

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

PUAF 720
Spring 2018
Tuesdays 1:30 pm – 4 pm
VMH 1107

Professor Nancy Gallagher
4113 A Van Munching Hall
Office Hours: by apt.
(301) 405-7610
ngallag@umd.edu

Course Description

The course is designed to review the principal features of international security as it is currently practiced. It does so by tracing the evolution of contemporary policy and other determining circumstances through the sequence of formative experience whereby current international security conditions developed. The underlying contention is that understanding the consequence of formative experience is indispensable for adequate comprehension of the prevailing concepts, organizing principles, military deployment patterns, legal regulations, and political relationships that determine the state of international security at the moment.

The period of time reviewed begins with the circumstances and choices that shaped security policy after World War II. Contemporary security policy has deeper historical roots, but current conditions were heavily determined by the developments that occurred during the Cold War. Although it is common to assert that we are now in a new era, anyone who does not understand the formative events and enduring legacy of that period will certainly not understand the contemporary problems that are covered in the second half of the semester. The course reviews this history from contemporary perspective for the purpose of understanding the current implications. That is, of course, a revisionist perspective from the point of view of those who lived through the events in question, but it is legitimate and important to use the advantage of retrospect to understand current circumstances.

The course is intended to be useful and appropriate for all people of whatever national affiliation. There is heavy emphasis on the experience of the United States and of Russia as principal successor to the Soviet Union because the historical interaction between these two countries has disproportionately affected the international security conditions that all other countries now experience. Understanding this experience is a necessary foundation for any more focused national security perspective a student might wish to develop.

Requirements

This course is designed to help students develop the broad knowledge and analytical capabilities needed to understand complex policy issues, as well as the oral, written, and interpersonal skills needed to participate effectively in policy debates. Students will maintain the highest standards of professional behavior and will adhere to the University of Maryland's Code of Academic Integrity, Code of Conduct, and other education policies (<http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html>).

To prepare students to be effective participants in security policy debates, class participation counts for 20% of the grade and will be evaluated in several different ways. Students are expected to

prepare thoroughly, attend consistently, and engage actively in class discussions. Please e-mail me in advance if you must miss class for any reason.

Students should attend at least three special events related to international security policy (e.g., CISSM forums, other such events on campus or downtown, Congressional hearings, movies, webinars, etc.). For each event, they should post a reaction paragraph or two on the class discussion board connecting it to what we are reading and discussing in class. Please also e-mail me your reaction paragraphs I can track them. They will be graded as a check or a plus for participation.

Students are also encouraged to use the on-line forum to continue discussions begun in class; to share relevant news, articles, and event announcements; and to pose questions about readings that they want to discuss during the next class. Use of this forum will also factor into participation grade.

Students will sign up to write several short (1200 words) analytical memos in response to questions posed and readings assigned in the syllabus. (Arguments and evidence from outside readings can be incorporated but are not required). At least one memo should be submitted before spring break and one after it. Memos should be e-mailed to me by 11 am on the day of the session to which they pertain. No memos will be accepted after the relevant class session.

Each memo will be graded on five main criteria.

- 1) Does it have a clear, coherent, compelling, and creative central argument?
- 2) Is that central argument well supported?
- 3) Are counter-arguments and/or alternative points of view weighed?
- 4) Are important and interesting policy implications drawn from the analysis?
- 5) Is the memo professionally written — grammatically correct, appropriate tone, fact checked, numbered pages, etc.?

For guidance on writing clear, effective policy memos, see the sample 720 memo and George Orwell's essay on "Politics and the English Language," both of which are in the class resource folder. Students may rewrite one analytical memo and have the average score recorded. The rewrite must be submitted NLT two weeks after the initial grade and comments were received. No rewrites will be accepted after the last class session.

We will be doing a joint policy exercise and other activities with a group of students from the Moscow-based Institute for U.S.A. and Canada Studies (ISKRAN) the week of April 9-15. This year's topic will be reducing nuclear risks from North Korea while strengthening the nonproliferation regime.

Active participation is essential to the success of the exercise, so students who want to be full participants should make arrangements to be available for all of the joint sessions and to devote time to the drafting of the initial memo and the post-exercise memo. 720 students unable to do that will write a third individual memo in lieu of the joint policy exercise group memo. They are still encouraged to attend the social events we arrange for the ISKRAN group, including the movie night and the CISSM-ISKRAN dinner.

After Spring break, students participating in the joint policy exercise will write one or two team "food for thought" memos laying out how they define the policy problem of the joint exercise and some cooperative options they would like to explore with their Russian

counterparts. The “food for thought” memos should be exchanged with ISKRAN counterparts by March 30th.

The ISKRAN group will attend class on April 10th. We will start with an informal lunch and conversation from 12:30-1:30 pm, all-class discussion of the policy issues from 1:30-3:00 pm and initial team meetings from 3:00-4 pm. The most important interactions of the joint policy exercise will occur on Thursday, April 12th from 1:30 pm through 5:45 pm. If you have a class that Thursday afternoon, please make sure that your professor will excuse you before committing to do the joint policy exercise rather than the third short memo. All 720 students are invited to CISSM’s 30th anniversary celebration on April 14th, and are also encouraged to socialize and sightsee with the Russian group outside of the scheduled activities.

After the visit, the MSPP teams will write a memo for me summarizing the policy objectives they had for the ISKRAN meetings, the points of agreement and disagreement that emerged from those meetings, and the recommendations that they would give U.S. policymakers for how to move forward with Russia on the topic. I will give each memo a base grade, and then award individual students bonus points based on their own evaluation of the exercise and their team-mates’ evaluations of their contributions. This memo is due two weeks after the joint policy exercise, on April 26th.

The final synthetic policy memo (2000 words) will integrate concepts and evidence from multiple class sessions (assigned readings and discussions) and additional research if desired. It can build on ideas developed through one of the short analytical memos or the joint policy exercise. If students focus on a security policy problem that has not been a featured topic for this course, they need to show how what they have read, heard, and learned in this class helps them think through that policy problem. The memo should explain to a national leader (US president or other country) or to the UN Secretary General why the issue you have chosen should be a top priority for international security, what the key elements of an effective response would be, and how the world could move from where we are toward the desired outcome. It should assess the strengths and weaknesses of current policy, and recommend the five most important things that should be done to better address that problem. It will be due one week after the last class session.

Grading breakdown:

Participation	(in-class, on-line forum, special events)	20%
Analytical Memos	1 st memo	15%
	2 nd memo	20%
	3 rd memo or joint policy exercise memo	15%
Final memo	due <u>4 pm</u> May15	30%

Readings and Resources

The central reading for the historical part of the course is McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival*. Although the book is out of print, Francesca Perry (room 4130, fperry1@umd.edu, ext. 57611) has used copies that she will sell for \$5 and repurchase at the end of the semester.

The campus bookstore has copies of two recommended books. Several chapters of John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: a New History* are assigned and the whole book is relevant. Since the course deals extensively with nuclear issues, the bookstore also has Richard Garwin and Georges Charpak, *Megawatts and Megatons*, which is useful for students who have a particular interest in nuclear weapons and energy technologies.

The course also relies heavily on articles and reports, many of which are available on the internet, and links have been provided whenever possible. The remainder of the assigned readings will be placed on reserve using the Canvas system. To access these readings, go to <https://elms.umd.edu> and enter your user name and password (the same ones that you use to access your University of Maryland email account), and then click on PUA 720. Depending on class interests and developments in current policy debates, I may supplement or substitute readings as the semester progresses.

Schedule

(1) **Introduction (January 30)**

Reading: McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival*, pp. 3-130, especially pp. 3-11; pp. 45-63; and pp. 98-130

Question for reflection: Was the development of nuclear weapons inevitable once the basic physical principles were understood? What does this imply for current efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons and other advanced technologies with military applications?

(2) **Determinants of International Order (February 6)**

Readings:

Bundy, pp. 130-196

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (Penguin Press, 2005), pp. 5-47

Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshankov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War* (Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 1-8 and 36-77

United Nations Charter, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/docs/UNcharter.pdf>

George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" (1947), at:

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/23331/x/the-sources-of-soviet-conduct>

NSC 68 (United States Objectives and Programs for National Security, April 14, 1950)

https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/10-1.pdf.

Memo Question: How did the US and USSR move in five short years from being victorious allies in World War II to heading opposing alliances in the Cold War? What lessons would you draw about ability of major powers with a mix of common and competing interests to cooperate on shared security problems?

(3) **Nuclear Weapons, Coercive Diplomacy, and Deterrence (February 13)**

Readings:

Bundy, pp. 197-462

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12:4 (Summer 1987), pp. 687-718

Memo question: Were the size and operational configuration of the nuclear forces originally deployed by the United States and the Soviet Union strategically justified?

(4) **Arms Control (February 20)**

Readings

Nancy W. Gallagher, "Competing Logics for Arms Control to Stabilize Deterrence," Chapter Three of *Strategic Logics for Arms Control*

Bundy, pp. 463-583

Thomas Schelling, "What Went Wrong with Arms Control?" *Foreign Affairs* 64:2 (Winter, 1985)

Albert Carnesale and Richard Haass, eds., *Superpower Arms Control: Setting the Record Straight* (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1987), pp. 329-357

Gray, Colin S., "Arms control does not control arms," *Orbis* 37:3 (Summer 1993), 16p

Memo question: Did arms control make a meaningful contribution to security during the Cold War, or was it either a waste of time or a dangerous delusion?

(5) **Limited War vs. Civil Conflict: Vietnam and Afghanistan in the Cold War (February 27)**

Readings:

James Patterson, *Grand Expectations* (Oxford UP, 1996), pp. 593-636 and 743-770

Alex Wallerstein, "Would Nukes have Helped in Vietnam?" Nuclear Secrecy Blog post July 25, 2014, at: <http://blog.nuclearsecrecy.com/2014/07/25/nukes-helped-vietnam/>

Mark Galeotti, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Last War* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 1-25, 139-171

Robert McNamara, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, Inc., 1995), pp 319-335

Melvin Laird, "Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2005)

Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006)

Memo Question: Why weren't the United States and the Soviet Union able to prevail over much weaker adversaries in Vietnam and Afghanistan? What, if any lessons, would you draw about the relative importance of military power and political legitimacy when foreign powers intervene in civil conflicts because they see them as part of a larger security problem?

(6) The Incomplete Ending of the Cold War (Mar 6)

Readings:

Bundy, pp. 584-617

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War*, pp. 195-237

Jeffrey W. Knopf, "Did Reagan Win the Cold War?" *Strategic Insights*, 3:8, August 2004;
<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=444565>

Pavel Podvig, "Did Star Wars Help End the Cold War?" *Science and Global Security* 25:1
(Winter 2017), pp. 3-27.

Catherine Kelleher, "Cooperative Security in Europe," pp. 293-353 in Janne Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1994)

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy,"
International Security 21:3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 5-53

Memo question: What explains the peaceful ending of the Cold War? In retrospect, how well were the fundamental security problems resolved?

(7) Civil Violence/Human Security (Mar 13)

Readings:

John Steinbruner and Jason Forrester, "Perspectives on Civil Violence: A Review of Current Thinking," pp. 1-27 in William Lahneman, ed., *Military Intervention* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004)

J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr, *Peace and Conflict 2008*, Executive Summary (CIDCM)

Gareth Evans, "Cooperative Security and Intra-State Conflict," *Foreign Policy*, (1996)

Edward W. Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, (July/Aug 1999), pp. 36-44

Mohammed Ayoob, "Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty," *International Journal of Human Rights* 6:1 (Spring 2002)

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (December 2001), pp. xi – 20, at <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

Roland Parris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, 26:2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87-102.

Memo question: Is the control of civil conflict within sovereign states a general international interest?

**** Spring Break (March 20) ****

(8) Proliferation (March 27)

Readings:

Francis Gavin, "Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation," *International Security* 40:1 (Summer 2015), pp. 9-46.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT):

<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/npt1.html>

WMD Commission, *Weapons of Terror* (2006), pp. 17-86 at:

http://www.ycsg.yale.edu/assets/downloads/weapons_of_terror.pdf.

Sharon K. Weiner, "The Evolution of Cooperative Threat Reduction," *The Nonproliferation Review* 16:2 (July 2009)

Rebecca Johnson, "Assessing the 2010 NPT Review Conference," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (July/August 2010)

Christopher A. Ford, "The 2015 NPT Review Conference and the Nonproliferation Regime," *New Paradigms Forum* (June 3, 2015), at:

<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=1922>

Solving the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle, ACA Briefing Book, 4th ed. (Aug 2015),

http://www.armscontrol.org/files/ACA_Iran-BB_2015%20Aug6_FINAL.pdf

Jong Kun Choi, "The Perils of Strategic Patience," *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2016):

https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/twq.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/TWQ_Winter2016_Choi.pdf

Memo Question: What lessons does the Iran case offer to policymakers who consider the potential spread of nuclear weapons to hostile states or terrorist groups to be one of the most serious security problems facing the United States?

(9) Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century (April 3)

Readings:

Sidney Drell and James Goodby, "What are Nuclear Weapons For?" An Arms Control Association Report (revised and updated October 2007), at:

http://www.armscontrol.org/system/files/20071104_Drell_Goodby_07_new.pdf

Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The Nukes We Need: Preserving the American Deterrent," *Foreign Affairs* 88:6 (November/December 2009), pp. 39-51.

Barack Obama, "Remarks in Prague, Czech Republic," (April 5, 2009), at:

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/

"New START at a Glance," Arms Control Association Fact Sheet, October 2010,

<http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/NewSTART>

Nikolai Sokov, "The Return of Nuclear Weapons," November 28, 2014, at:

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/nikolai-sokov/%E2%80%98return%E2%80%99-of-nuclear-weapons>.

The Deep Cuts Commission, "Back from the Brink: Toward Restraint and Dialogue Between Russia and the West," (June 2016), at:

http://deepcuts.org/images/PDF/Third_Report_of_the_Deep_Cuts_Commission_English.pdf.

Jeffrey Lewis, "Donald Trump is an Idiot Savant on Nuclear Policy," *Foreign Policy* (March 7, 2016), at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/07/donald-trump-is-an-idiot-savant-on-nuclear-policy/>.

Amy Woolf, "Nuclear Weapons: Key Decisions Will Shape the Size and Role of U.S. Nuclear Forces," *Arms Control Today* (January/February 2017) at:

<https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2017-01/features/nuclear-weapons-key-decisions-shape-size-role-us-nuclear-forces>.

Memo Question: In setting policy objectives for the U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons programs, what is the appropriate priority of interest among preserving deterrence, threatening pre-emption, assuring strict managerial control over reduced arsenals, and/or eliminating nuclear weapons? Recent events in Ukraine make U.S.-Russian nuclear cooperation more difficult, but do they also make it more or less important?

(10) ISKRAN Visit (April 10)

Vladimir Putin, “Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy,” (Feb 2007)

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/12/AR2007021200555.html>

Lawrence Freedman, “Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management,” *Survival* 56:3 (June/July 2014), pp. 7-42.

Dmitri Trenin, “Russia’s Breakout from the Post-Cold War System,” Carnegie Moscow Center, (December 2014), at:

http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Trenin_Putin2014_web_Eng_1.pdf

Fiona Hill, “Putin: The One-Man Show the West Doesn’t Understand,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 72:3 (2016) at:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00963402.2016.1170361>.

Schedule of joint activities (tentative)

March 30 Food for thought memos to ISKRAN (send to dentrik@und.edu)

April 10

Lunch and get-acquainted conversation	12:30-1:20 pm
Joint discussion of the policy problems	1:30-3:00 pm
Preliminary team discussions	3:00-4:00 pm

April 11

Pizza dinner and Video: “A Walk in the Woods”	7:00-8:30 pm
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April 12

CISSM Forum:	12:00-1:15 pm
Joint Policy Working Groups	1:30-4:00 pm
Joint Policy Presentation	4:15- 5:15 pm
CISSM-ISKRAN dinner	7:00 – 9:00pm

April 14

CISSM 30 th Anniversary Celebration	Riggs Alumni Center	4:00 pm – 7:00 pm
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April 14-15

Sightseeing – ISO volunteers to spend one or both days with some of the ISKRAN students.

(11) Security in Asia (April 17)

Readings

- Muthiah Alagappa, "Asia's Security Environment: From Subordinate to Region Dominant System," Chapter 1 in *The Long Shadow* (Stanford UP, 2008)
- Thomas J. Christensen, "Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy toward East Asia," *International Security* 31:1 (Summer 2006)
- C. Fred Bergsten et al., *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities* (Peterson Institute for International Economics and CISS, 2008), pp. 9-32.
- James B. Steinberg, "Administration's Vision of the U.S.-China Relationship," Keynote Address at the Center for a New American Security, Washington, D.C., September 24, 2009, at:
<http://www.state.gov/s/d/former/steinberg/remarks/2009/169332.htm>
- Jeffrey Lewis, "Chinese Nuclear Posture and Force Modernization," pp. 37-46 in Cristina Hansell and William C. Potter, eds., *Engaging China and Russia on Nuclear Disarmament*, MIIS Occasional Paper #15 (April 2009)
- Lora Saalman, "China and the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (February 2011), pp. 1-39, at:
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/china_posture_review.pdf.
- "Dangerous Waters: China-Japan Relations on the Rocks," International Crisis Group, Asia Report No. 245 (April 8, 2013), at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/north-east-asia/china/245-dangerous-waters-china-japan-relations-on-the-rocks.aspx>.

Memo Question: How should the United States respond to China's growing economic, military, and political power?

(12) Security in the Middle East (April 24)

Readings:

- Peter Sluglett, "The Cold War in the Middle East," pp. 41-58 in Louise Fawcett, ed., *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford, 2005)
- Bahgat Korany, "The Middle East since the Cold War: Torn between Geopolitics and Geoeconomics," in Louise Fawcett, ed., *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 59-76
- Toby Dodge, "Iraqi Transitions: from Regime Change to State Collapse," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4-5, 2005, pp 705-721
- Dexter Filkins, "In Extremists' Iraq, America's Legacy," *The New Yorker* (June 11, 2014), at:
<http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/in-extremists-iraq-rise-americas-legacy>.
- Kenneth M. Pollack, "Fight or Flight: America's Choice in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* (March 1, 2016).
- Madoka Futamura, Edward Newman, and Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, "Towards a Human Security Approach to Peacebuilding," United Nations University Research Brief (2010):
http://www.academia.edu/3487244/Towards_a_Human_Security_Approach_to_Peace

building United Nations University Research Brief No.2 2010 with Madoka Futamura and Edward Newman .

Anthony Cordesman, "The [New-Old] Crises and Instability in the Middle East and North Africa in 2016," Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2016, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/new-old-crises-and-instability-middle-east-and-north-africa-2016>

Memo Question: Does the United States have a viable strategy for security in the Middle East that does not require open-ended military commitments?

(13) Terrorism (May 1)

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security* 27:3 (Winter 2002/3), pp. 30-58

Daniel Byman, "Do Counterproliferation and Counterterrorism Go Together?" *Political Science Quarterly* 122:1 (2007), pp. 25-46

Scott Atran, "The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2006)

https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/washington_quarterly/v029/29.2atran.html

Matthew Kroenig and Barry Pavel, "How to Deter Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly* (Spring 2012): https://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ_12Spring_Kroenig_Pavel.pdf

David J. Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, (August 2005), pp. 597-617

Ömer Taşpinar, "Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined," *SAIS Review* 29:2 (Summer-Fall, 2009)

Richard Atwood, et al., "Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State," International Crisis Group Special Report, (March 14, 2016) at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/exploiting-disorder-al-qaeda-and-the-islamic-state.pdf>

Memo Question: Should terrorism be a primary international security priority?

(14) Future of Global Security (May 8)

Readings

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends: Paradoxes of Power* (January 2017), pp. 1-69 http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/library/reports/2017/global-trends_paradox-of-progress_full_20170109.pdf

Managing Global Insecurity Project, "A Plan for Action," September 2008, at: http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/22318/11_action_plan_mgi.pdf

John Bolton, "Should We Take Global Governance Seriously?" *Chicago Journal of International Law* 205 (Fall 2000), pp. 205-221

Thomas G. Weiss, "Toward a Third Generation of International Institutions: Obama's UN Policy," *The Washington Quarterly* (July 2009), pp. 141-162 at: <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq09julyweiss.pdf>

John Steinbruner, "Security Policy and the Question of Fundamental Change," CISSM Working Paper (November 2010), at: <http://cissm.umd.edu/publications/security-policy-and-question-fundamental-change-0>