NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY
Political Science 446/546
Portland State University, Fall 2022

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Description

The foremost function of the state is to provide for the security and well-being of its people. The pursuit of security involves governments in a wide range of both domestic and international activities -- political, economic, and military. How do governments promote national security? What challenges do they face, and what tools have they developed to meet those challenges? How secure can states expect to be in the modern world, and at what cost?

The course explores these and other questions related to national and international security policy in contemporary world politics. We examine the role of national power, strategy, and the use of military force; the workings of the American national security establishment, including the intelligence community; and the tradeoffs between homeland security and civil liberties. On all these topics, the course will emphasize both theoretical and practical issues. We also spend a fair amount of time on national security law.

Learning Objectives

The general objective of this course is to develop the student's capacity to critically examine problems in national and international security, consider the range of possible solutions to those problems, and communicate this analysis to others. This is to be accomplished by exposing students to relevant literature from the fields of international politics and foreign policy. By the end of the term, students should be able to:

- show a familiarity with a wide range of substantive issues in security studies;
- articulate normative positions on a ethical dilemmas arising from the quest for national security;
- locate, evaluate, and utilize online information pertaining to national and international security policy, and,
- optionally, design and execute a research project on some security-related problem and communicate the findings to others.

Requirements and Evaluation

Undergraduate course grades are based on a [midterm exam](#) (40%) and either a [final exam](#) or a term paper (60%). The exams consist of multiple-choice questions and longer essays. The [term paper](#) requires a significant research effort and a 15-20 page analysis. Graduate course grades are based in a midterm exam and a term paper of 25-30 pages. During the last week of the term, graduate students will give oral presentations summarizing the preliminary findings and argument of their research. All term paper topics must be approved in advance; a prospectus is due in week 3. For all students, attendance is required and participation in class discussion is expected.

I hold on to students' written work for one academic term after the end of the course, so if you want to keep your final exam or paper, please get it from me no later than the end of winter term 2023.

Readings and Other Course Materials

All assigned readings are available online; there are no books to purchase for the course. Unless the reading includes a link, it is available online from the PSU library. You must retrieve these readings (all journal articles) by logging into the [PSU library website](#) and locating and downloading the article from one of the library's full-content subscription services. If you haven't done this before, or are rusty, there are instructions [here](#) – or you can contact me and I will walk you through it. Where a link is provided, it will take you to the reading on the web.

For each week, items listed under "Other" are recommended but *not required*. All are videos. This is also where you will find, at week's end, updated copies of any slides I have used during lectures that week. (Until then, the slides linked in the syllabus are those used when I last taught the course on campus.)

In addition to the assigned readings, you should be reading, on a regular basis, the [New York Times](#), the [Washington Post](#), or some other newspaper with thorough international coverage. Your performance in the course will reflect your familiarity with current national security issues, and not just an understanding of lecture material and course readings.

Supplemental Resources

Blogs

Neither reading nor posting to blogs is a requirement for this course, but students (like you) with an interest in national and international security policy will find a wealth of relevant information and opinion on the Internet, not least in blogs. I will add to this list throughout the term, so feel free to send your own recommendations.

- Threat Matrix (Long War Journal): http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/
- SWJ Blog (Small Wars Journal): http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/recent
- Danger Room: What's Next in National Security (WIRED): http://www.wired.com/category/dangerroom
- Strategic Security (Federation of American Scientists): http://fas.org/blogs/security/
- Lawfare: Hard National Security Choices (Lawfare Institute): http://www.lawfareblog.com
- Military and Security News (Defense Media Network): http://www.defensemedianetwork.com/sections/military-security-news/
- War on the Rocks: http://warontherocks.com/
- Unredacted (National Security Archive): https://nsarchive.wordpress.com

Conduct and Courtesy

Students are responsible for being familiar with the PSU Code of Student Conduct, especially the section concerning academic misconduct -- that is, plagiarism or other forms of academic dishonesty. If you are unsure of the definition or consequences of academic misconduct, feel free to consult with me.

Because they are distracting to others, cell phones may not be used during lecture and should be silenced at the start of class. Laptops and tablets may be used to take notes, but not for email, web browsing, or social media. Electronic devices may not be used to photograph, video, or stream course lectures or discussion, but lectures may be audio recorded with permission of the instructor.

Other Student Resources

PSU's policies require faculty members to report any instance of sexual harassment, sexual violence, or other forms of prohibited discrimination. If you would rather share information about these experiences with an employee who does not have these reporting responsibilities and can keep the information confidential, please contact a confidential advocate (503.725.5672 or online) or another confidential employee listed on the sexual misconduct resource webpage.

If you have, or think you may have, a disability that may affect your work in this class and feel you need accommodations, contact the Disability Resource Center to schedule an appointment and initiate a conversation about reasonable accommodations. The CARE Team, hosted by the Dean of Student Life, is available to consult with you regarding any issues of students in distress, including sexual misconduct.

WEEKLY SCHEDULE and ASSIGNMENTS

26-30 Sep   **Security and Strategy**

What is national security and national security policy? What is strategy? We start with some basic national security concepts, and then take up topics in military strategy, including nuclear strategy.

No class on Friday, 30 Sep -- Watch "On Deterrence"

Readings
- John Allen Williams, Stephen J. Cimbala, and Sam C. Sarkesian, *U.S. National Security: Policymakers, Processes, and Politics*, sixth ed. (Rienner, 2022), chap. 1. ([web](web))
- Raphael S. Cohen et al., "Peering into the Crystal Ball: Holistically Assessing the Future of Warfare." RAND Corporation Research Brief 10073, 2020. ([web](web))
- Tom Nichols, "We Have No Nuclear Strategy." *The Atlantic*, 1 June 2022. ([web](web))

Other
- Video: "On Deterrence," Sandia National Laboratories (February 2017). ([web](web))
- Article: David E. Sanger and William J. Broad, "Russia's Small Nuclear Arms: A Risky Option for Putin and Ukraine Alike." *New York Times*, 3 October 2022. ([web](web))
- slides

3-7 Oct   **Military Power**

Military power is fundamental to national security. It is also rapidly changing. Here we consider the implication of changing military technology and doctrine, and different views about the post-cold war position of the United States and the future of American military power and global influence.

Readings
- Andrew F. Krepinevich, "Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions." *The National Interest* 37 (Fall 1994): 30-43.
- Christian Brose, "The New Revolution in Military Affairs," *Foreign Affairs* 98 (May/June 2019): 122-134.

Other
- Video: "NOVA: Rise of the Drones," PBS (January 2013). ([web](web))
- Video: "National Bird," Ten Forward Films (2016). ([web](web))
- slides

10-14 Oct   **National Security Establishment**

In the United States, who makes national security policy? What branches of government are involved and how are policymaking and war-making powers distributed between them? These have been subjects of continuous debate throughout the nation's history.

Readings
- Charles A. Stevenson, "The Story Behind the National Security Act of 1947." *Military Review* (May-June 2008): 13-20.
- Louis Fisher, "Unconstitutional Wars from Truman Forward," *Humanitas* 30 (2017): 5-29
- "To Support and Defend: Principles of Civilian Control and Best Practices of Civil-Military Relations." Open Letter by Former Secretaries of Defense and Former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 6 September 2022. *War on the Rocks*. ([web](web))

Other
- Video: "War and the Constitution," Constitutional Chats, episode 112 (with Andrew Langer). Constituting America (April 2022). ([web](web))
- Video: "Presidential War Powers," Philip Bobbitt and Matthew Waxman, C-SPAN (November 2017). ([web](web))
- slides

17-21 Oct   **NATO and Transatlantic Security**

Throughout the cold war, transatlantic security was closely intertwined with U.S. national security, but after the cold war ended, the unity and utility of the transatlantic alliance began to be questioned in some quarters. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has upended this debate. Is NATO resurgent?

Readings
- Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness." *Policy Review* 113 (June/July 2002): 3-28. ([web](web))
- Hugo Meijer and Stephen G. Brooks, "Illusions of Autonomy: Why Europe Cannot Provide for Its Security If the United States Pulls Back." *International Security* 45 (Spring 2021): 7-43. ([web](web))
- Robert Pszczel, "The Consequences of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine for International Security – NATO and Beyond." *NATO Review*, 7 July 2022. ([web](web))

Other
- Video: "The End of Neutrality: Finland Joins NATO," DW Documentary (May 2022). ([web](web))
- slides

24-28 Oct   **Intelligence and Counterintelligence**

National security requires knowledge about actual and potential threats. We cover the intelligence and counter-intelligence functions of the national security establishment, and some of the controversies surrounding these activities. But intelligence is about much more than "spies and lies."

Readings
- Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, *Preparing for the 21st Century: An Appraisal of U.S. Intelligence* (March 1996), Appendix A: "The Evolution of the U.S. Intelligence Community – An Historical Overview." (web)
- Len Scott and Peter Jackson, "The Study of Intelligence in Theory and Practice." *Intelligence and National Security* 19 (Summer 2004): 139-169.
- Samantha Bradshaw and Amélie Henle, "The Gender Dimensions of Influence Operations." *International Journal of Communication* 15: 4596-4618.

Other
- Video: "The Spymasters: CIA in the Crosshairs," 48 Hours (May 2016). (web)
- slides

31 Oct   **Midterm Exam**

1-3 Nov   **National Security and Civil Liberties**

Especially during times of crisis, both national security policymakers and the public must confront the trade-off between security and liberty, and there is almost never a consensus on the proper balance. We examine this issue, with special emphasis on surveillance and the right of privacy.

Readings
- Mark D. Young, "Electronic Surveillance in an Era of Modern Technology and Evolving Threats to National Security." *Stanford Law and Policy Review* (2011): 11-39.
- Mary-Rose Papandrea, "Protecting the Role of the Press During Times of Crisis," *William and Mary Law Review* 61 (2019-2020): 1159-1186. (web)

Other
- Video: "United States of Secrets (Part Two): Privacy Lost," Frontline (May 2014). (web)
- slides

7-9 Nov   **Homeland Security during Crisis**

Continuing our examination of the theme of security vs. liberty, here we examine some of the emergency measures undertaken by the state during wartime. The Guantanamo detentions in the period following the 9/11 attacks demonstrated what our government was willing to do when the homeland was threatened. But such treatment was not unprecedented in American history.

Readings
- Louis Fisher, "Military Tribunals: Historical Patterns and Lessons." CRS Report for Congress, 9 July 2004. ([web](web))
- Stephen Dycus and William C. Banks, "Martial Law Would Sweep the Country into a Great Legal Unknown," *The Atlantic*, 27 March 2020. ([web](web))

Other
- Video: "Korematsu and Civil Liberties," The Constitution Project (2009). ([web](web))
- Video: "Habeas Corpus: The Guantanamo Cases," The Constitution Project (2015). ([web](web))
- slides

14-18 Nov   **Counterterrorism: Law and Ethics**

Are we still engaged in a war on terrorism? We consider two alternative paradigms for counterterrorism, law enforcement and warfare, and the legal and ethical implications of embracing the latter approach. It is striking that the Congressional authorization to use force in response to the 9/11 attacks remains in place two decades after its passage.

Readings
- Adam Henschke and Timothy Legrand," Counterterrorism Policy in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Locating the Ethical Limits of National Security." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 71 (2017): 544-561.
- Daniel Byman, "The Intelligence War on Terrorism." *Intelligence and National Security* 29 (2014): 837-863.

Other
- Video: "The Torture Question," Frontline (October 2005). ([web](web))
- slides

21-23 Nov   **Privatization of Security and Insecurity**

Nations, including ours, have been outsourcing some of their traditional national security functions to military and security companies. Have we entered in new era of mercenarism?

The "privatization" of security is the final topic for the course. We look at which national security functions have been privatized, and why, as well as the legal implications of having private security providers in the battlespace.

Readings
- Deborah D. Avant and Renée de Nevers, "Military Contractors and the American Way of War." *Deadalus* 140 (Summer 2011): 88-99.
- Sean McFate, "America's Addiction to Mercenaries." *The Atlantic*, 12 August 2016. ([web](web))
- Neri Zilber, "The Rise of the Cyber-Mercenaries." *Foreign Policy* (Fall 2018). ([web](web))

Other
- Video: "Shadow Company," Purpose Films (August 2018). ([web](web))
- slides

28 Nov - 2 Dec   **New Insecurities: How Vulnerable are We?**

Until recently, pandemics, climate change, computer hackers, and social media trolls were not top of mind for U.S. national security analysts. If they don't top the list now, they certainly are taken a lot more seriously now as potential security threats. How vulnerable are nations to such threats? How much more difficult is it for democracies?

Readings
- Thomas Wright, "The Center Cannot Hold: Will a Divided World Survive Common Threats?" *Foreign Affairs* 100 (September/October 2021): 192-202.
- Casey Michel, "Russia's Long and Mostly Unsuccessful History of Election Interference," *Politico*, 26 October 2019. ([web](web))

Other
- Video: "NOVA: CyberWar Threat," PBS (October 2015). ([web](web))
- Video: "This is How Easy it is to Get Hacked," Vice News (March 2018). ([web](web))
- slides

8 Dec   **Final Exam**, 12:30-2:20
            Papers due

This syllabus is available online at web.pdx.edu/~kinsella/ps446f22.pdf and all course materials can be linked from this address. Last updated on 28 November 2022.