

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
Public Policy 7050
National Security

Fall 2017

Day and Time: Mondays 2-4:30

Room: Monroe Hall 12

Email: phil@virginia.edu

Instructor: Prof. Philip B. K. Potter

Office: 261 Gibson

Office Hours: Wed. 10-12

or by appointment

DESCRIPTION

National security professionals must understand the mechanics of the international system, the motivations of the actors that operate within it, and the institutions that govern it. This class will explore the challenges confronted by US foreign policy makers and the approaches that can be taken to address them. Nation states remain the preeminent actors on the international stage, but a range of organizations and non-state actors increasingly challenge their primacy. How can we understand the interests and interactions of these various actors? What are their preferences and what are the limits placed on them? How can national security decision-makers shape international processes to improve outcomes? We will explore international security debates, institutions, policy options, traditional and nontraditional security challenges, and future threats. The course will meet weekly and mix lecture, discussion, group exercises, and invited speakers.

This course aims to provide:

- Familiarity with concepts and perspectives commonly used in the study and practice of foreign policy
- Analytical skills and enhanced understanding of policy analysis
- Writing skills
- Public speaking and presentation skills
- Deeper knowledge of an international issue of particular interest to you

In sum, I have three goals for you. First, I'd like you to learn something about how scholars think about foreign policy. Second, I'd like you to learn about how these processes have unfolded in reality and how policy is made. Third, I'd like you to learn useful skills that will serve you in your academic and professional lives.

REQUIREMENTS

Assignments and Grading (described in detail in separate handout)

1) Background memo	10%	500-700 Words	Due 10/2 (no class)
2) Analysis memo	10%	500-700 Words	Due 10/16
3) Actor interest memo	10%	500-700 Words	Due 10/30
4) Call for Solarium 2017	15%	500-700 Words	Due 11/13
5) Solarium Report	25%	2000 Words	Due 12/11
6) Solarium Presentation	15%		
7) Overall Participation	15%		

POLICIES

I try to make myself very available to students, and you should feel free to come talk to me. In addition to regular office hours I am happy to meet with you by appointment.

A reminder regarding plagiarism: don't do it. Confirmed cases will result in a minimum of a failure on the assignment and a maximum of a failure in the course. This will be in addition to any disciplinary action that the university levies.

MATERIALS

This course is primarily based on important articles, book chapters, mass media, and agency reports. All readings will be available on Collab.

As policy students and future policy professionals, keeping up with current affairs is not optional. We will often tie our discussions to what is going on in the world at the moment. Knowledge of current events will be assumed. In order to participate, you should try to keep up with the news. Media outlets such as the *New York Times*, *The Economist*, and *Foreign Affairs* may be a good place to start. Look for balanced perspectives.

SCHEDULE

PART 1: NATIONAL SECURITY, STRATEGY, AND DOCTRINE

8/28 – Introduction

- Syria Case Study - <https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/the-trouble-with-tanf-tactics-driving-strategy-in-syria/>

9/4 – Where do we stand?

- Baldwin, David A. "Success and Failure in Foreign Policy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 167-182.
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (Random House, 1987), Introduction, pp. 514-535, and Epilogue
- Barry P. Bosworth and Robert Z. Lawrence, "America's Global Role: From Dominance to Interdependence," in John D. Steinbruner, ed., *Restructuring American Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution, 1989)
- Jim Manzi, "Keeping America's Edge," *National Affairs*, No. 2 (Winter 2010)
- William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999)
- Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006)

9/11 – Doctrine, Strategy, and Grand Strategy

- Solarium Documents
- Kennedy, Paul M. 1984. "The First World War and the International Power System." *International Security* 9 (1): 7-40.
- Luttwak, Edward N. 1976. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*.

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

9/18—Hegemony

- Mandelbaum, Michael. The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World’s Government in the 21st Century (Perseus Books: 2005).
- Walt, Steven *Taming American Power*

9/25 – Intervention and its limits

- ICISS, “The Responsibility to Protect” (SKIM this, it’s long)
- <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>
- Kuperman, Alan J. The Limits of Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
- Power, Samantha. 2002. *A Problem From Hell*. New York: Basic Books. Chapter 10.
- Morton H. Halperin, "Guaranteeing Democracy," *Foreign Policy* No. 91 (Summer 1993)
- U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Staff Report: *Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973*, 94th Cong., 1st sess., 1975

10/2 – Reading Break

PART 2: THE NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

10/9 – The Department of Defense (Guest, Col. Patrick Donely)

- Kurth, James. 1971. "The Political Economy of Weapons Procurement: the Follow-on Imperative." *American Economic Review* 62 (1/2): 304-11.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 80-97, 143-157, 189-192
- Peter D. Feaver and Richard Kohn, “The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians and their Mutual Misunderstanding,” *National Interest* No.61 (Fall 2000)
- Stephen Biddle, “Afghanistan’s Legacy: Emerging Lessons of an Ongoing War,” *Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (Summer 2014)

10/16 – Intelligence

- Halperin and Clapp with Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, chaps. 8, 9
- Richard K. Betts, “Two Faces of Intelligence Failure: September 11 and Iraq’s Missing WMD,” *Political Science Quarterly* 122, no. 4 (Winter 2007-08)
- U.S. House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Iran: Evaluation of U.S. Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978, Staff Report, January 1979.
- John Horton, “Mexico, The Way of Iran?” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 1, no. 2 (1986)
- Nigel Inkster, “The Snowden Revelations: Myths and Misapprehensions,” *Survival* 56, no. 1 (February-March 2014)

10/23 – Post WWII Institutions and the material foundations of national security

- Sachs, Jeffrey D. “Memorandum: How to Run the IMF,” *Foreign Policy* (2004): 60-64.

- Malone, David. "Introduction" in Malone, ed., *The UN Security Council* (Lynne Reinner, 2004), 1-13.
- "The International Legal System," Selection from Rourke, John T. *International Politics on the World Stage* NY: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill: 311-19.
- Alvarez, Jose. "International Organizations: Then and Now," *American Journal of International Law*, 100 (April 2006), pp 324-347
- ICRC Report on International Law (SKIM, this one is long)
[http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/p0703/\\$File/ICRC_002_0703.PDF](http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/p0703/$File/ICRC_002_0703.PDF)

10/30 – The NSC, Interagency, and Strategic Planning

- Aaron L. Friedberg, "Strengthening U.S. Strategic Planning," *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2007-08, pp. 47-60.
- I.M. Destler, "Review Essay: The Power Brokers: An Uneven History of the National Security Council," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2005, pp. 155-160.
- George T. Raach and Ilana Kass, "National Power and the Interagency Process," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Summer 1995, pp. 8-13.
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy* No. 7 (Summer 1972)
- Rothkopf, David J. "Inside the Committee that Runs the World," *Foreign Policy* March/April 2005: 30-40.

PART 3: THREATS AND ADVERSARIES

11/6 – China + DELPHI METHOD EXERCISE

- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Power and Interdependence," in Richard K. Betts, ed.,
- *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, 4th Edition (Pearson-Longman, 2008)
- Robert Gilpin, "Hegemonic War and International Change," in Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War*
- G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West," *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 1 (January/February 2008)

11/13 – Proliferation, North Korea and Iran

- Readings TBA (available on Collab)

11/20 – NSAs and Unconventional Threats

- Enders, Walter, and Todd Sandler. 2006. *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. New York: Cambridge University Press (selections).
- *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (W.W. Norton, n.d. [2004]), chap. 11
- Richard A. Posner, "The 9/11 Report: A Dissent," *New York Times Book Review*, August 29, 2004
- John Mueller, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (Free Press, 2006), Introduction and chap. 1
- P.W. Singer and Allan Friedman, *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar* (Oxford University Press, 2014), Part II (pp. 67-165)

11/27 – Russia

- John J. Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (September/October 2014)
- Eliot Cohen, “The ‘Kind of Thing’ Crisis,” *American Interest* 10, no. 3 (January/February 2015)
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon and Schuster, 1996) (selections).

12/4 – SOLARIUM EXERCISE

- <https://www.rose-hulman.edu/~pickett/solarium04.html>
- <http://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/interagencyQNSR.pdf>
- <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2013/07/18/american-foreign-policy-obama-should-summon-his-own-project-solarium/>
- <https://warontherocks.com/2015/06/a-solarium-exercise-in-strategic-choice/>