

# U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SUMMER 2013

**Instructor: Kayce Mobley**

**Office Hours: By Appointment**

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<http://usnationalsecurity.wordpress.com/>

*“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.

## Evaluation

- 10% Participation** Attendance and engagement in daily discussion and activities.
- 10% Reading Quizzes** Short reading quizzes.
- 20% Class Blog** Activity on the course blog, <http://usnationalsecurity.wordpress.com/>. You will sign up to respond to 3 sets of course readings via blog during the semester. These 250-300 word analyses should relate the day's readings to course themes, previous discussions, personal opinions or interpretations, and/or current events. When not writing analyses, you should read the submissions of your classmates daily and comment on them regularly to keep the discussion flowing outside of class.
- 30% Policy Paper** 5-7 page policy paper. Further instructions will be given in class.
- June 11 - Topics due at the start of class.
  - June 18 - Annotated bibliography due at the start of class.
  - June 24 - Rough draft due at the start of class.
  - June 28 - Final draft due by 10:15 AM.
- 30% Final Exam** Essay-based final exam on July 3.

## Required Book

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.  
[http://www.amazon.com/Way-Knife-Secret-Army-Earth/dp/1594204802/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1368485603&sr=1-1&keywords=way+of+the+knife](http://www.amazon.com/Way-Knife-Secret-Army-Earth/dp/1594204802/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1368485603&sr=1-1&keywords=way+of+the+knife)

## Suggested Resources

The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/index.php>

Congressional Research Service. 2013. Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2013. <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/209263.pdf>.

Congressional Research Service Reports. <http://fpc.state.gov/c18185.htm>.

International Crisis Behavior Project. 2013. Data Viewer.  
<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/>.

The National Security Archive. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>

## Course Schedule

### I. CONCEPTUALIZING NATIONAL SECURITY

*Thursday, June 6: Course Introduction and Defining National Security*

*Friday, June 7: National Security as International Relations and as Ideology*

#### Required Reading:

- Snyder, Jack. 2004. One World, Rival Theories. *Foreign Policy* (145): 52-62.
- Gelb, Leslie H., and Justine A. Rosenthal. 2003. The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs* 82 (3): 2-7.
- Watch/read: President Obama's May 2013 Address at the National Defense University: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university>
- 2013. Presidents, Public Always Struggle With Appropriate Security and Liberty Relationship. *The Washington Post*. May 28. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/column-presidents-public-always-struggle-with-appropriate-security-and-liberty-relationship/2013/05/28/6ffc0aec-c769-11e2-9cd9-3b9a22a4000a\\_story.html#](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/column-presidents-public-always-struggle-with-appropriate-security-and-liberty-relationship/2013/05/28/6ffc0aec-c769-11e2-9cd9-3b9a22a4000a_story.html#)

#### Recommended:

- Walt, Stephen M. 1998. International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy* (110): 29-46.
- Hastedt, Glenn. 2003. Definitions of Responsibility and American Foreign Policy. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (1): 11-16.
- Rice, Condoleezza. 2008. Rethinking the National Interest. *Foreign Affairs* 87 (4): 2-26.

*Monday, June 10: National Security as Decision Making and as Threat Assessment*

#### Required Reading:

- Lewis, Michael. 2012. Obama's Way. *Vanity Fair*. October. <http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/2012/10/michael-lewis-profile-barack-obama>
- 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.

#### Recommended:

- Betts, Richard K. 2013. The Lost Logic of Deterrence. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (2): 87-99.
- Zenko, Micah, and Michael Cohen. 2012. "Zenko and Cohen Reply." *Foreign Affairs* 91(4): 149-151.
- Sofaer, Abraham D. 2010. The Best Defense? *Foreign Affairs* 89 (1): 109-118.

- Gelb, Leslie H. 2010. GDP Now Matters More Than Force. *Foreign Affairs* 89 (6): 35-43.

*Tuesday, June 11: Wag the Dog*

**Paper topics due at the beginning of class. Hard copies only.**

Required Reading:

- Ariely, Dan. 2012. Liar, Liar. *Foreign Policy* (195): 22-23.
- Junod, Tom. 2003. The Falling Man. *Esquire*. September.  
[http://www.esquire.com/features/ESQ0903-SEP\\_FALLINGMAN](http://www.esquire.com/features/ESQ0903-SEP_FALLINGMAN)
- Krug, Matthias and Stefan Niggemeier. 2013. Enhanced Reality: Exploring the Boundaries of Photo Editing. *Spiegel*. May 12.  
<http://abcnews.go.com/International/enhanced-reality-exploring-boundaries-photo-editing/story?id=19136352&singlePage=true#.UadMomSCPdY>
- Popovic, Srdja and Mladen Joksic. 2013. Why Dictators Don't Like Jokes. *Foreign Policy*. April 15.  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/04/05/why\\_dictators\\_don\\_t\\_like\\_jokes](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/04/05/why_dictators_don_t_like_jokes)

Recommended:

- Junod, Tom. 2012. Falling (Mad) Man. *Esquire*. January 30.  
<http://www.esquire.com/the-side/feature/falling-mad-man-6648672>

*Wednesday, June 12: National Security as Domestic Politics and Culture*

Required Reading:

- Mahler, Jonathan. 2008. After the Imperial Presidency. *The New York Times Magazine* (9). [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/09/magazine/09power-t.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/09/magazine/09power-t.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)
- Newhouse, John. 2009. Diplomacy, Inc. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (3): 73-92.
- Friedman, Uri. 2012. American Exceptionalism. *Foreign Policy* (194): 22-23.
- Franke-Ruta, Garance. 2013. Niall Ferguson, Ted Cruz, and the Politics of Masculinity. *The Atlantic*. May 7.  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/05/niall-ferguson-ted-cruz-and-the-politics-of-masculinity/275580/>
- Holmes, Linda. 2013. Armor and Anxiety: Tony Stark Is the New Captain America. *NPR*. May 6.  
<http://www.npr.org/blogs/monkeysee/2013/05/06/181560276/armor-and-angst-tony-stark-is-the-new-captain-america>

Recommended:

- 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.  
<http://www.npr.org/blogs/itsallpolitics/2013/05/29/187059276/why-obama-wants-to-change-the-key-law-in-the-terrorism-fight>

## II. PLAYERS AND PROCESSES

*Thursday, June 13: Inside the West Wing*

Required Reading:

- 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.
- Abrams, Elliott. 2013. The Prince of the White House. *Foreign Policy* (199): 64-70.
- Drezner, Daniel. 2012. Why Presidents Love Foreign Affairs. *The New York Times*. September 20. <http://campaignstops.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/20/why-presidents-love-foreign-affairs/?hp>

Recommended:

- Fullilove, Michael. 2005. All the President's Men. *Foreign Affairs* 84 (2): 13-18.

*Friday, June 14: Departmental Politics*

Required Reading:

- Smith, Steve. 1984. Policy Preferences and Bureaucratic Position: The Case of the American Hostage Rescue Mission. *International Affairs* 61 (1): 9-25.
- Fessenden, Helen. 2005. The Limits of Intelligence Reform. *Foreign Affairs* 84: 106-120.
- Zegart, Amy B. 2012. King David: Why Generals Shouldn't Run the CIA. *Foreign Policy*. November 21.  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/11/21/king\\_david](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/11/21/king_david)
- Gomez, David. 2013. Spies Like Them. *Foreign Policy*. May 31.  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/05/31/mueller\\_fbi\\_legacy\\_counterterrorism?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/05/31/mueller_fbi_legacy_counterterrorism?page=full)

Recommended:

- Allison, Graham T. 1969. Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *The American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 689-718.
- Gates, Robert M. 2009. A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (1): 28-40.
- Pfaff, William. 2010. Manufacturing Insecurity. *Foreign Affairs* 89 (6): 133-140.

### III. WHERE HAVE WE BEEN?

*Monday, June 17: The Cold War*

Required Reading:

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 1992. The Cold War and Its Aftermath. *Foreign Affairs* 71 (4): 31-49.
- McCarthy, Joseph R. 1950. Enemies From Within. Speech in Wheeling, West Virginia. February 9. [Also - Follow-up letter to President Truman.]  
<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6456>
- Kaplan, Robert D. 2013. In Defense of Henry Kissinger. *The Atlantic*. 24 April.  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/05/the-statesman/309283/>
- Birch, Douglas. 2013. The USSR and US Came Closer to Nuclear War Than We Thought. *The Atlantic*. 28 May.  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/05/the-ussr-and-us-came-closer-to-nuclear-war-than-we-thought/276290/>

Recommended:

- Kennan, George F. 1946. The Long Telegram.  
[http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf)
- Kissinger, Henry. 1994. Reflections on Containment. *Foreign Affairs*: 113-130.

*Tuesday, June 18: The Most Dangerous Man in America*

**Annotated bibliographies due at the start of class. Hard copies only.**

Required Reading:

- 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.  
[http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/wikileaks-trial-begins-3-years-after-bradley-mannings-arrest-for-massive-leak-of-us-secrets/2013/06/03/d9589ee2-cc32-11e2-8573-3baeea6a2647\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/wikileaks-trial-begins-3-years-after-bradley-mannings-arrest-for-massive-leak-of-us-secrets/2013/06/03/d9589ee2-cc32-11e2-8573-3baeea6a2647_story.html)
- Yoo, John. 2010. The Supreme Court and National Security: After Justice Stevens. *The Wall Street Journal*. April 17.  
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304510004575186262186578510.html>
- Read/Listen: Totenberg, Nina. 2013. Supreme Court Makes It Harder To Challenge Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. *NPR*. February 26.  
<http://www.npr.org/2013/02/26/172998760/supreme-court-makes-it-harder-to-challenge-foreign-intelligence-surveillance-act>

Wednesday, June 19: *The Post-Cold War Era*

Required Reading:

- Gaddis, John Lewis. 2002. Setting Right a Dangerous World. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 48 (18): B7.
- Power, Samantha. 2001. Bystanders to Genocide. *Atlantic Monthly* 288 (2): 84-108.
- Kagan, Robert. 2008. The September 12 Paradigm. *Foreign Affairs* 87 (5): 25-39.

#### IV. WHERE ARE WE NOW?

Thursday, June 20: *Post-9/11 Strategy*

Required Reading:

- Nye Jr, Joseph S. 2006. Transformational Leadership and U.S. Grand Strategy. *Foreign Affairs* 85: 139-148.
- Drezner, Daniel W. 2011. Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy? *Foreign Affairs* 90 (4): 57-68.
- Odierno, Raymond T. 2012. The U.S. Army in a Time of Transition. *Foreign Affairs* 91 (3): 7-11.
- Cassidy, John. 2013. After Boston, a Few Facts About Terrorism. *The New Yorker*. April 22.  
<http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/johncassidy/2013/04/after-boston-a-few-facts-about-terrorism.html>

Recommended:

- Aylwin-Foster, Brigadier Nigel. 2005. Changing the Army for Counterinsurgency Operations. *Military Review*: 2-15.
- Stephens, Bret. 2013. The Kissinger Question: Does the US Need a Foreign Policy? Obama Thinks Not. *The Wall Street Journal*. May 13.  
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324216004578480811652337252.html>
  - Heilbrunn, Jacob. 2013. Bret Stephens Misreads Kissinger. *The National Interest*. May 16. <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/jacob-heilbrunn/bret-stephens-misreads-henry-kissinger-8478>
- Crowley, Michael. 2013. Why Gitmo Will Never Close. *Time*. May 30.  
<http://swampland.time.com/2013/05/30/why-gitmo-will-never-close/>
- Arquilla, John. 2013. Getting to Yes With the Taliban. *Foreign Policy*. May 20.  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/05/20/getting\\_to\\_yes\\_with\\_the\\_taliban](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/05/20/getting_to_yes_with_the_taliban)

*Friday, June 21: Corrupt, Weak, and Failed States*

Required Reading:

- Traub, James. 2010. In the Beginning There Was Somalia. *Foreign Policy* (180): 80-84.
- Shapiro, Andrew J. 2012. A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance. *Washington Quarterly* 35 (4): 23-35.
- Flock, Elizabeth. 2011. Egypt Dock Workers Protest U.S. Tear Gas Shipments to Tahrir Square. *The Washington Post*. November 30.  
[http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/egypt-dock-workers-protest-us-tear-gas-shipments-to-egypt/2011/11/30/gIQACr4gCO\\_blog.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/egypt-dock-workers-protest-us-tear-gas-shipments-to-egypt/2011/11/30/gIQACr4gCO_blog.html)
- 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.

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.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/12/world/middleeast/egypt-and-us-step-up-talks-on-security-assistance.html?pagewanted=all>

*Monday, June 24: Homeland Security and Economics*

**Rough drafts due at the start of class. Hard copies only.**

Required Reading:

- 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.  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2013/05/annals-of-the-security-state-gabriel-silverstein-division/276011/>
- Cambanis, Thanassis. American Energy Independence: The Great Shake-Up. *The Boston Globe*. May 26. <http://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2013/05/25/american-energy-independence-great-shake/pO9Lsad4cVQvjdpvxMI1DO/story.html>

Recommended:

- Mann, Charles C. What if We Never Run Out of Oil? *The Atlantic*. 24 April.  
[http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/05/what-if-we-never-run-out-of-oil/309294/?single\\_page=true](http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/05/what-if-we-never-run-out-of-oil/309294/?single_page=true)



- Read/listen: Gjelten, Tom. 2012. US Rethinks Security As Mideast Oil Imports Drop. *NPR*. November 14. <http://www.npr.org/2012/11/14/165052133/u-s-rethinks-security-as-mideast-oil-imports-drop>
- Miller, Gregory D. 2010. The Security Costs of Energy Independence. *Washington Quarterly* 33 (2): 107-119.

*Tuesday, June 25: Arms*

Required Reading:

- 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.
- 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, June 26: Cybersecurity and Targeted Killings*

Required Reading:

- 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. [http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-05-27/world/39554997\\_1\\_u-s-missile-defenses-weapons-combat-aircraft](http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-05-27/world/39554997_1_u-s-missile-defenses-weapons-combat-aircraft)
- Junod, Tom. 2012. The Lethal Presidency of Barack Obama. *Esquire*. August. <http://www.esquire.com/features/obama-lethal-presidency-0812>
- Robinson, Linda. 2012. The Future of Special Operations. *Foreign Affairs* 91: 110-122.

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.

- Osnos, Evan. 2013. The Year of the Hack. *The New Yorker*. May 28.  
<http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/evanosnos/2013/05/the-year-of-the-hack.html#entry-more>
- Lynn, William J. 2011. A Military Strategy for the New Space Environment. *Washington Quarterly* 34 (3): 7-16.
- Coll, Steve. 2013. Remote Control: Our Drone Delusion. *The New Yorker*. May 6.  
[http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2013/05/06/130506crbo\\_books\\_coll](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2013/05/06/130506crbo_books_coll)
- Kaste, Martin. 2013. Will Bureaucracy Keep the U.S. Drone Industry Grounded? *NPR*. April 30. Article and podcast.  
<http://www.npr.org/blogs/alltechconsidered/2013/04/30/179843540/will-bureaucracy-keep-the-u-s-drone-industry-grounded>

## V. APPRAISING US NATIONAL SECURITY

*Thursday, June 27: Guest Lecturer and Looking to the Future*

Required Reading:

- Kaplan, Fred. 2013. End of the Age of Petraeus: The Rise and Fall of Counterinsurgency. *Foreign Affairs* 92 (1): 75-90.
- 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.
- Rothkopf, David. 2012. The Enemy Within. *Foreign Policy* (193): 1-3.

Recommended:

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

*Friday, June 28: No Class*

**Policy Papers Due by 10:15 AM\*\*\***

*Monday, July 1: The Way of the Knife*

Required Reading:

- 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. 1-174.

*Tuesday, July 2: The Way of the Knife*

Required Reading:

- 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. 175-327.

*Wednesday, July 3: Final Exam*