

PSc 249 (LH 86957)
National Security Policy

Monday 6-8 p.m.
Hall of the States, Washington DC

Fall 2005

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Office Hours: By Appointment

Course Description:

What is **security** in the current international environment? Events of the past several years have forced our national leaders to wrestle with their basic understanding of the term. Prior to the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, US national security was predicated on *containment* of the USSR. With the collapse of Soviet power and the democratization of the former Warsaw Pact nations over the past decade, containment no longer makes sense as a strategy and its assumptions no longer apply to the world community as they once did. American scholars and policy makers have struggled since 1991 to understand the emerging global system and the US' role in that global order—and that struggle has intensified in the years following September 11.

We will seek to gain some understanding of the “new world order” through an examination of US national security strategy as it developed through the 1990s and as it emerges through the response to 9-11 and other threats. Cold War thinking about US national security policy divided the world into “us” and “them” and was essentially a policy of **conflict** and **confrontation**. As such, containment rested on a global military structure of US defense commitments and a series of alliances with like-minded states in regions around the world.

Conflict and confrontation had given way to **engagement** – a somewhat fuzzy concept designed to make sense of a new global system that is more complicated and more intertwined than it was during the Cold War. The old security focus which concentrated on “hard” (military) power has given way to a broader, “softer” vision of security that must also encompass a nation’s economy, diplomacy, culture, population, and environmental situation. Conflict resolution, arms control, civil-military politics, and market reforms all become as important as deterrence and strong alliances are to national security.

What are America’s enduring goals and interests? How should the United States act to preserve those goals and interests? These are the basic questions of national security policy, and we will seek to sketch out a broad conception of how to approach these questions, with particular attention to several key issues. Despite our concentration on a set of challenges facing the US today, we should all recognize that they are only a few of the range of possible threats out there, and that *strategy*, properly conceived, should not simply be a response to a single threat, but a *concept* for dealing with all of the threats – that are, or might be, faced by future US leaders.

Lessons #1 thru #3 are an overview of global security environment within which we make national security policy. We will examine who makes policy in Washington, and we will review several efforts to describe the development of globalism and America’s role in the world order that is evolving.

Lessons #4 thru #8 concern enduring and emerging challenges facing US decision makers: China/East Asia, the Middle East, homeland security, crisis hot spots, policy issues and transnational threats. What are our national interests, what is the nature of the threat, and what solutions are available in the policy debate?

Lessons #9 thru #12 focus on an examination of the conceptualization and articulation of U.S. national security policy and strategy in official documents and the defense budget. Are there gaps in our strategy and how we are applying resources? Are we transforming to meet tomorrow’s strategic objectives?

Lesson #13 sums up what we have learned this term and attempt to sketch the outlines of a strategic concept that can help each of us understand the challenges of national security policy making in a world of change.

Course Conduct: We have a great deal of material to cover, even for an overview of US national security policy. So for lessons two through twelve, we will occasionally **work in groups** to help each other learn the varied perspectives and competing viewpoints that make up the security debate today. We will divide into three groups, with specific readings assigned to the groups for each class. Each student is responsible only for his or her group's readings. At the start of each lesson, I will offer an overview of the day's topic, then the three groups will lead the class discussion on the readings they were assigned. **Students will submit their group reading preferences in priority order for each lesson to the instructor by end of Lesson #1.**

Course Requirements:

Class participation (10%): You are responsible for attending each lesson and for contributing to the discussion of the material. Inform me ahead of time if absences are unavoidable.

Research Memoranda and Class Presentation (60%): Two research memoranda and your class presentation of that research.

Due: Memo #1, beginning of class Lesson #6; Memo #2, beginning of class Lesson #8.

Topic: Suggested Topics are identified in the syllabus (see Lessons #6 & #8). Topics must be approved. Submit three topic choices, in priority order, for each assignment via email not later than Lesson #3.

Format: Memoranda are less formal, shorter, and therefore must be much more to the point than typical academic writing. Nonetheless, a research memorandum still serves as a springboard for additional research by the reader and so carries the same standards for attribution as an academic paper. The purpose of each research memorandum is to:

- 1) Define a security policy issue/challenge/problem/threat to or opportunity for our national goals, objectives or interest(s) and assess its risk;
- 2) Analyze the current policy approach (if there is one) including its justification or arguments in favor;
- 3) Analyze alternative policies or strategies and their justifications or arguments in favor;
- 4) Evaluate the current and alternative approaches (critique is an inherent element of evaluation for both current and alternative policies/strategies);
- 5) Make and defend your recommended policy or strategic approach to achieve the national security objective. Recommendations should be relevant and realistic.

Length: Not more than eight pages.

References: Not less than five per memorandum. NOTE: You will find that course materials are a good place to start for each of these memoranda. However, there is a wealth of material in the marketplace of ideas available on the internet; and, the more up-to-date the sources the more accurate and reliable will be your policy analysis and recommendation. This is a professional standard.

Presentation: Each student will distribute a copy of their memorandum to the rest of the class and be prepared to present a five minute summary of their research, findings and recommendations. Five minutes is not much time to lay out a complex national security issue—command of the topic and preparation are keys.

Take Home Final Paper (30%): I will distribute a take home final requirement at Lesson #11, and it will be due by the end of Lesson #13. The final will consist of two challenging issues, and you will be tasked to prepare a final **8 page policy memorandum** outlining your policy recommendation.

“Incomplete” Policy: Since the memoranda and take-home exam largely determine your class grade, I cannot in good conscience offer “incomplete” grades to any student who fails to turn in these requirements by the end of the course. Late submission of the memoranda or exam will be subject to automatic grade reduction at the rate of one letter grade per week until the end date of the course.

Requirements submitted after the last day of the course will not be accepted.

Texts:

NOTE: Recommend you wait to purchase texts until AFTER group reading assignments have been determined.

Barber, Benjamin. 1996. *Jihad vs. McWorld*. Ballentine (ISBN: 0345383044).

Bensahel, Nora and Daniel L. Byman. 2004. *The future security environment in the Middle East : conflict, stability, and political change*. RAND. ISBN 0-8330-3290-9

Brown, Michael, et al, editors. 1998. *Theories of war and peace*. MIT Press (ISBN: 0262522527).

Carter, Ashton, and William Perry. 1999. *Preventive defense: A new security strategy for America*. Brookings Institution Press (ISBN: 081571307X). See also website of Preventive Defense Project. <http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/BCSIA/Library.nsf/pubs/KeepEdgeFront>

Clark, Wesley. 2001. *Waging modern war*. PublicAffairs Books (ISBN: 158648043X).

Friedman, Thomas. 1999. *The Lexus and the olive tree*. Farrar, Strauss and Giroux (ISBN: 0385499345).

Huntington, Samuel. 1996. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Simon and Schuster (ISBN: 0684844419).

Keegan, John. 2001. *War and our world*. Vintage Books (ISBN: 0375705201).

O’Hanlon, Micahel. 2005. *Defense Strategy for the Post-Saddam Era*. Brookings Institution. (ISBN: 9780815764670)

Course Schedule						
Date	Topic and readings:					
12 Sep	1: Introduction/Overview Course structure, Grading requirements, and student presentations					
19 Sep	2: What is the nature of the world system? <i>Reading:</i>					
	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th><i>Group A</i></th> <th><i>Group B</i></th> <th><i>Group C</i></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Barber</td> <td>Friedman</td> <td>Huntington</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>	Barber	Friedman
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Barber	Friedman	Huntington				
26 Sep	3: War in the modern world <i>Reading:</i>					
	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th><i>Group A</i></th> <th><i>Group B</i></th> <th><i>Group C</i></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Keegan</td> <td>Brown, et al.: Part V, Kaysen, Orme</td> <td>Clark</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>	Keegan	Brown, et al.: Part V, Kaysen, Orme
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Keegan	Brown, et al.: Part V, Kaysen, Orme	Clark				

3 Oct	4: China		
	Reading: ALL <i>Statement of Carolyn Bartholomew, Commissioner, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, U.S.-China Relations Seminar Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington , DC, July 14, 2005.</i> http://www.uscc.gov/testimonies_speeches/speeches/2005/05_07_14_carolyn_batholomew.htm		
	<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>
	Swaine & Tellis. 2000. <i>Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future</i> . RAND. MR-1121-AF. http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1121/	<i>Chinese Military Power</i> . Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations at the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, 12 June 2003. http://www.cfr.org/pdf/China_TF.pdf	Department of Defense. 2005. <i>Annual Report to Congress: The Military Power of the People's Republic of China</i> . http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jul2005/d20050719_china.pdf

10 Oct	5: Middle East		
	Reading:		
	<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>
	Bensahel & Byman, eds. 2004. <i>The Future Security Environment in the Middle East: Conflict, Stability, and Political Change</i> . RAND. Intro, Chps 2, 5, 9 http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1640/	Bensahel & Byman, eds. 2004. <i>The Future Security Environment in the Middle East: Conflict, Stability, and Political Change</i> . RAND. Intro, Chps 3, 6, 9 http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1640/	Bensahel & Byman, eds. 2004. <i>The Future Security Environment in the Middle East: Conflict, Stability, and Political Change</i> . RAND. Intro, Chps 4, 8, 9 http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1640/

17 Oct	6: Hot Spots and Security Issues		
	<u>Policy Memorandum #1 DUE in Class</u>		
	Reading: All US Commission on National Security in the 21st Century. 2000. Seeking A National Strategy: A Concert For Preserving Security And Promoting Freedom. Phase II Report on a U.S. National Security Strategy for the 21st Century. Read pp.5-13 (Sections "Thinking about Strategy", "The National Interest in a New Century", and "Key Objectives") http://www.fas.org/man/docs/000419-phaseiipress.htm ; and, http://www.fas.org/man/docs/PhaseII.pdf		
Topics:			
North Korea Iraq Afghanistan Iran Saudi Arabia Syria Israel-Palestine Taiwan	Pakistan India Darfor Venezuela Colombia The Balkans Cuba Haiti	Security Alliances Weaponization of Space Democratization State Building Arms Reduction Nuclear Weapons Intelligence Reform Missile Defense	

24 Oct	<p>7: Homeland Security and Homeland Defense Reading: All White House. 2002. The National Strategy For Homeland Security. GPO. http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/book/index.html Department of Defense. June 2005. Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support. http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun2005/d20050630homeland.pdf Department of Homeland Security. June 2005. Securing our Homeland: U.S. Department of Homeland Security Strategic Plan. http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun2005/d20050630homeland.pdf</p>
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31 Oct	<p>8: Transnational Threats <u>Policy Memorandum #2 DUE in Class</u> Readings: ALL CIA. 2004. Occasional Papers: Rethinking “Alternative Analysis” to Address Transnational Threats. Vol. 3, No. 2. http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/Kent_Papers/pdf/OPV3No2.pdf#search='Transnational%20Threats' Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). 2005. Transnational Threats Project. http://www.csis.org/tnt/ Smith, Paul. 2000. Transnational Security Threats and State Survival: A Role for the Military? Parameters. http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/00autumn/smith.htm</p>	
Topics:		
Organized Crime Money Laundering Gangs Drug Trafficking AIDS	Small Arms Proliferation Human Smuggling Refugees Mass Migration Genocide Piracy	Terrorism Cyber/Information Assurance WMD Proliferation (Nuclear, Radiological, Chemical or Biological) Environmental/Climate

7 Nov	<p>9: U.S. National Security Policy Reading: All <i>National Security Strategy of the United States of America.</i> 2002. http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf Secretary of Defense. <i>The National Defense Strategy of the United States.</i> March 2005. http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr2005/d20050408strategy.pdf Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. <i>National Military Strategy of the United States.</i> 2004. http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2005/d20050318nms.pdf</p>		
<i>Reading:</i>			
	<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>
	Carter, Ashton, and William Perry. 1999. Preventive defense: A new security strategy for America. Brookings Institution Press (ISBN: 081571307X). Chp. 1, 5, 6. See also website of Preventive Defense Project. http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/BCSIA/Library.nsf/pubs/KeepEdgeFront	Korb & Boorstin. June 2005. <i>Integrated Power: A National Security Strategy for the 21st Century.</i> Center for American Progress. http://www.americanprogress.org/atf/cf/{E9245FE4-9A2B-43C7-A521-5D6FF2E06E03}/INTEGRATED_POWER.PDF	Policy Briefs 109, 103 and 116. Brookings Institution. 2002 and 2003. Various authors. http://www.brookings.edu/comm/policybriefs/archive.htm?show=all O’Hanlon. 2005. <i>Defense Strategy for the Post-Saddam Era.</i> Brookings Institution.

14 Nov	10: The Economics of Defense		
	<i>Reading:</i>		
	<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>
	TBD	TBD	TBD

21 Nov	<i>No Class (Thanksgiving)</i> <i>Reading: None</i>
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28 Nov	<p>11: Defense Budget</p> <p>Reading: All</p> <p>O'Hanlon. 2002. <i>Defense Policy Choices for the Bush Administration, Second Edition</i>. Brookings Institution. Introduction only. https://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/press/books/chapter_1/defense_policy_choices.pdf</p> <p>Ippolito. 2001. <i>Budget Policy and Fiscal Risk: Implications for Defense</i>. Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College. http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2001/budgtpol/budgtpol.pdf</p> <p>Kosiak, 2003. <i>Funding for Defense, Homeland Security and Combating Terrorism Since 9-11: Where has all the money gone?</i> Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. http://www.csbaonline.org/4Publications/Archive/B.20030129.Funding_Allocation/B.20030129.Funding_Allocation.pdf</p> <p>Sullivan, ed. 2002. <i>Resource Allocation: the Formal Process. 8th Edition</i>. Pages 33-42 (Process only). U.S. Naval War College. http://www.nwc.navy.mil/NSDM/Resource%20Allocation%20FINAL.pdf</p> <p>Optional Reading:</p> <p>Ippolito. 1994. <i>Blunting the Sword: Budget Policy and the Future of Defense</i>. Washington, National Defense University Press, 1994. 1 vol. http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA311038</p>
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5 Dec	12: Transformation Reading: All Krepinevich. 2001. The Bush Administration's Call for Defense Transformation: A Congressional Guide. Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. http://www.csbaonline.org/4Publications/Archive/H.20010619.The_Bush_Administr/H.20010619.The_Bush_Administr.htm		
	<i>Reading:</i> <i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>
	Department of Defense. 2001. <i>Quadrennial Defense Review</i> . http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/qdr2001.pdf	Metz, Steven. 2001. <i>Armed Conflict In The 21st Century: The Information Revolution and Post-Modern Warfare</i> . Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, USA War College. http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pdf/PUB226.pdf	U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. Department of Defense Policies and Programs to Transform the Armed Forces to Meet the Challenges of the 21st Century: Hearing Before the Committee on Armed Services. 107th Congress, 2d Session, 9 April 2002. Statements by Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz, VADM(Ret) Cebrowski and GEN Pace. Link TBD.
7 Dec	13: Conclusion Reading: NONE		

[A very useful site to help start additional research on a range of national security topics:
<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/>]