

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

PUAF 720
Fall 2016
Tuesday 4:15 pm –6:45 pm
VMH 1107

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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. The last two thirds of the course will review issues confronting security practitioners and policy makers. Where appropriate, regional and transnational issues will be linked to the formative historical experiences to allow us to better understand the evolutionary nature of security problems.

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 (www.shc.umd.edu) at all times.

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 (CISSM forums, other such events on campus or downtown, Congressional hearings, movies, webinars, etc). For each event, they should post a reaction paragraph on the class discussion board connecting it to what we are reading and discussing in class. These posts will be reflected in the participation grade as a check or a plus.

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.

Students will sign up to write two (1500 words) analytical memos in response to questions posed and readings assigned in the syllabus (ideas and evidence from outside readings can be incorporated but are not required). The first memo should be submitted before November 1st. The second should be turned by the last day of class. Memos should be e-mailed to me by 1 am on the day of the class session to which they pertain.

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.?

Students may rewrite the 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 November 17th.

The second assignment will be a group memo prepared for a fictional senior government official on a topic chosen randomly by me and assigned 3 weeks prior to its due date (Oct 31st). In subsequent classes (November 7th-December 5th) a random team may be called on to give an impromptu briefing to that policy maker.

Each group memo will be evaluated on five criteria:

- 1) Does the memo provide a thoughtful treatment of the problem?
- 2) Does the memo have a coherent logic to the policy recommendation?
- 3) Does the memo convey and highlight the assumptions made in the recommendation?
- 4) Does the memo highlight alternative courses of action and discuss the limitations of those courses of action?
- 5) How do the presenters handle unexpected questions during the presentation?

This semester, the class will participate in a policy simulation in lieu of a final exam. The simulation will utilize the platform developed by the ICONS project at the University of Maryland. The simulation will be based on a plausible scenario that will involve multiple actors. The class will divide up into teams that will represent different parties during a crisis. There is no right answer to the scenario, but will expose the class to the realities of international security problems, the subtleties of negotiation, and the importance of interpersonal dynamics in resolving issues.

The simulation will be scheduled for the final exam period and last the entire allotment of time allocated. The exercise will require preparation prior to the simulation, and will be conducted utilizing the ICONS web platform. Teams will be assigned a few weeks prior to the exam and will require each team to read the background materials, understand the goals of their country's position, and push for a resolution that best suits the goals of your group. Each team will be expected to write a 2-page group memo outlining the position of their party on the subject of the exercise.

Your grade will depend upon your level of preparation and engagement during the exercise.

Grading breakdown:

Participation	(in-class, on-line forum, special events)	20%
Analytical Memos	1 st memo	30%
	2 nd memo	30%
Group Memo		10%
Simulation Exercise and Memo		10%

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. 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 (August 30th)**

Readings: 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 Post-War Security (September 6th)**

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)

<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm> (20 pages)

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 (September 13th)**

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) **Limited War or Civil Conflict: Vietnam and Afghanistan in the Cold War (September 20th)**

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?

(5) The Incomplete Ending of the Cold War (September 27th)

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?" unpublished ms.
Catherine Kelleher, "Cooperative Security in Europe," pp. 293-353 in Janne Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1994)
James Baker, "Russia in NATO?" *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2002), pp. pp. 95-103
Dimitri Simes, "Losing Russia: The Costs of Renewed Confrontation," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2007)
Mark Kramer, "The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia," *The Washington Quarterly* (April 2009), pp. 39-61.
<http://csis.org/files/publication/twq09aprilkramer.pdf>
Lawrence Freedman, "Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management," *Survival* 56:3 (June/July 2014), pp. 7-42.

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

(6) Globalization and the Problem of Economic Instability (October 4th)

Readings:

"Nixon Ends Convertibility of Gold and Introduces Wage/Price Controls", Federal Reserve
<http://www.federalreservehistory.org/Events/DetailView/33>
"The End of the Bretton Woods System 1972-1981", IMF
<https://www.imf.org/external/about/histend.htm>

Gian Maria Milsei-Ferretti and Assaf Razin “Current Account Reversals and Currency Crises: Empirical Irregularities” (June 1998) <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/wp9889.pdf>

Attish Ghosh and Uma Ramakrishnan “Current Account Deficits: Is there a problem?” (2012) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/basics/current.htm>

Arturo O’Connell “The recent crisis – and recovery- of the Argentine economy: some elements and background”, [Financialization and the world economy](#).- Cheltenham [u.a.] : Elgar, ISBN 1843768747. – (2005), p. 289-313
<http://www.peri.umass.edu/fileadmin/pdf/programs/globalization/financialization/chapter12.pdf>

Independent Evaluation Office of the IMF “The Role of the IMF in Argentina 1991-2002”. IMF 2003, <http://www.imf.org/External/NP/ieo/2003/arg/>

Matthew Higgins and Thomas Kitgaard “Asia’s Trade Performance after the Currency Crisis” New York Federal Reserve Research Paper
<https://www.newyorkfed.org/medialibrary/media/research/epr/00v06n3/0009higg.pdf>

Memo question: Does globalization and economic liberalization present a net benefit for countries around the world? If so are there any unintended consequences that need to be managed by policy makers? If not, what are the potential consequences for not adopting the Washington consensus agenda (e.g Free Trade, Flexible Exchange Rates, etc)?

(7) Emerging Problems of Civil Conflict (October 11th)

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>

Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, “The United Nations and Conflict Management,” in Chester A. Crocker, et al., *Leashing the Dogs of War*, (USIP, 2007), pp. 497-520

Derek S. Reveron and Kathleen A. Mahoney-Norris, *Human Security in a Borderless World* (Boulder, Co: Westview, 2011), pp. 1-33.

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

(8) Asian Security Arrangements (October 18th)

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.

Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi, *Addressing U.S.-China Strategic Distrust* (Brookings, 2012), at: http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2012/0330_us_china_lieberthal.aspx

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>.

Christopher Mirasola "What Makes an Island? Land Reclamation and the South China Sea Arbitration" Center for International and Strategic Studies (July 2015)

<http://amti.csis.org/what-makes-an-island-land-reclamation-and-the-south-china-sea-arbitration/>

"East China Sea Tensions" Center for International and Strategic Studies (CSIS)

<http://amti.csis.org/east-china-sea-tensions/>

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

(9) Security Challenges in the Middle East – Part I (October 25th)

Readings:

"The Middle East at the Beginning of the 20th Century", YouTube

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vp-nmsQI49A>

Armenian Genocide, History Channel Website

<http://www.history.com/topics/armenian-genocide>

Bernhard Zand “ Century of Violence: What World War I Did to the Middle East”, Spiegel Online , January 2014,
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/world-war-i-led-to-a-century-of-violence-in-the-middle-east-a-946052.html>

“Nationalism versus Islam”, Al Jazeera, 2008
<http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/arabunity/2008/02/200852519420197834.html>

Dawisha, Aheed “Requiem for Arab Nationalism”, The Middle East Quarterly Winter 2003, pp 25-41, <http://www.meforum.org/518/requiem-for-arab-nationalism>

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>

Toby Jones, “America, Oil, and War in the Middle East” , Journal of American History (2012) 99 (1): 208-218.
<http://jah.oxfordjournals.org/content/99/1/208.full>

“1984 National Security Council Briefing on the Iran and Iraq Conflict”, White House,
<http://www.wpainc.com/Archive/Reagan%20Administration/WFM%20Papers%20from%20Reagan%20Archives/Iran-Iraq/Presentation%20on%20Gulf%20Oil%20Disruption%205-22-84.pdf>

(10) Security Challenges in the Middle East – Part II (November 1st)

Readings:

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>.

Arleigh Burke and Nicholas Yarosh “The Causes of Instability and Unrest in the Middle East and North Africa: An Analytic Survey” , Center for International and Strategic Studies , 2012, (CSIS), https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/120213_MENA_Stability.pdf

Anthony Cordesman “Obama and US Strategy in the Middle East” , CSIS, 2016
<https://www.csis.org/analysis/obama-and-us-strategy-middle-east>

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](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) .

Tamara Cofman Wittes, "Slipperiest Slope of them All" , Brookings, 2016

<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/15-slippery-slope-middle-east-wittes>

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

(11) **Eurasian Security Challenges – Ideals, Promise, and Challenges (November 8th)**

Readings

Evolution of European Defense Policy

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/press/books/2010/theforeignpolicyoftheeuropeanunion/theforeignpolicyoftheeuropeanunion_chapter.pdf

<https://next.ft.com/content/53fc4518-4520-11e6-9b66-0712b3873ae1>

(12) **Nuclear Proliferation – A Case Study on Iran and the Signing of JPOA (November 15th)**

Readings:

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

http://www.un.org/disarmament/education/wmdcommission/files/Weapons_of_Terror.pdf

Peter Lavoy, "Proliferation Over the Next Decade: Causes, Warning Signs, and Policy Responses," *Nonproliferation Review* 13:3 (November 2006)

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

Solving the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle, ACA Briefing Book, 3rd ed. (June 2014),

http://www.armscontrol.org/files/files/ACA_Iran_Briefing_Book_Update_June_2014.pdf.

Robert Einhorn, "Preventing a Nuclear-Armed Iran: Requirements for a Comprehensive Nuclear Agreement," Brookings Working Paper (March 31, 2014), at:

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Papers/2014/03/31%20nuclear%20armed%20iran%20einhorn/31%20nuclear%20armed%20iran%20einhorn%20pdf.pdf>.

Joint Plan of Action (JPOA) http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/int/iran-5-1-geneva-agreement_2013.htm

Kenneth Katzman and Paul Kerr "Iran Nuclear Agreement", Congressional Research Service, July 2015. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R43333.pdf>

Memo Question: Does the JPOAC effectively resolve the Iranian proliferation problem or does it simply delay it?

(12) **The Threat of Terrorism (November 22nd)**

- 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 Taşpınar, "Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined," *SAIS Review* 29:2 (Summer-Fall, 2009)
- Randall Blake, "The Next Chapter of Global Terrorism: New Realities Transcending Old 9/11 Paradigms," Foreign Policy at Brookings (Dec 2012), at:
<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/12/terrorism%20security%20blake/security%20counterterrorism%20blake.pdf>

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

(14) Cyber Security (December 6th)

Readings

Goodman, Seymour E. and Herbert Lin, National Research Council (U.S.), Committee on Improving Cybersecurity Research in the United States, *Toward a Safer and more Secure Cyberspace*, National Academies Press, 2007. <http://www.nap.edu/catalog/11925/toward-a-safer-and-more-secure-cyberspace>

The Comprehensive National Cyber Security Initiative, White House,
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/cybersecurity/national-initiative>

[Harry, Charles "A Framework for Categorizing Disruptive Cyber Activity and Assessing its Impact", CISSM Working Paper, August 2015,](#)
<http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/framework-categorizing-disruptive-cyber-activity-and-assessing-its-impact>

Executive Order 13636, Improving Critical Infrastructure Cyber Security, White House,
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/02/12/executive-order-improving-critical-infrastructure-cybersecurity>

E.O 13691 Promoting Private Sector Cybersecurity Information Sharing, Executive Office of the President, February 2013. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/02/13/executive-order-promoting-private-sector-cybersecurity-information-shari>

“Cyberspace Operations”, Joint Publication 3-12, Feb 2013,
http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_12R.pdf

Critical Infrastructure Act of 2002, U.S Congress, November 2002.
http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hr_5005_enr.pdf

“Computer Security Incident Handling Guide”, NIST SP 800-61
<http://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/SpecialPublications/NIST.SP.800-61r2.pdf>

Memo Question: Is the threat of cyber disruption or espionage a international security problem or private issue best left to private industry?