



Wilkinson College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences
Master of Arts in International Studies
MAIS 507: Issues in National Security
Spring 2020

Instructor: John R. Emery, Ph.D.

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Office Location: Beckman Hall Starbucks

Office Hours: Mondays 5:00-6:50 & By Appointment

Seminar Location/Time: Smith Hall 105 Mondays 7:00-9:50PM

Overview:

MAIS 507 is designed to be an interdisciplinary overview of contemporary issues in U.S. national security. It will begin with an introduction to our current national security agencies, bureaucracies, advisors, and organizations in order to understand their respective origins and evolutions. Discussing how the CIA, FBI, NSA, and wider NatSec communities operate under various U.S. administrations, looking to individual case studies of consequential geopolitical events in order to see these organizations in action. Next, we will examine major events in the international system such as the rise of nuclear weapons, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the end of the Cold War, and the rise of humanitarian intervention in the 1990s. This course seeks to set the background information necessary to comprehend and contextualize contemporary security issues and foreign affairs. As the focus of the second half of the course is geared toward contemporary issues in national security, this historical and interdisciplinary background is crucial to identifying shifts in U.S. policy with the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of international terrorism. From the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, to drone warfare in Yemen and Pakistan, and the Syrian civil war, students will be expected to critically engage with various perspectives on complex and emerging issues of national security.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Describe the structures, organizations, and bureaucracies that make up the national security community of the United States and how they have grown and evolved over the years.
- Evaluate decision-making processes for war, security, and crises in U.S. foreign and domestic policy.
- Assess the impact of major geopolitical events on academic debates and policy-making concerning national security.
- Identify shifts in U.S. warfare and counterterrorism during the post-9/11 era concerning targeted killings, torture, and networked warfare.
- Make judgements concerning impact of technology on the practice of national security.

Required Books:

- Bakos, Nada (2019) *The Targeter: My Life in the CIA, Hunting Terrorists and Challenging the White House* (New York: Little Brown Book Co.) ISBN: 978-0316260473.
- Ellsberg, Daniel (2018) *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing) ISBN: 978-1608196739.
- Zenko, Micah (2010) *Between Threats and War: Discrete Military Operations in the Post-Cold War World*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press) ISBN: 978-0804771900.
- All additional texts and articles for the course are available online or will be provided via PDF documents uploaded to Chapman’s Blackboard website.

Grading

Grade scale of corresponding letter/numeric grades matches standardized Chapman MAIS scale.

Participation and Attendance 20%

Seminar Presentations 15%

Assignments 30%

Final Exam 35%

Assignments

–Assignment #1 Due Week 4 on February 24th

Prompt: So far, we have examined the evolution of the national security community throughout the various presidencies and seen policies in action during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Utilizing what you know so far about the presidential decision-making process concerning war and security, briefly explore two to three ways in which it appears that the Donald Trump presidency has altered the national security agencies/environment.

Guidelines: Submit a one-page, single-spaced paper, 12 pt. font, Times New Roman, with endnote citations (bibliographic citations should be on a second page) via email by 7pm to jemery@chapman.edu.

–Assignment #2 Due Week 10 on April 6th

Prompt: Write a reflection of this week’s readings concerning the ideas of neo-conservatism both pre and post-9/11, discussing how those ideas came to fruition in U.S. policy. Be sure to answer the following questions: What were the allures, strengths, and flaws of this political movement and how it played out in concrete policies in the wars of Afghanistan and Iraq during the Bush administration? How has the Donald Trump presidency impacted the neo-conservative movement in American politics today?

Guidelines: Submit a two-page, single-spaced paper, 12 pt. font, Times New Roman with endnote citations (bibliographic citations should be on a third page) via email by 7pm to jemery@chapman.edu.

–Assignment #3 Due Week 15 on May 11th

Book Review: Students will be expected to write a review of a contemporary book on national security, selected from a list of pre-approved books or an alternative book approved by the instructor. The book review should convey a deep understanding of the main arguments, strengths and shortcomings, as well as critical engagement with what we have been studying throughout the semester.

Guidelines: submit 5-8 pages, **double-spaced**, 12 pt. font, Times New Roman via email by 7pm to jemery@chapman.edu

–Final Exam

Prompts to be distributed in class and discussion of paper ideas and abstracts in class week 10 (). Guidelines: Submit a 10-20 page, double-spaced paper, 12 pt. font, Times New Roman, via email to: jemery@chapman.edu

Late Work

All work that is turned in after the specified due date and time in the syllabus will be deducted one full letter grade for each day it is late (e.g. an assignment due in class turned in after class that evening an A becomes an A-, the first day late an A becomes a B, and the second day an A becomes a C).

Weekly Schedule

Week 1 (February 3): What is National Security

- “Introduction: The National Security Enterprise: Institutions, Cultures, and Politics.” In Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof (Eds.) *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth 2nd Ed.* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017), pp. 1-13.
- Auerswald, David. “The Evolution of the NSC Process” In Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof (Eds.) *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth 2nd Ed.* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017), Chapter 2 pp. 32-57.
- Friedman Lissner, Rebecca. “Has Donald Trump Learned on the Job as Commander in Chief?” *Lawfare* January 5, 2020. Available at: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/has-donald-trump-learned-job-commander-chief>

Week 2 (February 10): The Bomb and Nuclear Deterrence in the Cold War

- Morgan, Patrick “The Concept of Deterrence and Deterrence Theory” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (2017) DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.572
- Cohn, Carol. “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals.” *Signs* 12 no. 4 (1987): 687-718.
- Ellsberg, Daniel (2018) *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner* Read: Prologue and Introduction.

Week 3 (February 17): The Cuban Missile Crisis–Decision-Making and the NSC

- Allison, Graham, “The Cuban Missile Crisis” (Graham Allison) Available at: <https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/CMC50/GrahamAllisonThe%20CubanMissileCrisis.pdf>
- Ellsberg, Daniel (2018) *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner* Read: Chapters 12 and 13.
- Weldes, Jutta. “The Cultural Production of Crisis: U.S. Identity and Missiles in Cuba” (Chapter 1 pp. 35-63). In Jutta Weldes et al. (Eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- Janis, Irving L. “Groupthink.” *Psychology Today* 1971. <http://agcommtheory.pbworks.com/f/GroupThink.pdf>

Recommended

- Allison, Graham T. “Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: Lessons in U.S. Foreign Policy Today” *Foreign Affairs* 91 no. 4 (July/Aug 2012), pp. 11-16.
- Explore the Harvard Kennedy School’s site on the topic: <http://www.cubanmissilecrisis.org/>
- Van Sleet, Michael. “Krushchev’s Peaceful Coexistence: The Soviet Perspective.” <http://blogs.bu.edu/guidedhistory/russia-and-its-empires/michelle-van-sleet/>

Week 4 (February 24): Nuclear War Planning & End of the Cold War (Assignment #1 Due)

- Ellsberg, Daniel (2018) *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner* Read: Chapters 9 and 14-20 (pp. 225-334)
- Gusterson, Hugh. “Missing the End of the Cold War.” In Jutta Weldes et al. (Eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

Week 5 (March 2): The First Gulf War

- National Security Directive 45. Available at: <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB39/document2.pdf>
- National Security Directive 54. Available at: <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB39/document4.pdf>
- “The Eve of War: Four Days of Diplomacy” *New York Times* Available at: <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/01/20/world/middleeast/20110120-archive.html>
- Eddington, Patrick. “George H.W. Bush’s Persian Gulf War: Victory, With Tragedy” *Just Security* December 7, 2018. Available at: <https://www.justsecurity.org/61769/george-h-w-bushs-persian-gulf-war-victory-tragedy/>
- VIDEO: Selling the First Gulf War. *Aljazeera Listening Post*: January 8, 2011. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2011/01/2011187029114467.html>

Week 6 (March 9): Between Threats and War 1989-2000

- Zenko, Micah. *Between Threats and War: Discrete Military Operations in the Post-Cold War World*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), Introduction pp. 1-17; Chapter 3 pp. 28-52; Chapter 4 pp. 52-73, Chapter 5 pp. 73-91.

Recommended

- Hirsch, Susan F. *In the Moment of Greatest Calamity: Terrorism, Grief, and a Victim’s Quest for Justice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Zill, Orania. “The U.S. Embassy Bombings Trial-A Summary.” <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/bombings/bombings.html>

Week 7 (March 16): 9/11 & The War in Afghanistan

- Chomsky, Noam. “9/11–Was There an Alternative?” *Aljazeera* September 7, 2011. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/09/20119775453842191.html>
- “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America.” September 2002. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>
- “At War With the Truth: The Afghanistan Papers” *Washington Post* December 9, 2019. Watch

Video in Story as well. Available at:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/afghanistan-papers/afghanistan-war-confidential-documents/>

- “What we Learned from the Afghanistan Papers” *Washington Post* December 11, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/12/11/what-we-learned-afghanistan-papers/>

Week 8 (March 23): NO CLASS SPRING BREAK

Week 9 (March 30): Bakos, Nada (2019) *The Targeter: My Life in the CIA, Hunting Terrorists and Challenging the White House*. Selected Chapters.

Week 10 (April 6): Neoconservatism (Guest Speaker Pierre Bourgois) (Assignment #2 Due In Class)

- Dagger, Richard and Terence Ball. “Neoconservatism.” *Encyclopedia Britannica* September 9, 2010. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoconservatism>
- McGlinchey, Stephen. “Neoconservatism and American Foreign Policy.” *IAPSS Journal of Political Science* 16 no. 1 (2010): 21-34.
- Kirstol, William and Robert Kagan. “Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy” *Foreign Affairs* July/August 1996. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1996-07-01/toward-neo-reaganite-foreign-policy>
- Walt, Stephen M. “The ‘Genius’ of Neoconservatism.” *Foreign Policy* October 24, 2012. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/10/24/the-genius-of-neoconservatism/>
- Walt, Stephen M. “So Wrong for So Long: Why Neoconservatives are Never Right” *Foreign Policy* August 21, 2015. Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/21/neoconservatives-so-wrong-for-so-long-iraq-war-iran-deal/>
- Fukuyama, Francis. “After Neoconservatism.” *New York Times* February 19, 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/19/magazine/after-neoconservatism.html>

Recommended

- Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History?* <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184>

Week 11 (April 13): The War in Iraq

- Krebs, Ronald R. and Jennifer K. Lobasz. “Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, and the Road to War in Iraq.” *Security Studies* 17 no. 3 (2007): 409-451.
- Starr, Paul. “The Easy War.” *The American Prospect* February 12, 2003. Available: <http://prospect.org/article/easy-war>
- Bacevich, Andrew J. *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009), Part 3: The Military Crisis pp. 124-170.

Recommended

- “Iraq War Timeline” *Council on Foreign Relations* <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/iraq-war>

Week 12 (April 20): Torture and National Security

- Luban, David. “Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb,” *Virginia Law Review* Vol. 91 No. 1 (2005): 1425-1461.
- Cox, Rory (2019) “Historicizing Waterboarding as a Severe Torture Norm.” *International*

Relations 34 no. 2 (2018): 488-512.

- PODCAST: “George Bush, Barack Obama, and the CIA Torture Cover-Up” *Intercepted Podcast* December 4, 2019. Listen until 0:44:00
<https://theintercept.com/2019/12/04/george-bush-barack-obama-and-the-cia-torture-cover-up/>

Recommended

- Taxi to the Dark Side* (Documentary on Torture in the War on Terror: (WARNING GRAPHIC CONTENT) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBX325pm85I>
- Greenburg, Karen. “On Torture Edited by Thomas C. Hilde.” *Ethics & International Affairs* September 11, 2009. <https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2009/on-torture-edited-by-thomas-c-hilde/>

Week 13 (April 27): Covert Drone Wars & The Obama Presidency

- Kindervater, Katharine Hall. “The Emergence of Lethal Surveillance: Watching and Killing in the History of Drone Technology.” *Security Dialogue* 47 no. 3 (2016): 223-238.
- Scahill, Jeremy and Glen Greenwald. “The Assassination Complex: The Drone Papers” Read all the drone papers 1-8. *The Intercept* October 15, 2015. Available at: <https://theintercept.com/drone-papers/the-assassination-complex/>

Week 14 (May 4): JSOC, Spies, Counter-Spies, and Lies

- Niva, Steve. “Disappearing Violence: JSOC and the Pentagon’s New Cartography of Networked Warfare.” *Security Dialogue* 44 no. 3 (2013): 185-202.
- Kibbe, Jennifer D. “Conducting Shadow Wars” *National Security Law & Policy* 5 (2012): 373-392.
- PODCAST “The Art Dealer” *I Spy: Foreign Policy Podcast*. December 3, 2019. Available at: <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/i-spy/id1482310665>
- PODCAST “The Counterspy” *I Spy: Foreign Policy Podcast*. November 26, 2019. Available at: <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/i-spy/id1482310665>

Week 15 (May 11): Syria Conflict (Assignment #3 Due in Class)

- Laub, Jeffrey. “Syria’s War: The Descent into Horror.” *Council on Foreign Relations* <http://www.cfr.org/syria/syrias-civil-war-descent-into-horror/p37668>
- Abrahms, Max & John Glaser “Op-Ed: The pundits were wrong about Assad and the Islamic State. As usual, they’re not willing to admit it” *Los Angeles Times* December 10, 2017. Available at: <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-abrahms-glaser-isis-assad-20171210-story.html>
- Kiner, Stephen. “The Media are Misleading the Public on Syria.” *Boston Globe* February 18, 2016. <https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2016/02/18/the-media-are-misleading-public-syria/8YB75otYirPzUCnlwaVtcK/story.html>
- “Who’s Who in Syria’s Civil War.” *Council on Foreign Relations* April 28, 2017. <https://www.cfr.org/background/whos-who-syrias-civil-war>

Exam Week (May 17) Exam Week–Final Exams due Friday!

Final exams are due via email to jemery@chapman.edu by 11:59pm Friday May 22nd

Chapman Academic Integrity Policies

Chapman University is a community of scholars that emphasizes the mutual responsibility of all members to seek knowledge honestly and in good faith. Students are responsible for doing their own work, and academic dishonesty of any kind will be subject to sanction by the instructor/administrator and referral to the University's Academic Integrity Committee, which may impose additional sanctions up to and including expulsion. Please see the full description of Chapman University's policy on Academic Integrity at: www.chapman.edu/academics/academic-integrity

Student Psychological and Counseling Services

Student Psychological Counseling Services Student psychological counseling services provides psychotherapy to students at Chapman University and is staffed with licensed and professional psychologists, counselors and counselor interns. If you feel that any of your students need such counseling, please ask them to contact the office at (714) 997-6778 or spcs@chapman.edu.

Chapman Disability Services Information

<https://www.chapman.edu/students/health-and-safety/disability-services/index.aspx>

Chapman University is committed to making its educational and employment opportunities accessible to qualified individuals with disabilities in accordance with Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act. By providing full access to qualified students with disabilities, the University demonstrates its belief that the community will benefit from the skills and talents of these individuals. As an equal opportunity employer, the University does not discriminate on the basis of disability in the hiring, promotion, and retention of otherwise qualified faculty and staff. In this regard, Chapman University has implemented the following policies:

- Chapman University strictly prohibits any form of discrimination on the basis of an individual's disability.
- Chapman University offers individualized assessment and reasonable accommodation to otherwise qualified individuals with disabilities.

These policies apply to every facet of the University's operations, including but not limited to admissions, academic requirements, financial aid, housing, or any other school-administered program or service.

Chapman University has developed and maintains programs and resources to monitor and to assure compliance with these policies. These include Disability Services, an ADA Compliance Officer, Equal Opportunity Officer, and an ADA Committee. These resources are designed to offer individualized assessment and to provide accommodations in the most integrated setting appropriate. Please contact Disability Services at (714) 516-4520 or visit <https://www.chapman.edu/students/health-and-safety/disability-services/> if you have questions regarding this procedure or for information or to make an appointment to discuss and/or request potential accommodations based on documentation of your disability. Once formal approval of your need for an accommodation has been granted, you are encouraged to talk with your professor(s) about your accommodation options. The granting of any accommodation will not be retroactive and cannot jeopardize the academic standards or integrity of the course."

The Assistant Director of Disability Services, who is a standing member of the University's ADA Committee, administers these policies. Information concerning these policies is maintained in Disability Services. Summaries and references to these policies are provided in the University's application and admissions materials, and its Student Handbook, as well as its Faculty manual and Staff and Administrative Handbook. Individuals can also obtain information about these policies through the University's ADA Compliance Officer and Equal Opportunity Officer.

Chapman University's Equity and Diversity Policy

<http://www.chapman.edu/faculty-staff/human-resources/eoo.aspx>

Chapman University is committed to providing an environment which is free of any form of harassment and discrimination based upon an individual's race, color, religion, sex, gender identity, gender expression, pregnancy, national origin, ancestry, citizenship status, age, marital status, physical disability, mental disability, medical condition, sexual orientation, military or veteran status, genetic information, or any other characteristic protected by applicable state or federal law, so that all members of the community are treated at all times with dignity and respect.

It is the University's policy, therefore, to prohibit all forms of such harassment or discrimination among University faculty, students, staff, and administration.

The University's administration, faculty, staff, and students are each responsible for creating and maintaining an environment conducive to work, study, learning, and for cooperating with the University officials who investigate allegations of policy violations. Harassment and discrimination, in any form prohibited by this policy, impede the university's mission to provide an education of distinction in a dignified and respectful learning environment. It is the duty of every member of the faculty, staff, and administration to assure compliance with this policy by promptly reporting allegations of policy violations to the University's Equal Opportunity and Diversity Officer. Students are also strongly encouraged to report any alleged violations of this policy, and may do so by contacting the Equal Opportunity and Diversity Officer, the Dean of Students or one of the Title IX Coordinators listed below. The University will strive to review any charges in a confidential, sensitive, and expeditious manner.

In addition to, or in lieu of the procedures set forth in this policy, any individual who feels he or she has been subjected to unlawful harassment or discrimination may contact the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing, the United States Equal Opportunity Commission, or the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights.

IS 507 Issues in National Security (Course Catalog Description)

Prerequisite, graduate standing. This course provides a review of the National Security Strategy of the United States, with a comparison to the strategies pursued by Russia and the European Union. It pays particular attention to the role of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the role of International Law in the creation and maintenance of America's security and freedom, especially in light of transnational threats. (Offered every year.) 3 credits.