

**National Security
PSCI / IS-3734
Department of Political Science
Virginia Tech
Spring 2020**

Paul Avey

Course Information

Course Time: MWF 12:20 – 1:10

Course Room: PAM 2030

Contact Information

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Office Hours: MW 1:30 – 3:00 pm (I am also available by appointment)

Teaching Assistant

Course Description

This course provides an overview of key actors and concepts in national security, with a focus on the United States. The course is divided into five parts. Part 1 considers traditions and constraints in national security. Part 2 discusses several key actors that inform, create, and execute national security policy as well as their relation to one another. In Part 3 attention turns to the critical role of economics and budgeting as a source of power and tool in national security policy. Part 4 provides an overview of the roles and types of force in national security. Finally, Part 5 analyzes components of the emerging consensus in Washington of a return to great power competition.

National security is a broad concept that incorporates many elements of the human experience. This course cannot cover all aspects in one semester. Students are encouraged to take additional courses that explore additional areas.

Grading

There are 200 total points in the class. Grades are based on class attendance, discussion memo, discussion participation, film questionnaire, an individual policy brief, a group policy brief, a group budget assignment, and a midterm and final exam. Any late assignments will automatically lose 10% of the grade for each day that it is late. There are no extensions for any assignments except in the case of documented health or family emergencies. If you are not able to come to class the day an assignment is due for any other reason that you knew of in advance, including excused absences for athletics, religious holidays, etc., you must turn that assignment in *prior* to that class period.

Class Attendance (15 points)

I will take attendance each class. Students earn ½ point for each class they attend up to 15 points for the course. You do not lose points for missing a class, but can only earn points by attending.

Discussion Memo (15 points)

There is one 1,000 – 1,200 word discussion memo. I will distribute questions the week before the memo is due. You will need to select one of the questions and write a response. The memo is due at the beginning of class on February 7.

Class Discussion (5 points)

There is one discussion section. Students with last names A-K will attend the section on February 7, students with last names L-Z will attend the section on February 10. Come to class prepared to discuss the points in your memo. You do not need to talk the entire class, but in order to get full credit you must participate, offer substantive comments, and bring a hard copy of your discussion memo to the discussion class. All memos are due electronically on February 7; it is only the hardcopy that is due when you attend discussion. The two versions must be identical.

Budgeting Workshop (20 points)

I will assign you to groups to consider the costs of purchasing a weapons system. Material for the assignment will be made available on Canvas. It is due electronically at the start of class on March 25. Each member of the group will receive the same grade.

Film Questionnaire (10 points)

We will watch the film *Pentagon Wars* in class. I will distribute a short film questionnaire on Canvas. The questionnaire is due electronically on April 1.

Simulation (25 points)

There is a decision making simulation on April 15-22. You will be assigned to small groups and given a specific role within the group, for example, National Security Advisor, Secretary of State, etc. Prior to that class I will distribute a set of documents outlining a pressing policy problem. You will need to research your position and prepare an individual memo outlining your preferred policy recommendation. The individual memo is due on April 15.

You will then meet with your group in class on April 15 and April 17 to develop at least three Courses of Action (COAs) as a group. The group will submit a short, jointly-authored memorandum that outlines each COA and which one they recommend. Each group will then have 10 minutes to brief their memo in class. Groups do not need to be present when they are not briefing. Please note that given the size of the class we will need to begin 5 minutes early, at

12:15 on the first briefing day (April 20). I will ask for volunteers that are able to arrive 5 minutes early to present in the first group (again, once your group is done you can leave). The final group brief does not need to agree with your individual brief. The group brief is due electronically by the beginning of class on April 20. This is the case even for those groups that are not presenting until April 22.

Additional details on the requirements will be given with the assignment. The individual memo is worth 15 points and each student will receive an individual grade. The group memo and briefing is worth 10 points, and each member of the group will receive the same grade.

Midterm (40 points)

The midterm exam is a closed book and closed note exam that contains fill in the blank questions, short answer questions in which students identify a term and explain its significance, and one essay question. It will cover material in Parts One and Two of the course.

Final (70 points)

The final exam is a closed book and closed note exam that contains fill in the blank questions, short answer questions in which students identify a term and explain its significance, and two essay questions. The final is cumulative, but will be weighted toward material covered in Parts Three, Four, and Five of the course.

Please note that students must take the final exam at the assigned time. University policy allows two general exceptions. First: “Students with conflicting examinations or with more than two examinations in 24 hours may reschedule an examination. Arrangements must be made with the instructor and permission obtained from the student's college dean.” The deadline for rescheduling is Wednesday, April 22. If you have not received permission from the dean of your college by that date, then you cannot reschedule the final for this class even if you have two other finals within twenty-four hours. Pay attention to final times and plan ahead. Second, in the event of a documented serious illness or circumstances beyond your control such as a family emergency or government order, students may reschedule the final. Please note that I require the student to provide documentation of the illness, emergency, or order. Wanting to leave the semester early, travelling for personal reasons, holidays, weddings, graduations, etc., do not constitute an emergency. It is your responsibility to make other arrangements. If you cannot make other arrangements, then you will not be able to take the final exam. You may not be able to do everything you like and will need to prioritize accordingly, including not taking this course if you value the other activity more. Details on university finals policy and important dates are available at: <http://www.policies.vt.edu/6810.pdf>; and <https://www.registrar.vt.edu/dates-deadlines/academic-calendar/2019-2020.html>.

Academic Integrity

The Undergraduate Honor Code pledge that each member of the university community agrees to abide by states:

“As a Hokie, I will conduct myself with honor and integrity at all times. I will not lie, cheat, or steal, nor will I accept the actions of those who do.”

Students enrolled in this course are responsible for abiding by the Honor Code. A student who has doubts about how the Honor Code applies to any assignment is responsible for obtaining specific guidance from the course instructor before submitting the assignment for evaluation. Ignorance of the rules does not exclude any member of the University community from the requirements and expectations of the Honor Code.

For additional information about the Honor Code, please visit: <https://www.honorsystem.vt.edu/>

Honor Code Pledge for Assignments: The Virginia Tech honor code pledge for assignments is as follows:

“I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on this assignment.”

The pledge is to be written out on all graded assignments at the university and signed by the student. The honor pledge represents both an expression of the student’s support of the honor code and an unambiguous acknowledgment that the student has, on the assignment in question, abided by the obligation that the Honor Code entails. In the absence of a written honor pledge, the Honor Code still applies to an assignment.

Required Reading

The following book is required and available for purchase at the university bookstore or through online distributors such as Amazon. Please make certain you purchase the correct (2nd) edition.

- 1) Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth* 2nd Edition (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2017)

All readings from the required text are noted with a GR. Readings with a URL can be accessed by clicking on the link on syllabus on Canvas. Readings with an * are available in the Files folder on the Canvas course webpage. You can access Canvas at <https://vt.instructure.com/> or via the Resources for Current Students tab on the Virginia Tech homepage.

A note on the readings. The amount of reading varies throughout this class, with some weeks having more than 100 pages assigned and others very little. Check the syllabus and plan ahead as necessary.

Computer Policy

I do not allow the use of laptops, tablets, phones, or other electronic devices during class. There is consistent evidence that electronic devices hinder learning for yourself and those around you. First, research has shown that students taking longhand notes do better on conceptual questions than those taking notes on laptops. Second, not surprisingly, there is a tendency for anyone to multitask by checking email, watching videos, reading websites, etc. I’m guilty of this myself in

meetings. Unfortunately, this sort of multitasking inhibits your learning. Third, and perhaps most importantly, use of a laptop or tablet can distract those around you and inhibit their learning.

For discussion on these points see:

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/national/wp/2014/08/26/ditch-the-laptop-and-pick-up-a-pen-class-researchers-say-its-better-for-note-taking/>;

<http://chronicle.com/blogs/linguafranca/2014/08/25/why-im-asking-you-not-to-use-laptops/>;

<http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/02/opinion/leave-your-laptops-at-the-door-to-my-classroom.html>

Students with Disabilities

I am strongly committed to working with students who have any disability recognized under the Americans with Disabilities Act to ensure that they are able to fully participate in class activities. If you feel you require accommodations please follow the process outlined by the Services for Students with Disabilities office, at: <http://www.ssd.vt.edu/>.

Course Calendar

Part I. Overview

January 22 (W)	Class 1	Introduction
January 24 (F)	Class 2	Types of Security
January 27 (M)	Class 3	International System
January 29 (W)	Class 4	Domestic Traditions
January 31 (F)	Class 5	Bureaucratic Politics
February 3 (M)	Class 6	Organizing National Security, I
February 5 (W)	Class 7	Organizing National Security, II
February 7 (F)	Class 8a	Discussion (Last names A-K)
February 10 (M)	Class 8b	Discussion (Last names L-Z)

Part II. Domestic Actors

February 12 (W)	Class 9	President and NSC
February 14 (F)	Class 10	State and Office of Secretary of Defense
February 17 (M)	Class 11	Military
February 19 (W)	Class 12	Civil-Military Relations
February 21 (F)	Class 13	Intelligence Community
February 24 (M)	Class 14	Homeland Security
February 26 (W)	Class 15	The Congress
February 28 (F)	Class 16	Public Opinion
March 2 (M)	Class 17	Midterm Exam

Part III. Economics

March 4 (W)	Class 18	Power
March 6 (F)	Class 19	Sanctions
March 9 - 13 (F-F)	<i>No Class</i>	<i>Spring Break</i>
March 16 (M)	Class 20	Budgeting
March 18 (W)	Class 21	Budgeting Workshop
March 20 (F)	Class 22	Overstretch
March 23 (M)	Class 23	Film
March 25 (W)	Class 24	Film
March 27-30 (F-M)	<i>No Class</i>	<i>No Class</i>

Part IV. Force

April 1 (W)	Class 25	War
April 3 (F)	Class 26	Coercion
April 6 (M)	Class 27	Nuclear
April 8 (W)	Class 28	Cyber
April 10 (F)	Class 29	Asymmetric, I
April 13 (M)	Class 30	Asymmetric, II

April 15 (W)	Class 31	Simulation
April 17 (F)	Class 32	Simulation
April 20 (M)	Class 33a	Simulation (Groups 1-4)
April 22 (W)	Class 33b	Simulation (Groups 5-7)

Part V. Great Power Competition?

April 24 (F)	Class 34	Russia and NATO Expansion
April 27 (M)	Class 35	Rise of China, I
April 29 (W)	Class 36	Rise of China, II
May 1 (F)	<i>No Class</i>	<i>No Class</i>
May 4 (M)	Class 37	Debating Grand Strategy, I
May 6 (W)	Class 38	Debating Grand Strategy, II
May 9 (S)	Final Exam	3:25 PM to 5:25 PM

Course Reading Schedule

Part I. Overview

January 22 (W) Class 1. Introduction

- No reading

January 24 (F) Class 2. Types of Security

- David A. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies* 23 (1997), pages 5-26 <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/20097464>

January 27 (M) Class 3. International System

- * Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" in Art and Jervis (2011), pages 151-158
- * John J. Mearsheimer, "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues* (2009), pages 50-60
- * Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues* (2009), pages 61-68

January 29 (W) Class 4. Domestic Traditions

- * Colin Dueck "Strategic Culture and Strategic Adjustment in the United States," pages 21-33.

January 31 (F) Class 5. Bureaucratic Politics

- * Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla A. Clapp, and Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* 2nd edition (2006), pages 1-4, 25-27, 49-61, 347-360.

Memo questions handed out during class

February 3 (M) Class 6. Organizing National Security, I

- * John Jay, "Federalist No. 4" 1787
- * John Jay, "Federalist No. 5" 1787
- * Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist No. 8" 1787

February 5 (W) Class 7. Organizing National Security, II

- GR, Jon J. Rosenwasser and Michael Warner, "History of the Interagency Process for Foreign Relations in the United States: Murphy's Law?" pages 13-31

February 7 (F) Class 8. Discussion (Last Names A-K)

- No reading

Memo questions due at the beginning of class. All students upload an electronic copy to Canvas by 12:20pm. Bring a hard copy of the memo to the discussion section you attend.

February 10 (M) Class 9. Discussion (Last Names L-Z)

- No reading

Part II. Domestic Actors

February 12 (W) Class 9. President and the NSC

- GR, David P. Auerswald, “The Evolution of the NSC Process”, 32-56

February 14 (F) Class 10. State and Office of the Secretary of Defense

- GR, Marc Grossman, “The State Department: Culture as Interagency Destiny,” 81-96
- GR, Joseph McMillan and Franklin C. Miller, “The Office of the Secretary of Defense,” 120-141

February 17 (M) Class 11. Military

- GR, Michael J. Meese and Isaiah Wilson, III “The Military: Forging a Joint Warrior Culture,” 142-161

February 19 (W) Class 12. Civil-Military Relations

- * Eliot Cohen, “Appendix: The Theory of Civilian Control,” in *Supreme Command*, (2002) pages 241-264

February 21 (F) Class 13. Intelligence Community

- GR, Thomasingar, “Office of the Director of National Intelligence: From Pariah and Pinata to Managing Partner,” 185-203
- GR, Roger Z. George, “Central Intelligence Agency: The President’s Own” 204-222

February 24 (M) Class 14. Homeland Security

- GR, Susan Ginsburg “The Department of Homeland Security: Civilian Protection and Resilience,” 247-280

February 26 (W) Class 15. The Congress

- GR, David P. Auersweld and Colton C. Campbell, “Congress: The Other Branch” 281-299

February 28 (F) Class 16. Public Opinion

- * Douglas C. Foyle, “Public Opinion,” *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*, pages 263-271

March 2 (M) Class 17. Midterm Exam

- No reading

Midterm Exam in class. Please bring 1-2 test blue books.

Part III. Economics

March 4 (W) Class 18. Power

- Michael Beckley, “The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters,” *International Security*, 43:2 (2018), pages 7-44 <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/article/709433>

March 6 (F) Class 19. Sanctions

- * Daniel Drezner “Economic Sanctions in Theory and Practice: How Smart Are They?” in Greenhill and Krause, pages 251-270

March 16 (M) Class 20. Budgeting

- GR, Gordon Adams, Rodney Bent, and Kathleen Peroff, “The Office of Management and Budget: The President’s Policy Tool,” pages 57-80

March 18 (W) Class 21. Budgeting Workshop

- No reading

Budgeting assignment materials handed out at beginning of class.

March 20 (F) Class 22. Overstretch

- * Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989) pages xv-xxv.

March 23. (F) Class 23. Film: *Pentagon Wars*

- No reading

Film questionnaire handed out at the beginning of class.

March 25 (W) Class 24. Film: *Pentagon Wars*

- No reading

Budgeting assignment due at the beginning of class.

PART IV: Force

April 1 (W) Class 25. War

- Tanisha M. Fazal and Paul Poast, “War is Not Over: What the Optimists Get Wrong About Conflict,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2019, pages 74-83 <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora98&i=1176>

Film questionnaire due at the beginning of class.

April 3. (F) Class 26. Coercion

- * Robert J. Art and Kelly M. Greenhill “Coercion: An Analytical Overview,” in Greenhill and Krause, pages 3-32.

April 6. (M) Class 27. Nuclear

- * Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution*, pages 1-45

April 8 (W) Class 28. Cyber

- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. “Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace,” *International Security* 41:3 (2017), pages 44-71 <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/article/648307>

April 10 (F) Class 29. Asymmetric, I

- Ivan Arreguín-Toft, “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” *International Security*, 26:1 (2001), pages 93-128 <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/article/14354>

April 13 (M) Class 30. Asymmetric, II

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “The Strategies of Terrorism,” *Adelphi Papers*, Vol. 47, No. 394 (2007), pages 1-22

April 15 (W) Class 31. Simulation

- No reading

Individual simulation memo due at the beginning of class. Upload an electronic copy to Canvas and bring a hard copy to class.

April 17 (F) Class 33. Simulation

- No reading

April 20 (M) Class 33a. Simulation (Groups 1-4)

- No reading
- Presentations: Group 1 @ 12:15-12:25; Group 2 @ 12:30-12:40; Group 3 @ 12:45-12:55; Group 4 @ 13:00-13:10

Group simulation memo due at NOON electronically. All groups (regardless of whether you are presenting today or not) must upload an electronic copy to Canvas. Bring a hard copy of the memo and any slides when you come to present.

April 22 (W) Class 33b. Simulation (Groups 5-7)

- No reading
- Presentations: Group 5 @ 12:20 – 12:30; Group 6 @ 12:35-12:45; Group 7 @ 12:55-13:05

Part V. Great Power Competition

April 24 (F) Class 34. Russia and NATO Expansion

- Mary Elise Sarotte, “A Broken Promise? What the West Really Told Moscow About NATO Expansion,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sep/Oct 2014, pages 90-97 <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora93&i=1090>

April 27 (M) Class 35. Rise of China, I

- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “The Once and Future Superpower: Why China Won’t Overtake the United States,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016, pages 91-104
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora95&i=549>

April 29 (W) Class 36. Rise of China, II

- Jennifer Lind, “Life in China’s Asia: What Regional Hegemony Would Look Like,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018, pages 71-82
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora97&i=289>

May 4 (M) Class 37. Debating Grand Strategy, I

- * Elbridge Colby, “Testimony Before the Senate Armed Services Committee Hearing on Implementation of the National Defense Strategy,” January 2019
- Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, “Liberal World: The Resilient Order,” *Foreign Affairs*, July / August 2018, 16-24
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora97&i=656>

May 6 (W) Class 38. Debating Grand Strategy, II

- Stephen M. Walt, “The End of Hubris: And the New Age of American Restraint,” *Foreign Affairs*, 98:3 May/June 2019, pages 26-35
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora98&i=448>
- Jennifer Lind and William C. Wohlforth, “The Future of the Liberal Order is Conservative: A Strategy to Save the System,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2019, 70-80
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora98&i=296>

Final Exam May 9 (S) 3:25 PM to 5:25 PM