Strategy for Combating Terrorism” (access on internet at: <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/strategy/>); Graham Allison, “How to Stop Nuclear Terror” (electronic reserve); and Art and Waltz, ch. 29, 32.

Review #3 due in class

Tuesday, April 20: Debates over homeland defense and the defense budget

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 31; *Protecting the American Homeland* (excerpts) (electronic reserve); O’Hanlon, *How to Be a Cheap Hawk* (excerpts) (electronic reserve); Roth, “The Law of War in the War on Terror” (electronic reserve).

Thursday April 22: Wars of Afghanistan, Iraq, and the new nation-building agenda

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 17; “Nation-building” readings (electronic reserve).

Tuesday April 27: Restructuring the armed forces; the revolution in military affairs

Read: “Reinventing War” *Foreign Policy* (Nov-Dec 2001) (electronic reserve); Ignatieff, *Virtual War* (excerpts) (electronic reserve); Metz, *Armed Conflict in the 21st Century* (excerpts) (electronic reserve); news clippings on RMA (electronic reserve).

Thursday April 29: Non-traditional security threats: Environmental degradation, underdevelopment, drugs, cyber-terrorism, and disease

Read: Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy” (electronic reserve); Barks-Ruggles, “The Globalization of Disease” (electronic reserve); Naim, “Five Wars We’re Losing” (electronic reserve).

Tuesday May 4: National and global security trends into the 21st century

Read: Art and Waltz, ch. 21-22; *The World in 2015* (electronic reserve);

Reading Day: May 6

Final exam week: May 7-12