

**TROY UNIVERSITY PACIFIC REGION
COURSE SYLLABUS
IR 6635 National Security Policy
Term 1, 2017-18 (August 14 – October 15, 2017)
Weekend/Web-Enhanced at Yongsan USAG, South Korea
September 9-10 & October 14-15**

PROFESSOR

Robert E. Kelly

E-mail: rekelly@troy.edu or robertkelly260@hotmail.com (preferred)

Mobile: +82-10-3760-5462

Website: www.AsianSecurityBlog.wordpress.com

Twitter: [@Robert_E_Kelly](https://twitter.com/Robert_E_Kelly)

Skype & Kakao: robertkelly260

MEETING TIMES

Classes will meet on two weekends (September 9-10, and October 14-15, 2017) from 0900 to 1800. This course includes a “web-enhanced” portion, which is explained below.

CATALOGUE COURSE DESCRIPTION

An examination of the structures, motivations, and major objectives of national security policymaking from a comparative perspective with particular emphasis on the politics of national defense in the United States

COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course introduces the national security policymaking at the graduate level, with emphases on strategic theory, and the grand strategy of the United States. We begin with a theoretical overview of contemporary strategic studies to assist your progress toward your master’s completion. We then apply these theories to several large policy topics for the United States: American military hegemony, the war on terrorism, and the competition with rising China. We conclude with the debate over American decline.

TEXTBOOKS

John Baylis, et al. *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies*, 5th edition, Oxford University Press, 2016, ISBN: 978019870891

Amitav Acharya, *The End of American World Order*, Polity, 2014, ISBN: 9780745672489.

FILMS

Tora, Tora, Tora (Strategy: War Initiation)

Alternates: *Path to War*, *Zulu Dawn*, *Zulu*

Japan’s Longest Day (Strategy: War Conclusion/Defeat)

Alternates: *Hiroshima*, *Waterloo*, *Downfall*

Dr. Strangelove (Nuclear Weapons)

Alternates: *Fail Safe*, *Fog of War*

Battle of Algiers (Insurgency and Terrorism)

Alternates: *Zero Dark Thirty*, *Seal Team Six*, *Black Hawk Down*

To break up the long day, we will watch a film at the end of each class. These media are R-rated and contain adult material such as language, violence, drug and alcohol use, sexuality, and so on. Should you find any of this material deeply objectionable, please notify me and you may excuse yourself. That said, these are all well-reviewed, mainstream films directly relevant to the course. I hope you enjoy them and find them useful. We will also discuss them in class.

GRADING AND ASSIGNMENTS

Student grades will be determined as follows:

Asian Map Quiz (must complete by August 25, available through Canvas): 5%

Participation in class discussions and Canvas: 20%

Presentation: 15%

Paper: 30%

Final: 30%

CLASS PARTICIPATION

Students are expected to do the readings before class and be prepared to discuss the contents. Because we will spend 9 hours straight together, discussion and presentations will break-up the monotony of long lectures. The participation and presentation scores are to incentivize your engagement. The class will be more enjoyable for all of us if there is much discussion.

CANVAS WEB-ENHANCED PORTION

Troy requires 45 hours of instruction for a three-unit course. We will meet for a total of 36 hours in the classroom, so 9 hours must be covered outside of class. These hours will be completed through the “Canvas” service in three areas: course discussion; general discussion about current events relevant to the course material (pronouncements by the Trump administration, North Korean provocations, Syria, etc.); and discussion of your paper topic and your paper’s development. Each week I will put up a topic of discussion under current events for debate. This course requires you know how to use Canvas. Please consult Troy IT if this is a problem.

Please be pro-active and engaged in your use of Canvas. I will not pursue you or nag you to post, nor is Canvas to be a crutch because you missed class or do not know what to write your paper about. I will check the service regularly for your comments and concerns. Canvas participation – on the discussion boards – will count toward your participation grade, along with in-class participation.

PRESENTATION

On September 10, you will present for 10-15 minutes on a chapter selected from Part II,

chapters 10-17 of *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. You will provide a one or two page hand-out summarizing the important points of the chapter. You will not use powerpoint. This is a seminar, so your presentation is to be conversational, learned, and interactive. Besides a brief of the chapter itself, you will tell us a little about the author, why you choose this chapter, what you think of the argument, and so on. This is to be enjoyable, not intimidating. You will choose your chapter on a first-come-first-serve basis via an email to me no later than August 25, the same day as the Asia map quiz is due.

PAPER

You will write a research paper due on Monday, October 9 via Canvas. The paper is to be 12-15 pages in Times New Roman, double-spaced, 1-inch margins, 12-point font with 10-point bibliographic footnotes. Do not deviate from these specs; gimmicks like bloated footnotes or lengthy block quotes will be treated as such. The paper can be about any topic in the course area. I am flexible and happy to accommodate your professional needs or interests. Please talk to me about any special concerns, and more generally, it is best if you talk to me, and your colleagues, about your paper before you write it.

The paper is to make some kind of claim or argument about US military strategy at any point after WWII. You are to apply the theoretical material of the first half of the course to the US material of the second half around a topic that interests you in US strategy – terrorism, China, North Korea, etc. The paper is not to be a case study, travelogue, war buff story-telling, and so on. You need an argument grounded in the theoretical work of the first book - a claim about US strategic behavior that you will demonstrate. For example:

‘The US pivot to Asia is actually soft-containment of China, and China will likely counter-balance the US with a coalition of its own.’ This is a basic if/then, or A->B causal design. At its heart is a theoretic claim (about balancing), which you would then illustrate by examples of your claim in action elsewhere; e.g., the USSR also tried to balance the US when it felt it was encircled by the US alliance network.

OR

‘American strategy in the third world should limit itself to support for local opponents and avoid large-scale intervention/counter-insurgency, because COIN has failed (Vietnam, Iraq), but assistance to locals has worked (the Northern Alliance, El Salvador).’ Your claim would be that democracies/America find COIN too lengthy, manpower-intensive, and unpopular with their publics to win. You would compare and contrast the relevant cases, and then argue that the US should avoid entering places like Syria or Rwanda.

OR

‘The US benefits enormous from the global liberal order it has underwritten for decades. Setbacks such as Iraq should not blind us to these benefits. The US should not withdraw but rather stay forwardly engaged against competitors such as China or Russia.’ You would then illustrate how the US benefits from things like NATO, its Asian alliances, the UN, and so on, and how those offset the costs of hegemony.

I do not care what your claim is (although I would encourage you not to be extreme or ridiculous), but it is this argument, not the casework, that drives the paper. You are free to make predictions and policy prescriptions, but as addenda. **Strategic theory applied to the data of postwar US foreign policy is the heart of the paper. Finally, an ‘A’ paper will use the books, primary sources, films, and course discussion. Do not wander outside the**

course frame; do use the course materials.

FINAL EXAM

The same day you turn in your paper, October 9, the final exam will be posted on Canvas. It is due by midnight KST on October 16. You will write 8-10 pages following the same spec as above. You will answer 3 questions, with a minimum of 3 pages per question, each worth 10% of your grade. Footnotes and a bibliography are not required.

OFFICE HOURS

I live in Busan, South Korea and do not have regular office hours. However, meetings are available by appointment during the class lunch break and after class. Canvas is Troy's preferred mode of professional, course-related interaction, but should you have personal concerns, please email me. In emergencies, you may IM/Skype/call me, but please be considerate of my privacy and time. Thank you.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Day 1: Strategic Studies: Theory

Readings: *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, Introduction – Part I (ch. 9)

What is Political Science?

What is International Relations?

What is International Security?

What is Strategic Studies?

- Classics: Thucydides, Clausewitz, etc.
- Game Theory
- Levels of War
 - o Political/Grand Strategy
 - o Strategy
 - o Operational
 - o Tactical

War

- Definitions
- Evolution
- Eclipse?

Strategic Culture

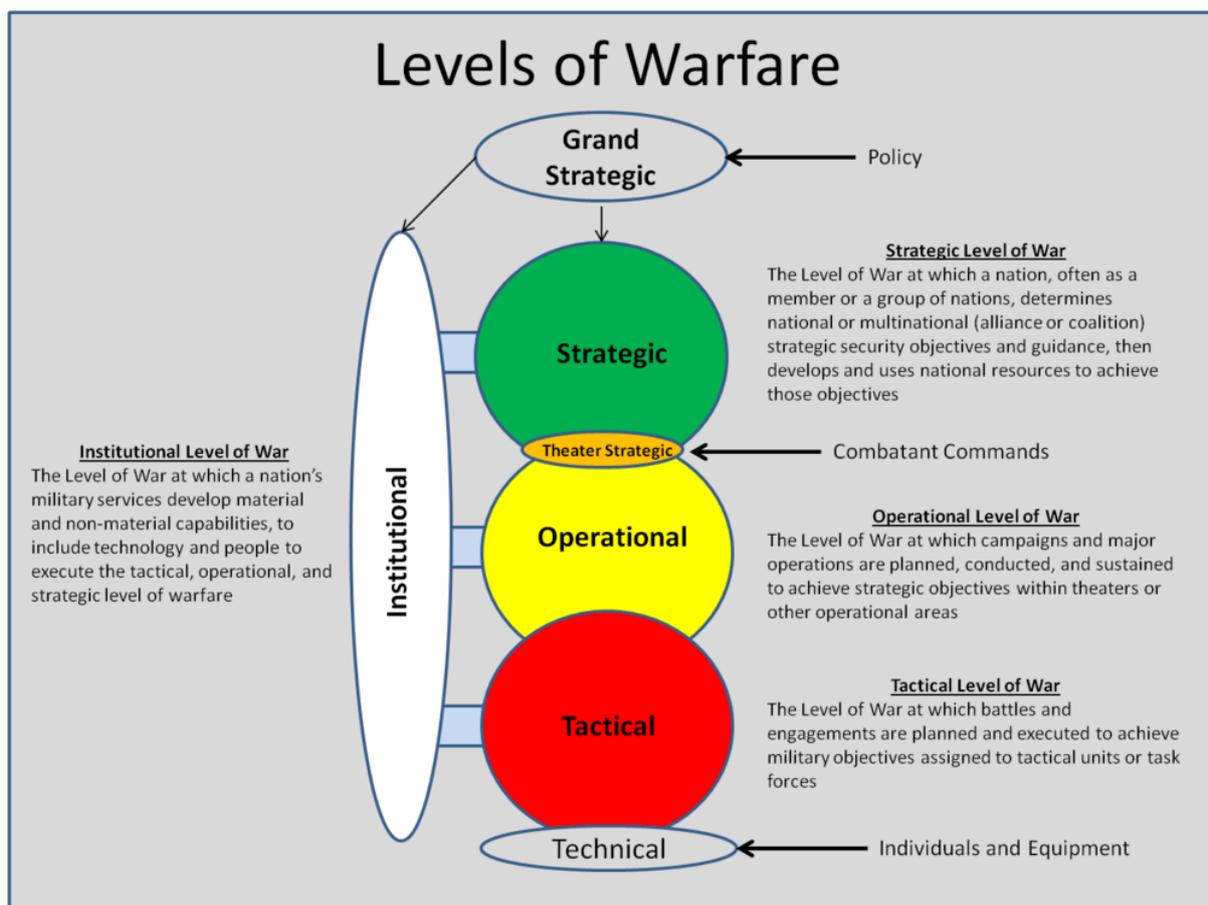
- Offensive/Defensive
- Role of War in Society
- Warrior Caste?
- US
- China

International Law

- Constraints on the Use of Force

- POWS
 - Geneva Conventions
 - 'Enemy Combatant'/Torture Debate
 - Just War
- Technology & Conflict
- Nuclear weapons
 - Drones
- Intelligence
- Era of Semi-Permanent Low-Intensity Conflict

End of Class Film: *Tora, Tora, Tora*



Day 2: Strategic Studies: Issues

Readings: *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, Parts II-III (chs. 10-21)

Terrorism

- Definitions
- Al Qaeda Case Study
- War on Terror?

- What is Victory in GWoT

Insurgency/COIN

- Iraq Case Study
- Post-Occupation North Korea?

Nuclear Weapons/WMD

- Massive Retaliation
- Mutually Assured Destruction
- Deterrence
- Arms Control & Missile Defense
- Rogues with Nuclear Weapons
- 'Global Zero'?

Conventional Arms & Conflict

- Transformation/RMA
- Obsolescence of Major War?

Humanitarian Intervention/R2P/PKO

Cyber-Conflict

- Twilight, Rule-less Space
- Appeal to Rogues
 - Russian 'hybrid war'
 - North Korean Hacking

The Future of Security & Security Studies

- Decline of Great Power War
- Fading of Nuclear Weapons
- Endemic Low-Intensity War
- Unmanned Conflict
- Terrorism

End of Class Film: *Japan's Longest Day*

Day 3: American Strategy: Theory

Readings:

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions of US Grand Strategy," 1996:
<http://www.comw.org/pda/14dec/fulltext/97posen.pdf>

Barry Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of US Hegemony,"
 2006: available in Canvas

National Security Council, "The National Security Strategy of the United States
 (Preemption)," September 2002:
<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>

National Security Council, "National Security Strategy of the United States (most current),"
 February 2015: <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>

Colin Kahl & Hal Brands, "Trump's Grand Strategic Trainwreck," January 31, 2017,
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/31/trumps-grand-strategic-train-wreck/>

American Grand Strategy

- What is it?
- Enduring Constraints
 - o Geography
 - o Democracy
- Enduring Goals
 - o Domination of Western Hemisphere
 - o Balance of Power in Eurasia
- History Before 1945
- Modern foundation in US 'command of the commons'

Posen's Four Options

- Retrenchment
- Selective Engagement
- Cooperative Security
- Primacy

The US "National Security Strategy" Document

- Bush (Preemption NSS 2002)
- Obama (most recent NSS)
- Trump?

End of Class Film: *Dr. Strangelove*

Day 4: American Strategy: Issues

Reading:

Stephen Biddle, "American Grand Strategy After 9/11," Army War College, 2005:

<http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pdffiles/pub603.pdf>

Jan van Tol, et al. "AirSea Battle," Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2010:

<http://csbaonline.org/research/publications/airsea-battle-concept>

Acharya, the whole book

Optional:

David Gompert et al., "War with China," RAND, 2016:

http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1140.html

Victor Cha & Robert Gallucci, "Toward a New Policy and Strategy for North Korea," George Bush Institute, 2017:

<http://gwbcenter.imgix.net/Resources/gwbi-toward-a-new-policy-for-north-korea.pdf>

Contemporary Issues in US Grand Strategy

- Global war on terror

- Neoconservatism
- COIN
- Posen's retrenchment?
- Rise of China
 - The return of bipolarity?
- Russia
 - Managing a great power in decline
- North Korea
 - From rogue state to strategic threat?

Trump and US Grand Strategy

- Retrenchment/withdrawal?

The End of the American Liberal Order?

- Enduring declinist debate
- US relative China vis China

End of Class Film: *Battle of Algiers*

ATTENDANCE POLICY

Attendance is mandatory, because even one missed day is 25% of our total class time. At the graduate level, that is simply not acceptable, and I recommend you withdraw from the course if you cannot make all four sessions. Should you need to miss a day, you must contact me as far in advance as possible. Perhaps we can arrange some manner of make-up. Most likely, we will need to speak with department about whether you can complete the class.

INCOMPLETE GRADE POLICY

If a student requests an "INC", he or she must submit to the instructor a signed *Petition for and Work to Remove an Incomplete Grade* form indicating the compelling reason for the "INC". The instructor approving the request will document the required work and the deadline for completion. When the student completes the required work, the instructor will submit a *Change of Grade* form. In cases where a student fails to make up "INC" course work by the end of the next term in which they enroll, the "INC" will automatically be recorded as an "F" grade on the student's record.

AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT (ADA)

Troy University, under the guidelines of ADA and the Rehabilitation Act, makes reasonable accommodations for documented physical and mental limitations of otherwise-qualified individuals with disabilities. To provide the best possible services to students, employees, and visitors, Troy University has designated Disability Services Coordinators and Human Resources representatives on each campus as responsible parties for coordinating accommodations for persons with disabilities. For more information about physical access to building or grounds, academic or workplace accommodations, or other ADA related services, individuals should contact a Disability Services Coordinator or Human Resources representative on their campus of attendance. Specific information regarding the ADA, including contact information for responsible parties, can be found at the following link: <http://trojan.troy.edu/employees/humanresources/documents/ADAPolicy2003.htm>.

MOBILE PHONES AND ELECTRONIC DEVICES

Use of any electronic device (mobile phone, tablet, laptop, etc.) by students in the instructional environment is prohibited unless explicitly approved on a case-by-case basis by the instructor of record or by the Office of Disability Services in collaboration with the instructor. Mobile phones and other communication devices may be used for emergencies, however, but sending or receiving non-emergency messages during a class meeting is forbidden by the University. Use of a communication device to violate the Troy University “Standards of Conduct” will result in appropriate disciplinary action (See pp. 42-52 of the Oracle.)

In order to receive emergency messages from the University or family members, devices must be in a vibration, or other unobtrusive mode. Students receiving calls that they believe to be emergency calls must answer quietly without disturbing the teaching environment. If the call is an emergency, they must move unobtrusively and quietly from the instructional area and notify the instructor as soon as reasonably possible. Students who are expecting an emergency call should inform the instructor before the start of the instructional period.

STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

By their enrollment, students are responsible for following the “Standards of Conduct” as they apply in the Troy University Pacific Region. Students may be disciplined up to and including suspension and expulsion for the commission of offenses as described in the Graduate Bulletin. As a reminder to graduate students, the “Standards of Conduct” regards dishonesty as an offense, which includes cheating and plagiarism. Students should carefully study the definitions of cheating and plagiarism:

1. Cheating includes:

a) Copying, or relying upon, another student’s answers or submitting another student’s work as one’s own or submitting as new work assignments previously completed for another class, while completing any class assignment, study group assignment, or during in-class or take home examinations.

b) Providing one’s own answers to another student while completing any class assignment, study group assignment (except where approved by the instructor due to the nature of the assignment itself), or during in-class or take-home examinations.

c) Using notes, books, or any other unauthorized aids during an examination; or holding an unauthorized discussion of answers during in-class examinations.

2. Plagiarism is submitting a paper, other required student course requirement in which the language, ideas, or thoughts are identical to published or unpublished material from another source, including material found on the Internet, without correctly giving credit to that source. While computers and the Internet allow students to cut and paste work from other material, new software is making it easier for universities to detect plagiarism. Instructors may screen electronic versions of student assignments using the detection software.

LIBRARY SUPPORT

Students can access online information resources through Troy University web site at <http://www.troy.edu> or the Troy Library Services home page at <http://trojan.troy.edu/library/>. These resources include a variety of full text databases that provide complete article texts

from thousands of journals, magazines and newspapers. Among the most helpful databases are JSTOR, Academic Search Complete, and Lexis-Nexis.