

POL 345
NATIONAL SECURITY

Professor Marina E. Henke
Northwestern University
Fall 2015

Course Description: This course invites students to think social-scientifically about questions of national security. What are the causes of war? What are possible paths to peace? How do state, sub-state and non-state-actors use violence or the threat of it? How has U.S. *Grand Strategy* evolved over the past century? What are momentarily the most pressing national security challenges? What tools exist to counter these challenges? The course will examine these questions using a variety of different theoretical frameworks as well as analytical techniques. The first part of the course provides an historical perspective on U.S. national security challenges: what were the causes of WW1, WW2 and the Cold War? How did these events shape U.S. national security doctrine? The second part examines topics of national security that gained prominence particularly after the end of the Cold War e.g., ethnic and civil wars, terrorism, nuclear proliferation, humanitarian interventions and economic sanctions. The third part offers a geographical overview of today's most demanding security challenges. We will study conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Eurasia and their impact on U.S. national security considerations. Finally, we will look at "non-traditional" security challenges such as cyber, human and environmental security.

The key objective of this course is to give students the conceptual tools to understand *theory* and *policy outcomes* associated with national security (American or otherwise). Students will be encouraged to learn how to think and write along these two 'tracks' simultaneously. By the end of the course, students should be able to employ basic theoretical concepts to analyze national security policy as well as become critical consumers of policy and journalistic writing on the subject. Students are expected to stay current with foreign policy developments by reading a major newspaper (i.e., *Financial Times*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, or *Washington Post* will also do).

Class Requirements: Lectures are given Tuesdays and Thursday from 11:00AM to 12:20 PM in the Abbott Auditorium (Pancoe Building). Sections will meet weekly for 50 minutes on Thursday afternoon and Friday morning. There will be two in-class midterm exams and a take-home final exam. The final exam will be posted on Canvas on November 30 at 9:00AM, and will have to be submitted via Canvas on December 7 at 9:00AM. The midterm exams will include essay questions. The final exam will focus on the formulation of policy responses. In addition to the exams, each student will also complete two short (two-page/approx. 500 words) written assignments during the term, to be submitted to all students in the section. These *response papers* focus on the assigned readings of this class. They are designed to help students develop skills needed for the examination, and to provide students with regular feedback.

Research Study Participation Requirement: Students enrolled in this course are required to complete a research assignment that can include up to 4 hours of research study participation. These studies require that students set up an appointment to complete

participation at a laboratory on campus (or via an on-line survey). Students will learn how studies are conducted and will receive a synopsis at the conclusion of the quarter describing the study's goal, result, and relevance to the class. Students who prefer not to participate in research as subject may opt for an alternative that entails reading any one chapter about political science research and writing a five page reaction paper. The typical chapter is about 20 pages and thus reading it and writing a five page paper should take approximately four hours. During the first week of the quarter, students will receive an e-mail asking them whether they prefer study participation or the alternative assignment. The e-mail will also include details on how to complete either requirement. Failure to complete the requirement during the quarter will result in an incomplete. Failure to complete the requirement during the following quarter will result in a failing grade for the class. Note that if you are enrolled in multiple classes that require participation, you only need to satisfy the requirement one time. Also, if you already completed the requirement in another course in a previous quarter, you are excused from the requirement.

Readings: All course readings are available on Canvas. If a hyperlink is provided on the syllabus, please follow that link to access the reading. If a reading is unavailable, please contact your teaching assistant.

Course website: Essential course materials, including the course syllabus, lecture handouts, section information, readings, and course-related links can be found on Canvas. Important announcements will also be made via Canvas. Students are responsible for keeping up to date.

Contact Information for Professor: Professor Henke's office is Scott Hall 207. She may be reached at marina.henke@northwestern.edu. Her office hours are Tuesday 2-4pm. She encourages students to come to her office hours whenever the need arises. Biographical information can be found on the course website.

Contact Information for Section Leaders: The teaching assistants (TAs) for this class are:

Lena Trabucco (MLenaTrabucco2019@u.northwestern.edu),
Andrew Day (AndrewDay2019@u.northwestern.edu),
Buddhika 'Jay' Jayamaha (jayamaha@u.northwestern.edu)

The head TA is Jay Jayamaha. All questions concerning course policies should be directed to him. Office hours and biographical information can be found on the course website.

Grading Policy: The final exam will count for 40% of your final grade, the two mid-term exams for 30%, and fully prepared section participation (including written work) for 30%. Grading of exams and papers will be done by the section leaders with participation of faculty to ensure uniformity across sections. Section leaders are not permitted to change any grade – except in the case of a simple arithmetic error. Under any circumstance, a grade can be changed only if the exam or paper in question is re-graded by the professor (or by an outside professor), without knowledge of the previous grade and with full possibility of the grade rising or declining. Any student who wishes to invoke this option must contact one of the TAs and submit in writing the reasons the student believes that reconsideration is justified in

this specific case. Late final exams will be penalized 1/3 grade per half-day or any part thereof. In other words, a B+ becomes a B if it is up to 12 hours late, beginning at the moment it is due. Technical problems are the responsibility of the student. Students who fail to take the midterms or the final exam without a documented excuse (e.g., a formal doctor's note) automatically fail the course. Attendance counts towards the section participation grade. Any student who is absent from three or more sections without documented excuse automatically fails the course. Any excuse based on a mitigating circumstance known to the student before the deadline or session in question is invalid unless it is approved in advance by the student's TA or the professor. Be sure to familiarize yourself with university rules regarding cheating and plagiarism. These are available at <http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies/academic-integrity/full-policy.pdf>. Laptop usage is allowed during lecture but only to take notes. Students are not allowed to surf the internet. All cellphones must be turned off.

SUMMARY OF KEY DATES

Midterm 1:	October, 6
Midterm 2:	October, 29
Final:	November, 30 - December, 7

LECTURES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Lecture</u>
T 9/22	Introduction
Th 9/24	World War I
T 9/29	World War II
Th 10/1	The Cold War
T 10/6	<i>Midterm 1</i>
Th 10/8	Ethnic and Civil War
T 10/13	9/11 and Terrorism
Th 10/15	Military Interventions, Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement
T 10/20	Nuclear Weapons and Non-Proliferation
Th 10/22	International Organizations and Collective Security
T 10/27	Economic Sanctions
Th 10/29	<i>Midterm 2</i>
T 11/3	China and South-East Asia
Th 11/5	The Rise of ISIS
T 11/10	The Iran Conundrum
Th 11/12	Russia and the Caucasus
T 11/17	Conflict in Africa
Th 11/19	Europe and Transatlantic Security Cooperation
T 11/24	Conclusions and New Security Challenges Ahead

READINGS

T 9/22	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Hans Morgenthau, “A Realist Theory of International Politics,” <i>Politics among Nations</i>, 3rd ed. (1960), pp. 3-17.</p> <p>Andrew Moravcsik, “Liberal Theories of International Relations,” mimeo</p> <p>John T. Rourke, “Foreign Policy,” in Rourke, <i>International Relations on the World Stage</i> 11th edition (McGraw-Hill, 2007), selections. pp. 63-76.</p> <p>Robert Keohane, "Neo-Liberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics," in Keohane, ed. <i>International Institutions and State Power</i> (1989), pp. 1-7.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>U.S. National Security Strategy (February 2015): https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/02/06/fact-sheet-2015-national-security-strategy</p>
TH 9/24	<p>WORLD WAR I</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Robert Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma” (1978) reprinted and abridged edition, pp. 312-29.</p> <p>James Fearon, “Rationalist Explanations for War,” <i>International Organization</i> (Summer 1995), pp. 379-414.</p> <p>Dani Reiter, “Exploring the Bargaining Model of War,” <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> (March 2003), pp. 27-43. (pp. 30-37 top of the page are assigned. You may read pp. 27-30 for a review of the bargaining theory of war, and p. 37 on future research).</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Henry Kissinger, “A Political Doomsday Machine,” in <i>Diplomacy</i> (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp.168-217.</p>
T 9/29	<p>WORLD WAR II</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Wilhelm Deist, “The Road to Ideological War: Germany, 1918-1945,” <i>The Making of Strategy</i>, pp. 380-392.</p>

	<p>AJP Taylor. "Second Thoughts," <i>The Origins of the Second World War</i> (1961), pp. 3-9.</p> <p>Scott D. Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," <i>The Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i>, 18:4 (Spring 1988), pp. 893-914.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Henry Kissinger, <i>Diplomacy</i>, "The End of Illusion," "The Nazi-Soviet Pact" (selections <u>only</u>), pp. 288-318, 350-355, 365-368. (38 pp.)</p>
TH 10/1	<p>THE COLD WAR</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Melvyn Leffler, "National Security and US Foreign Policy," <i>The Origins of the Cold War</i> (New York, 2005), pp. 15-32.</p> <p>George Kennan, "Sources of Soviet Conduct," <i>American Diplomacy</i> (1951), pp.89-90, 95-106.</p> <p>Robert English, "The Sociology of New Thinking: Elites, Identity Change, and the End of the Cold War," <i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i> 7 (2) 2005, pp. 43-80.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Henry Kissinger, <i>Diplomacy</i>, "The Beginning of the Cold War," "The Success and the Pain of Containment," and "The Dilemma of Containment: The Korean War" (selections), pp. 423-472, 473-483.</p> <p>Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas," <i>International Security</i>, (Winter 2000/2001), pp.5-53.</p> <p><u>Documents:</u></p> <p>"April 17, 1950 Summary of NSC-68", pp. 1-6.</p> <p>The Novikov Telegram, Sept. 27, 1946.</p>
T 10/6	<p>MIDTERM 1</p>
TH 10/8	<p>ETHNIC AND CIVIL WAR</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." <i>International Organization</i> 54.04 (2000), pp. 845-877.</p> <p>Monica Duffy Toft, "Ending Civil Wars: A Case For Rebel Victory?" <i>International Security</i> 34.4 (2010), pp. 7-36.</p>

	<p><u>Watch History Channel documentary on Rwanda “Do Scars ever fade?”:</u> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vheo1mwEcv0</p> <p><u>Watch BBC documentary on the breakup of Yugoslavia (Part I is mandatory all other parts are optional):</u> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xkg4tVCYuNA</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Barbara F Walter, <i>Committing To Peace: The Successful Settlement Of Civil Wars</i>. Princeton University Press, 2002.</p> <p>Dara Kay Cohen, "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 107.03 (2013), pp. 461-477.</p>
T 10/13	<p>9/11 AND TERRORISM</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." <i>International Security</i> Vol. 31, No.1, (2006), pp. 49-80.</p> <p>Lawrence Wright, <i>Looming Towers (2006)</i>, Chapters 1, 6 and 7 “The Martyr,” “The Base” and “Return of the Hero.”</p> <p>David Kilcullen, <i>The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars In The Midst Of A Big One</i>. Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 28-38</p> <p><u>Watch PBS documentary on 9/11 and Al-Qaeda:</u> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lagdeg1Bz5E</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>9/11 Commission Report (Chapter 2): http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/index.htm</p> <p>Robert Pape, <i>Dying to Win</i> (2005), pp.16-24, 27-33, 38-47.</p> <p>Louise Richardson, <i>What Terrorists Want: Understanding The Enemy, Containing The Threat</i>. Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2007.</p>

TH 10/15	<p>MILITARY INTERVENTIONS, PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Chaim Kaufmann, “Threat Inflation And The Failure Of The Marketplace Of Ideas: The Selling Of The Iraq War,” <i>International Security</i> 29.1 (2004), pp. 5-48.</p> <p>Jon Western, “Sources of Humanitarian Intervention,” <i>International Security</i>, 26.4 (Spring 2002), pp. 112-142.</p> <p>S��verine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: frames, local violence, and international intervention, " <i>International Organization</i> 63.02 (2009), pp. 249-280.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Virginia Page Fortna, <i>Does Peacekeeping Work?: Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War</i>. Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 76-103</p>
T 10/20	<p>NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NON-PROLIFERATION</p> <p><u>Readings :</u></p> <p>Sagan, Scott D. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb." <i>International Security</i> 21.3 (1996), pp. 54-86.</p> <p>Thomas Schelling, “The Manipulation of Risk,” in <i>Arms and Influence</i> (1966), p.94 (bottom of page “There is just no foreseeable route ...”) to p.105 (top of page).</p> <p>Sagan, Scott and Kenneth Waltz “Nuclear Zero Prophecies” <i>The National Interest</i> (2010). Read all 4 parts of the debate.</p> <p><u>Watch Movie “Thirteen Days” (available on Canvas)</u></p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Robert Jervis, <i>The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon</i>, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). chs. 1-3 and 5.</p> <p>Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States And The Normative Basis Of Nuclear Non-Use." <i>International Organization</i> 53.03 (1999), pp. 433-468.</p>

<p>TH 10/22</p>	<p>INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Hurd, Ian. "Legitimacy, Power, And The Symbolic Life Of The UN Security Council." <i>Global Governance</i> 8 (2002), pp. 35.</p> <p>Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins Of The UN Security Council's Ability To Legitimize The Use Of Force." <i>International Organization</i> 59.03 (2005), pp. 527-557.</p> <p><u>Watch documentary on the creation of the International Criminal Court:</u> https://vimeo.com/7705689</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>David L. Bosco, <i>Five To Rule Them All: The UN Security Council And The Making Of The Modern World</i> (Oxford University Press, 2009).\</p> <p>William A. Schabas, <i>An Introduction to the International Criminal Court</i> (Fourth Edition, 2011), Chapters 1 and 2</p>
<p>T 10/27</p>	<p>ECONOMIC SANCTIONS</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Daniel Yergin, "The Oil Weapon" and "Bidding for Our Life", in <i>The Prize: The Quest for Oil, Money and Power</i> (1991), pp. 588-597, 602-609, 613-632.</p> <p>Uri Friedman, Smart Sanctions: A Short History, <i>Foreign Policy</i>, April 2012 http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/smart_sanctions</p> <p>Annie Lowrey, Aiming Financial Weapons From Treasury War Room, <i>The New York Times</i>, June 2014 http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/04/business/aiming-financial-weapons-from-war-room-at-treasury.html</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Neta Crawford and Audie Klotz, "How Sanctions Work: A Framework for Analysis," in Crawford and Klotz eds. <i>How Sanctions Work</i> (Macmillan, 1999), pp. 25-42.</p> <p>David Baldwin, "The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice," <i>International Security</i> vol. 24 no. 3 (Winter 1999/2000), pp. 80-107.</p>

TH 10/29	MIDTERM 2
T 11/3	<p>CHINA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Aaron L. Friedberg, “The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?” <i>International Security</i>, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 7-45.</p> <p>Thomas Christensen, “Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy toward East Asia,” <i>International Security</i> (Summer 2006), pp. 81-126.</p> <p>Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, “How China Sees America: The Sum of Beijing’s Fears,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, no. 5 (Sept/Oct. 2012): 32-47.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>“Senkaku or Diayu Islands: Narrative of An Empty Space,” <i>The Economist</i>, December 2012 http://www.economist.com/news/christmas/21568696-behind-row-over-bunch-pacific-rocks-lies-sad-magical-history-okinawa-narrative</p> <p>Fisher, Max. “The Roots of China Japan Tensions”. <i>The Washington Post</i>, May 13, 2013 http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/05/13/are-japan-and-china-really-ancient-enemies-or-is-this-something-much-newer/</p>
TH 11/5	<p>THE RISE OF ISIS (guest lecture by Jay Jayamaha)</p> <p>David Kilcullen, <i>The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars In The Midst Of A Big One</i>. Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 115-130</p> <p>Anonymous, “The Mystery of ISIS,” <i>The New York Review of Books</i>, August 13, 2015.</p> <p>The King and ISIS http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/10/the-king-and-isis-saudi-arabia-egypt-iraq/</p> <p>What ISIS really wants http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/</p> <p>Journey to Jihad http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/06/01/journey-to-jihad</p>

	<p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>James L. Gelvin, <i>The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War</i> (Cambridge University Press 2014)</p>
T 11/10	<p>THE IRAN CONUNDRUM (guest lecture by Andrew Day)</p> <p>Kenneth Waltz, “Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (July - August 2012).</p> <p>Scott Sagan, “How to Keep the Bomb from Iran,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> Vol. 85, 5 (September - October, 2006). pp. 45 - 59.</p> <p>Flynt Leverett and Hillary Mann Leverett, <i>Going to Tehran: Why the United States Must Come to Terms with the Islamic Republic of Iran</i>, New York: Picador (2013), Chapter 2: Rationality, Realism, and Iranian Grand Strategy.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Whiney Raas and Austin Long, “Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities,” <i>International Security</i> Vol 31, No. 4 (Spring 2007), pp. 7- 33.</p>
TH 11/12	<p>RUSSIA AND THE CAUCASUS</p> <p><u>Readings :</u></p> <p>Roy Allison, “Russian ‘deniable’ intervention in Ukraine: how and why Russia broke the rules,” <i>International Affairs</i> 90, no. 6 (2014), pp. 1268-1297 (selections <u>only</u>).</p> <p>Stephen Kotkin, “The Resistible Rise of Vladimir Putin,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, February 16, 2015</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Michael Kofman, “Putin’s Strategy is Far Better than You Think,” http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/putin-is-a-far-better-strategist-than-you-think/</p> <p>Answer to Kofman by Joshua Rover, http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/searching-for-strategy-in-putins-russia/</p> <p>Andrew Jack, <i>Inside Putin's Russia: Can There Be Reform without Democracy?</i> Oxford University Press, USA, 2004.</p>

T 11/17	<p>CONFLICT IN AFRICA</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Scott Straus. 2012. "Wars Do End! Changing Patterns of Violence in sub-Saharan Africa," <i>African Affairs</i>, 111: 443 (April), pp. 179-201.</p> <p>Cohen, Herman J. "Al Qaeda in Africa: The Creeping Menace to Sub-Sahara's 500 Million Muslims." <i>American Foreign Policy Interests</i>, Vol. 35, No. 2, March 25, 2013</p> <p>"Eastern Congo Power Vacuum." <i>The Economist</i>, December 8, 2012. http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21567992-although-they-have-handed-back-city-rebels-have-not-faded-away-power-vacuum</p> <p><u>Watch VICE documentary on conflict minerals in the DRC:</u> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYqrflGpTRE</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Paul D. Williams, <i>War and Conflict in Africa</i> (Polity Press, Cambridge Mass., 2011), Part I and II</p>
TH 11/19	<p>EUROPE AND TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY COOPERATION</p> <p><u>Readings:</u></p> <p>Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness", <i>Policy Review</i> 113 (2002), http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/7107</p> <p>Phillip Gordon, <i>Allies at War</i> (2005), pp.115-154.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Mark Leonard, "The End of the American World Order," in <i>Why Europe will Run the 21st Century</i>, pp.121-133</p> <p>Moravcsik, Andrew, "Europe: Quietly Rising Superpower in a Bipolar World," (2009).</p> <p>Ulrich Krotz, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe wont emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage soon," <i>JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 2009, pp.555-578</p> <p>Andrei S. Markovits, <i>Uncouth Nation: Why Europe dislikes America</i> (2009). pp.135-149</p>

T 11/24	<p data-bbox="391 195 1325 226">CONCLUSIONS AND NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES AHEAD</p> <p data-bbox="391 268 516 300"><u>Readings:</u></p> <p data-bbox="391 338 1321 443">Schmidt, Eric and Jared Cohen. <i>The New Digital Age: Reshaping the Future of People, Nations, and Business</i> (Alfred A. Knopf N.Y., 2013), Chapter 6, “The Future of Conflict, Combat, and Intervention,” pp.183-216.</p> <p data-bbox="391 485 1386 590">Deibert, Ronald J., Rafal Rohozinski, and Masashi Crete-Nishihata. "Cyclones in Cyberspace: Information Shaping and Denial in the 2008 Russia-Georgia War." <i>Security Dialogue</i> 43, no. 3 (2012): 3-24.</p> <p data-bbox="391 663 589 695"><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p data-bbox="391 737 1354 800">Steven Pinker, “Taming the Devil Within Us,” <i>Nature</i> 478 (Oct. 20, 2011), pp. 309-11.</p>
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