

## **Political Science 4931, Section 11DH Contemporary Issues in US National Security Policy**

This course will examine current security challenges, as well as the potential range of US actions to meet those challenges. The main topics include:

- Terrorism
- Weapons of Mass Destruction
- Non-Proliferation and Counter-Proliferation
- Alliances and international cooperation
- Revolution in Military Affairs
- Adaptation of national security institutions

The course is organized in a series of two week sections that delve into specific questions within each of the above topics. For example, is there a firm distinction between the “old” and “new” forms of terrorism? What strategies have worked in the past to defeat terrorist organizations and what lessons can be applied in the current context? What is the appropriate balance between law enforcement, intelligence and military tools of counter-terrorism? We will start with a look at the theoretical and historical approaches to each issue and then move to the policy ramifications.

### **Required Reading**

Most of the course readings are available through the Smathers library on-line journals collection. For your convenience I have linked to these in on-line syllabus, which can be found at:

<http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/zselden/>

I strongly suggest that you download and burn a CD of the readings in case there are server problems or other issues that prevent you from getting to the website when you need to do the reading for that week.

There are some additional readings for weeks 3 and 4 available through the library course reserve system (listed in bold)

In addition to the readings described above, students will write a 1000 word review of **one** of the following books:

- Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World 2.0* (New York: WW Norton, 2011).
- Robert Lieber, *Power and Willpower in the America Future: Why the United States is not Destined to Decline* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

- David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

The review will outline the major arguments of the book and offer an assessment of its strengths and weaknesses. All of those books can be purchased at a major bookstore or from Amazon. **The review is due in class on November 7.**

### **Grading**

Midterm: 25%  
Book review: 25%  
Final exam: 35%  
Participation: 15%

### **Grading Scale**

93+	A
90-92	A-
87-89	B+
84-86	B
80-83	B-
77-79	C+
74-76	C
70-73	C-
67-69	D+
64-66	D
60-63	D-
59 -	F

Information on the University of Florida's grading policy can be found at:

<https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx>

### **Assignments**

Writing assignments for this course are intentionally short. This is not make them easy; to the contrary, is often difficult to compact a good argument into a few pages that make every word count. There are also few instances in a course of this nature when there is a right or a wrong answer. Essays will be evaluated on how well they marshal evidence to support the argument, the degree to which they take into account potential weaknesses of the argument, and the overall clarity of the writing.

**Students will also participate in a role-playing exercise on November 17, 19, and 21** in which each student will take on the role of a cabinet member confronting a national security crisis. You will have to work together to craft a

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viable solution. Your participation and written evaluation of the exercise will constitute a significant part of your class participation grade. **If you know that you will not be able to attend class on those days, please see me well in advance so we can arrange an alternate assignment.** This exercise will take approximately three class sessions to complete. The remainder of your class participation grade will be determined by your attendance and participation in class discussions.

### **Key Dates**

Mid-term exam	October 24
Crisis simulation	November 17, 19, 21
Book review due	November 7
Final exam	December 14

### **Other Business**

Make-up exams and late paper submissions can be arranged with advanced notice. Make-up exams will be granted at my discretion with a valid excuse. In case of illness, a doctor's written excuse will be required. In the case of a known/planned absence please see me WELL IN ADVANCE.

Cheating and plagiarism will be dealt with severely. The use of plagiarized material will earn the student an F for that exam or paper. I never treat my students like fools, so please return the favor. If you have a question as to what constitutes plagiarism, please ask.

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the Instructor when requesting accommodation.

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course based on 10 criteria. These evaluations are conducted online at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu> Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open.

Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>

## **Week 1-2: Defense policy as a subset of foreign policy**

Key questions: What is consistent in US foreign policy since the end of the Cold War and what has changed? What is the range of grand strategic options? Are the changes in strategy since 9-11 radical breaks with the past or more changes in emphasis? What are the historical antecedents?

### **Reading**

August 25

Introduction

August 27

Eliot Cohen, "[The Historical Mind and Military Strategy](#)" *Orbis*, Vol. 49, No.4 Fall 2005, pp. 575-588.

Walter Russell Mead, "[American Grand Strategy in a World at Risk](#)" *Orbis*, Vol. 49, No.4 Fall 2005, pp. 589-598.

August 27

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "[Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy](#)" *International Security*, Vol 21, No.3, Winter 1996-97, pp. 5-53.

August 29 NO CLASS

## **September 1 Labor Day**

September 3

Charles Krauthammer, "[In Defense of Democratic Realism](#)" *The National Interest*, No. 77, Fall 2004, pp.15-25.

G. John Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan, "[Liberal Realism](#)" *The National Interest*, No. 77, Fall 2004, pp.38-49

Sarah Kreps, "[American Grand Strategy After Iraq](#)," *Orbis*, Fall 2009, pp. 629-645.

September 5

Douglas Feith and Seth Crosby, "[The Obama Doctrine Defined](#)," *Commentary*, July 2011, pp. 12-18.

Clark Murdock and Kevin Kallmyer, "[Applied Grand Strategy](#)," *Orbis*, Fall 2011.

## **Week 3-4: Terrorism**

Key questions: Is there a firm distinction between the "old" and "new" forms of terrorism? What strategies have worked in the past to defeat terrorist organizations and what lessons can be applied in the current context? What

is the appropriate balance between law enforcement, intelligence and military tools of counter-terrorism?

**Reading:**

September 8 and 10

**Martin Miller, "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe," in Terrorism in Context (Martha Crenshaw, ed.) Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.**

September 12

**Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, Chapter 1**

September 14

**Walter Laqueur, No End to War, Chapter 2**

September 17

Max Boot, How to Defeat ISIS, *Spectator*, August 16, 2014

<http://www.spectator.co.uk/features/9287832/defeat-isis-yes-we-can/>

September 19

TBA

September 22

TBA

September 24

TBA

**Week 5-6: Proliferation, arms control, and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)**

Key questions: What regimes have worked to slow the spread of dangerous materials and weapons? Are Cold War regimes relevant to the current situation? What new regimes are being created to cope with non-state actors? What are the characteristics of different types of WMD and what is the range of appropriate responses to the threats they pose?

**Reading**

September 26

Henry Sokolski (ed.), [Taming the Next Set of Strategic Weapons Threats](#) (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute 2005) Chp. 3.

September 29

Sidney Drell and James Goodby, "[The Reality: A goal of a world without nuclear weapons in essential](#)," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2008, pp. 23-32.

Fred Ikle, "[Nuclear Abolition: A Reverie](#)," *The National Interest*, September/October 2009, pp. 4-7

Bruce Blair, et al, "[Can Disarmament Work?](#)" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2011, pp.173-178

October 1

David Albright et al, "[Detecting and Disruption Illicit Nuclear Trade after A.Q Khan](#)," *The Washington Quarterly*, April 2010, pp. 85-106.

October 3

Andrew Winner, "[The Proliferation Security Initiative: The New Face of Interdiction](#)" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, no.2, Spring 2005, pp. 129-143.

October 6

Matthew Kroenig, "Time to Attack Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb2012, Vol. 91, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=69880008&site=ehost-live>

Kenneth Waltz, "[Why Iran Should Get the Bomb](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, Jul/Aug2012, Vol. 91, Issue 4

October 8

"[Are We Prepared? Four WMD Crises that could transform US Security](#)" National Defense University, June 2009 pp.93-120

"[Are We Prepared? Four WMD Crises that could transform US Security](#)" National Defense University, June 2009, pp.71-92

**Week 7-8: Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) and Homeland Security**

Key questions: What constitutes an RMA? What are the historical precedents? Is the current transformation a radical break with the past or a continuation of a trend? How has new technology changed military operations? Is there an over-reliance on technology that can be exploited by adversaries?

Reading:

October 13

Andrew Krepinevich, "[From Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions](#)," *The National Interest*, Fall 1994

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October 10

Richard Clarke, "[War from Cyberspace](#)," *The National Interest*, November/December 2009, pp. 31-36.

Alexander Klimburg, "[Mobilizing Cyber Power](#)," *Survival*, Feb/March 2011, pp. 41-60.

October 15

Adam Segal, "[Chinese Computer Games](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2012

Suzanne Nielsen, "[Pursuing Security in Cyberspace](#)," *Orbis*, Summer 2012.

**Week 9-10: Alliances and international cooperation**

Key questions: How has the relationship with allies changed since the end of the Cold War? What role does NATO play and is it an obsolete concept for current threats? How does the integration of Europe affect the alliance?

Reading:

October 20

Robert Kagan, "[Power and Weakness](#)," *Policy Review*, no. 113, 2002.

October 22

Karl-Heinz Kamp, "[Toward a new strategy for NATO](#)," *Survival*, August/Sept. 2009, pp. 21-27.

Bastian Geigerich, "[Budget crunch: implications for European Defence](#)," *Survival*, August/Sept. 2010, pp. 87-98.

**IN CLASS MID-TERM EXAM FRIDAY OCTOBER 24**

October 27

C. Raja Mohan, "[India's Quest for Continuity in the Face of Change](#)," *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2008.

Daniel Twining and Richard Fontaine, "[The Ties that Bind? US-Indian Values-based Cooperation](#)," *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2011

October 29

George Packard, "[The US-Japan Security Treaty at 50](#)," *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2010.

## **Week 11-12: Adaptation of US national security institutions**

Key questions: How is the military transforming itself to be better suited to current and likely future missions? What lessons are learned from ongoing operations?

### Reading

October 31

Kori Schake, "[Margin Call: How to Cut a Trillion from Defense](#)," *Orbis*, Winter 2012.

November 3

Robert M. Gates, "[A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2009

November 5

Joseph Collins, "[Understanding War in Afghanistan](#)," National Defense University, pp. 63-89

November 7

Collins, 90-110

### **BOOK REVIEW DUE**

November 10

Greg Mills and Ewen Mclay, "[A Path to Peace in Afghanistan](#)," *Orbis*, Fall 2011.

November 12

Stephen Biddle, "[Ending the War in Afghanistan](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2013

November 14

Nikolas Gvosdev and Ray Tekeyh, "[Decline of Western Realism](#)," *The National Interest*, Jan/Feb. 2012

## **In class crisis simulation November 17, 19 and 21**

## **Week 13-15: Thinking about the future**

Key questions: How can we gauge potential threats? Are there potential challengers to US hegemony and what is the range of potential responses?



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How has the concept of security changed in the past few years and is it likely to evolve further? Is there a global trend toward democracy and what should be the American response?

November 24

Andrew Hart and Bruce Jones, "[How doe Rising Power's Rise?](#)" *Survival*, December 2010.

John Ikenberry, "[The Future of the Liberal World Order](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, May 2011.

December 1

Julia Swieg, "[A New Global Player](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2010.

Evan A. Feigenbaum, "[India's Rise, America's Interest](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2010.

December 3

Charles Glaser, "[Will China's Rise lead to War?](#)" *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2011.

Aaron Friedburg, "[Hegemony with Chinese Characteristics](#)," *The National Interest*, July/August 2011.

December 5

Jennifer Sciubba, "[Demography and Instability in the Developing World](#)," *Orbis*, Spring 2012.

Paul Miller, "[The Fading Arab Oil Empire](#)," *The National Interest*, July/August 2012.

December 8

Robert Kaplan, "[America Primed](#)," *The National Interest*, March/April 2011

Josef Joffe, "[The Default Power](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct. 2009.

Charles Kupchan, "Sorry Mitt, It Won't Be an American Century," *Foreign Policy*, February 6, 2012,

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/02/06/it\\_won\\_t\\_be\\_an\\_american\\_century](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/02/06/it_won_t_be_an_american_century)

December 10

Review

**Take Home Final Exam Due December 17 no later than 5:00 pm.**