

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SPRING 2014

Instructor: Kayce Mobley

Office Hours: Mondays 1-3:00pm, Candler B03

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“Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety.”

-Benjamin Franklin, 1755

“A country that demands moral perfection of itself as a test of its foreign policy will achieve neither perfection nor security.”

-Henry Kissinger, 1994

“The blade itself incites to violence.”

-Homer

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

In an anarchic world, how does the United States perceive and respond to threats? What factors influence its development of national security policies, and what consequences do those policies have internationally and at home? In this class, students will dive into the complex and fascinating realm of American national security. By the end of the course, students will be able to classify threats, understand the drivers of security policy, and recognize and critique the consequences of those doctrines. The material will focus both on current events and historical themes of American security politics, including the near-constant tension between security and liberty.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES

Evaluation

15% Attendance & Participation	Attendance and engagement in daily discussion and activities.
15% Reading Quizzes	Short reading quizzes. Lowest grade will be dropped.
25% Midterm	Midterm on Friday, March 7.
20% Policy Paper	Further instructions will be given in class.
25% Final Exam	Cumulative final exam.

Required Text

- [Mazzetti, Mark. 2013. The Way of the Knife: The CIA, a Secret Army, and a War at the Ends of the Earth. New York: The Penguin Press.](#)

Suggested Resources

- [The American Presidency Project.](#)
- [Congressional Research Service. 2013. Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2013.](#)
- [Congressional Research Service Reports.](#)
- [International Crisis Behavior Project. 2013. Data Viewer.](#)
- [The National Security Archive.](#)

COURSE POLICIES

Absences

Attendance, participation, and reading quizzes make up 15% of your grade. Yet, life can occasionally get in the way of attending every class. As such, you get **one unexcused** absence for the duration of this course. In addition, I grant excused absences for university sanctioned events (sports/conference), a documented medical excuse (you **must** have some sort note from a doctor or the health center), or proof of the death of a deceased direct relative. Unexcused absences beyond the freebie will take an automatic 2 points off your final grade.

You may **not** make up quizzes if you are absent without excuse. If your absence is excused, I will simply not calculate that grade in your quiz score.

Missing a test requires advance notice (at least 48 hours in advance). Unless you are violently ill and can document this illness, you should be present for the test.

Attendance & Participation Grade

If you attend every class, but never say a word, you can expect to get a poor participation grade. Participation entails **thoughtfully** asking questions, answering questions, providing feedback to classmates' questions, etc.

Classroom Etiquette

Turn your cell phone on silent when in class. I reserve the right to ban laptops from the classroom, but I generally do not have a problem with students who use laptops in class. If you use a laptop, use it for taking notes or viewing class material, not surfing YouTube or Facebook, however great the temptation might be.

The purpose of this course is to see every side of each issue, a goal achieved through civil, informed debate and discussion. We will discuss relatively controversial subjects throughout the course. Despite trespassing on some "hot button topics," you must remain respectful of your classmates' thoughts and opinions.

Academic Honesty

When you matriculated to the University of Georgia, you signed and agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. Your work must meet all requirements outlined in those documents which can be found at www.uga.edu/honesty. If you were unaware of breaking the honor code, I will still hold you accountable for the violation. If you have any questions or concerns about the academic honesty policy, please direct them to the instructor.

Disability Resource Center

If you have a documented disability and need special accommodation, let me know during the first week of the semester. We will work with the Disability Resource Center to accommodate your needs.

Communicating with the Instructor

The best way to contact me is via email at kaycemoble@gmail.com or kayce@uga.edu (though the UGA address will simply forward to my gmail). In addition, I will hold office hours from 1:00-3:00pm on Mondays in Candler B03. Feel free to stop by with any questions or concerns you have. If that time does not work for you, I am more than happy to set up an appointment.

The Fine Print

This syllabus is a general plan; it is possible that some deviations will occur. As such, it is crucial that you check your UGA email regularly and keep updated via the class web site.

COURSE SCHEDULE

I. CONCEPTUALIZING NATIONAL SECURITY

A. Introduction

Monday, January 6: Course Introduction

Wednesday, January 8: Defining National Security

Required:

- Watch/read: [President Obama's May 2013 Address at the National Defense University](#).
- [2013. Presidents, Public Always Struggle With Appropriate Security and Liberty Relationship. The Washington Post. May 28.](#)

Friday, January 10: National Security as International Relations

Required:

- Snyder, Jack. 2004. One World, Rival Theories. *Foreign Policy* (145): 52-62.

Recommended:

- Walt, Stephen M. 1998. International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy* (110): 29-46.

Monday, January 13: National Security as Ideology and Ethics

Required:

- [Saad, Lydia. 2013. Republicans, Democrats Agree on Top Foreign Policy Goals. Gallup. February 20.](#)
- Drezner, Daniel. 2013. Rebooting Republican Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs*. January/February.
- Gelb, Leslie H., and Justine A. Rosenthal. 2003. The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs* 82 (3): 2-7.
- Hastedt, Glenn. 2003. Definitions of Responsibility and American Foreign Policy. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (1): 11-16.

Wednesday, January 15: National Security as Decision Making

Required:

- [Lewis, Michael. 2012. Obama's Way. Vanity Fair. October.](#)

Recommended:

- Betts, Richard K. 2013. The Lost Logic of Deterrence. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (2): 87-99.
- Sofaer, Abraham D. 2010. The Best Defense? *Foreign Affairs* 89 (1): 109-118.

Friday, January 17: National Security as Threat Assessment

Required:

- Zenko, Micah, and Michael A. Cohen. 2012. Clear and Present Safety. *Foreign Affairs* 91(2): 79-93.
 - Miller, Paul D. 2012. Be Afraid. *Foreign Affairs* 91(4): 146-149.
- Rothkopf, David. 2012. The Enemy Within. *Foreign Policy* (193): 1-3.
- [Drezner, Daniel. 2012. Why Presidents Love Foreign Affairs. The New York Times. September 20.](#)

Recommended:

- Zenko, Micah, and Michael Cohen. 2012. Zenko and Cohen Reply. *Foreign Affairs* 91(4): 149-151.
- Howard, Michael. 2002. What's in a Name? *Foreign Affairs* no. 81 (1) :8-13.

II. PLAYERS AND PROCESSES

Monday, January 20: Martin Luther King Day - No Class

Wednesday, January 22: National Security as Domestic Politics and Culture

Required:

- [Mahler, Jonathan. 2008. After the Imperial Presidency. The New York Times Magazine \(9\).](#)
- Newhouse, John. 2009. Diplomacy, Inc. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (3): 73-92.
- Friedman, Uri. 2012. American Exceptionalism. *Foreign Policy* (194): 22-23.
- [Holmes, Linda. 2013. Armor and Anxiety: Tony Stark Is the New Captain America. NPR. May 6.](#)

Recommended:

- [Franke-Ruta, Garance. 2013. Niall Ferguson, Ted Cruz, and the Politics of Masculinity. The Atlantic. May 7.](#)

Friday, January 24: Inside the West Wing

Required:

- Walcott, Charles E., and Karen M. Hult. 2005. White House Structure and Decision Making: Elaborating the Standard Model. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35 (2): 303-318.
- Fullilove, Michael. 2005. All the President's Men. *Foreign Affairs* 84 (2): 13-18.
- Purdum, Todd S. 2013. The Lonely Guy. *Vanity Fair*. November 8.

Monday, January 27: Inside the West Wing

Required:

- Daalder, Ivo H., and I. M. Destler. 2009. In the Shadow of the Oval Office: The Next National Security Adviser. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (1): 114-129.
- Rothkopf, David J. 2005. Inside the Committee That Runs the World. *Foreign Policy* (147): 30-40.

Wednesday, January 29: Bureaucratic Politics

Required:

- Abrams, Elliott. 2013. The Prince of the White House. *Foreign Policy* (199): 64-70.
- Smith, Steve. 1984. Policy Preferences and Bureaucratic Position: The Case of the American Hostage Rescue Mission. *International Affairs* 61 (1): 9-25.

Recommended:

- Allison, Graham T. 1969. Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *The American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 689-718.

Friday, January 31: Bureaucratic Politics

Required:

- Fessenden, Helen. 2005. The Limits of Intelligence Reform. *Foreign Affairs* 84: 106-120.
- Gates, Robert M. 2009. A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (1): 28-40.
- [Zegart, Amy B. 2012. King David: Why Generals Shouldn't Run the CIA. *Foreign Policy*. November 21.](#)
- [Gomez, David. 2013. Spies Like Them. *Foreign Policy*. May 31.](#)

Recommended:

- Pfaff, William. 2010. Manufacturing Insecurity. *Foreign Affairs* 89 (6): 133-140.
- [Hudson, John. 2014. FBI Drops Law Enforcement as 'Primary' Mission. *Foreign Policy*. January 5.](#)

Monday, February 3: Three Branches

Required:

- Howell, William G., and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2007. When Congress Stops Wars. *Foreign Affairs* 86: 95-107.
 - Fisher, Louis, and Ryan C. Hendrickson. 2008. Congress at War. *Foreign Affairs* 87: 167-169.
- [Shapiro, Ari. 2013. Why Obama Wants to Change the Key Law in the Terrorism Fight. NPR. May 29.](#)
- Kaye, David. 2013. Stealth Multilateralism. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October. 113-124.
- [Yoo, John. 2010. The Supreme Court and National Security: After Justice Stevens. The Wall Street Journal. April 17.](#)

Tuesday, February 4: Movie Night

- *Wag the Dog*, 7:00 pm

Wednesday, February 5: The Fourth Estate

Required:

- [Junod, Tom. 2003. The Falling Man. Esquire. September.](#)
- [Krug, Matthias and Stefan Niggemeier. 2013. Enhanced Reality: Exploring the Boundaries of Photo Editing. Spiegel. May 12.](#)
- Mermin, Jonathan. 1997. Television News and American Intervention in Somalia: The Myth of a Media-Driven Foreign Policy. *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (3): 385-403.

Recommended:

- [Junod, Tom. 2012. Falling \(Mad\) Man. Esquire. January 30.](#)
- Ariely, Dan. 2012. Liar, Liar. *Foreign Policy* (195): 22-23.
- [Popovic, Srdja and Mladen Joksic. 2013. Why Dictators Don't Like Jokes. Foreign Policy. April 15.](#)

Friday, February 7: No Class

III. WHERE HAVE WE BEEN?

A. Cold War

Monday, February 10: Red Scare and Containment

Required:

- [McCarthy, Joseph R. 1950. Enemies From Within. Speech in Wheeling, West Virginia. February 9. \[Also - Follow-up letter to President Truman.\]](#)
- Kissinger, Henry. 1994. Reflections on Containment. *Foreign Affairs*: 113-130.

Recommended:

- [Kennan, George F. 1946. The Long Telegram.](#)

Wednesday, February 12: Arms Race

Required:

- Goodman, Lisa A., John E. Mack, William R. Beardslee, and Roberta M. Snow. 1983. The Threat of Nuclear War and the Nuclear Arms Race: Adolescent Experience and Perceptions. *Political Psychology* 4 (3): 501-530.
- [Birch, Douglas. 2013. The USSR and US Came Closer to Nuclear War Than We Thought. *The Atlantic*. 28 May.](#)

Friday, February 14: Proxy Wars

Required:

- Huebner, Andrew J. 2004. Kilroy is Back: Images of American Soldiers in Korea, 1950-1953. *American Studies* 45 (1):103-129.
- [Pentagon Papers.](#)

Monday, February 17: Aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate

Required:

- [Kaplan, Robert D. 2013. In Defense of Henry Kissinger. *The Atlantic*. April 24.](#)
- Shay, Jonathan. 1994. "Introduction." *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*. New York: Simon & Schuster. xiii-xxiii.
- [Lee, Timothy B. 2013. In the 1970s, Congress Investigated Intelligence Abuses. Time to Do It Again? *The Washington Post*. June 27.](#)

Recommended:

- [Cooper, Michael and Sam Roberts. 2011. After 40 Years, the Complete Pentagon Papers. *The New York Times*. June 7.](#)

Tuesday, February 18: Movie Night

- *The Pentagon Papers, 7:00pm*

Wednesday, February 19: US and Latin America

Required:

- Grandin, Greg. 2006. Chapter Two: The Most Important Place in the World. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. New York: Owl Books. 52-86.

Friday, February 21: End of the Cold War

Required:

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 1992. The Cold War and Its Aftermath. *Foreign Affairs* 71 (4): 31-49.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. Why We Shall Soon Miss the Cold War. *Atlantic Monthly* 266 (2): 35-50.

B. Post-Cold War Era

Monday, February 24: Gulf War

Required:

- Middup, Luke. 2010. The Impact of Vietnam on U.S. Strategy in the First Gulf War. *Comparative Strategy* 29 (5):389-404.

Wednesday, February 26: Clinton

Required:

- Power, Samantha. 2001. Bystanders to Genocide. *Atlantic Monthly* 288 (2): 84-108.

Friday, February 28: September 11, 2001 Attacks

Required:

- Byman, Daniel. 2005. Strategic Surprise and the September 11 Attacks. *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (1): 145-170.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. 2002. Setting Right a Dangerous World. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 48 (18): B7.

Recommended:

- Kagan, Robert. 2008. The September 12 Paradigm. *Foreign Affairs* 87 (5): 25-39.

Monday, March 3: Aftermath of 9/11

Required:

- Nye Jr, Joseph S. 2006. Transformational Leadership and U.S. Grand Strategy. *Foreign Affairs* 85: 139-148.
- Kaplan, Fred. 2013. End of the Age of Petraeus: The Rise and Fall of Counterinsurgency. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (1): 75-90.
- [Crowley, Michael. 2013. Why Gitmo Will Never Close. Time. May 30.](#)

Wednesday, March 5: Obama

Required:

- Drezner, Daniel W. 2011. Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy? *Foreign Affairs* 90 (4): 57-68.
- [Stephens, Bret. 2013. The Kissinger Question: Does the US Need a Foreign Policy? Obama Thinks Not. The Wall Street Journal. May 13.](#)
 - [Heilbrunn, Jacob. 2013. Bret Stephens Misreads Kissinger. The National Interest. May 16.](#)
- Haass, Richard N. 2013. The Irony of American Strategy. *Foreign Affairs* 92(3): 57-67.

Friday, March 7: Midterm

March 10-14: Spring Break

IV. WHERE ARE WE NOW?

Monday, March 17: Nuclear Weapons

Required:

- Joffe, Josef, and James W Davis. 2011. Less than Zero-Bursting the New Disarmament Bubble. *Foreign Affairs*. 90 (1): 7-13.
 - Blair, Bruce, Matt Brown, Richard Burt, Josef Joffe, and James Davis. 2011. Can Disarmament Work? *Foreign Affairs* 90 (4): 173-178.
- Jervis, Robert. 2013. Getting to Yes With Iran. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (1): 105-115.

Recommended:

- Mousavian, Hossein. 2013. An Opportunity for a U.S., Iran Paradigm Shift. *Washington Quarterly* 36 (1): 129-144.

Wednesday, March 19: Other Arms

Required:

- Caverley, Jonathan, and Ethan B. Kapstein. 2012. Arms Away. *Foreign Affairs* 91 (5): 125-132.
 - Katz, Daniel. 2013. Still on Top. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (2): 178-180.
 - Korb, Lawrence J. 2013. The Less, the Better. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (2): 180-180.
 - Moriarty, J. Thomas. 2013. Outgunned? *Foreign Affairs* 92 (2): 177-178.

Friday, March 21: The Future of the Military

Required:

- Odierno, Raymond T. 2012. The U.S. Army in a Time of Transition. *Foreign Affairs* 91 (3): 7-11.
- Mosser, Michael W. 2010. The Promise and the Peril: The Social Construction of American Military Technology. *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy & International Relations* 11 (2):91-104.

Monday, March 24: Economics

Required:

- Gelb, Leslie H. 2010. GDP Now Matters More Than Force. *Foreign Affairs* 89 (6): 35-43.
- [Cambanis, Thanassis. American Energy Independence: The Great Shake-Up. The Boston Globe. May 26.](#)
- Read/listen: [Gjelten, Tom. 2012. US Rethinks Security As Mideast Oil Imports Drop. NPR. November 14.](#)

Recommended:

- Miller, Gregory D. 2010. The Security Costs of Energy Independence. *Washington Quarterly* 33 (2): 107-119.
- [Mann, Charles C. 2013. What if We Never Run Out of Oil? The Atlantic. 24 April.](#)

Wednesday, March 26: Corrupt, Weak, and Failed States

Required:

- Shapiro, Andrew J. 2012. A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance. *Washington Quarterly* 35 (4): 23-35.
- Kramer, Stephen D. 2012. Talking Tough to Pakistan. *Foreign Affairs* 91 (1): 87-96.
 - Evans, Alexander, and Stephen Krasner. 2012. Tough Talk Is Cheap. *Foreign Affairs* 91 (3): 166-170.
- [Flock, Elizabeth. 2011. Egypt Dock Workers Protest U.S. Tear Gas Shipments to Tahrir Square. The Washington Post. November 30.](#)

Recommended:

- Gates, Robert M. 2010. Helping Others Defend Themselves. *Foreign Affairs* 89 (3): 2-6.
- [Myers, Steven Lee and Thom Shanker. 2012. After Sinai Attack, US and Egypt Step Up Talks On Security. August 11.](#)

Friday, March 28: Corrupt, Weak, and Failed States (Non-Traditional Security) - Interventions

Required:

- Young, Marilyn B. 2006. Two, Three, Many Vietnams. *Cold War History* 6 (4): 413-424
- Traub, James. 2010. In the Beginning There Was Somalia. *Foreign Policy* (180): 80-84.
- [Mezran, Karim, Jason Pack, and Haley Cook. 2013. Libya's Lessons on Syria. Foreign Policy. September 9.](#)

Monday, March 31: Terrorism

Required:

- [Cassidy, John. 2013. After Boston, a Few Facts About Terrorism. The New Yorker. April 22.](#)
- [Arquilla, John. 2013. Getting to Yes With the Taliban. Foreign Policy. May 20.](#)

Wednesday, April 2: Homeland Security

Required:

- Flynn, Stephen. 2011. Recalibrating Homeland Security. *Foreign Affairs* 90 (3): 130-140.
- [Fallows, James. 2013. Annals of the Security State, Gabriel Silverstein Division. The Atlantic. May 19.](#)
- [Kristof, Nicholas. 2012. A Veteran's Death, the Nation's Shame. The New York Times. April 14.](#)

Friday, April 4: No Class

Monday, April 7: Security Leaks

Required:

- Macmillan, Margaret. 2011. Cable News. *Foreign Policy* (185): 99-100.
- [Associated Press. 2013. Wikileaks Trial Begins Three Years After Bradley Manning's Arrest for Massive Leak of US Secrets. The Washington Post. June 3.](#)

Wednesday, April 9: Domestic Spying

Required:

- Read/Listen: [Totenberg, Nina. 2013. Supreme Court Makes It Harder To Challenge Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. NPR. February 26.](#)
- Priluck, Jill. 2013. On Privacy. *n+1*. July 31.

Friday, April 11: Cybersecurity

Required:

- Rid, Thomas. 2012. Think Again: Cyberwar. *Foreign Policy* (192): 1-11.
- [Nakashima, Ellen. 2013. Confidential Report Lists US Weapons System Designs Compromised by Chinese Cyberspies. The Washington Post. May 27.](#)
- [Osnos, Evan. 2013. The Year of the Hack. The New Yorker. May 28.](#)

Recommended:

- Arquilla, John. 2012. Cyberwar Is Already Upon Us. *Foreign Policy* (192): 1-4.
- Clark, Wesley K., and Peter L. Levin. 2009. Securing the Information Highway. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (6): 2-10.
- Segal, Adam. 2012. Chinese Computer Games. *Foreign Affairs* 91 (2): 14-20.
- Lynn, William J. 2011. A Military Strategy for the New Space Environment. *Washington Quarterly* 34 (3): 7-16.

Monday, April 14: Special Operations, Targeted Killings, and Drones

Required:

- Robinson, Linda. 2012. The Future of Special Operations. *Foreign Affairs* 91: 110-122.
- Byman, Daniel. 2013. Why Drones Work. *Foreign Affairs*. July/August.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2013. Why Drones Fail. *Foreign Affairs*. July/August.

Wednesday, April 16: Targeted Killings and Drones

Required:

- [Junod, Tom. 2012. The Lethal Presidency of Barack Obama. Esquire. August.](#)

Recommended:

- [Coll, Steve. 2013. Remote Control: Our Drone Delusion. The New Yorker. May 6.](#)
- [Kaste, Martin. 2013. Will Bureaucracy Keep the U.S. Drone Industry Grounded? NPR. April 30.](#) Article and podcast.

Friday, April 18: Targeted Killings and Drones

Required:

- Shane, Scott. 2012. The Moral Case for Drones. *The New York Times*. July 14.
- Kaag, John and Sarah Kreps. 2012. The Moral Hazard of Drones. *The New York Times*. July 22.
- Kaag, John. 2013. Drones, Ethics, and the Armchair Soldier. *The New York Times*. March 17.
- Roth, Marco. 2013. The Drone Philosopher. *n+1*. August 7.

V. APPRAISING US NATIONAL SECURITY

Monday, April 21: The Way of the Knife

Required:

- Pages 1-113.

Wednesday, April 23: The Way of the Knife

Required:

- Pages 115-211.

Friday, April 25: The Way of the Knife

Required:

- Pages 213-327.

Monday, April 28: Synthesis and Review

Required:

- Brooks, Stephen G., G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. 2013. Lean Forward. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (1): 130-142.
- Posen, Barry R. 2013. Pull Back. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (1): 116-128.

Recommended:

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 2012. After America. *Foreign Policy* (191): 1-4.

Wednesday, April 30: Final Exam for 11:15am Section, 12:00-3:00pm

Friday, May 2: Final Exam for 9:05am Section, 8:00-11am