SYLLABUS

National Security Policy

Bentley University

Waltham MA 022452

Gary Donato, Ph.D.

Office Hours: T-F 0630-0830; W 1130-1; Th 10-1 & by appt.

 $\hbox{E-mail:}\ \underline{DONATOGRM@MSN.COM}\ or\ gdonato@bentley.edu$

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course will address the topic of U.S. national security policy from a historical-analytical, as well as contemporary perspective. The course begins with the National Security Act of 1947, proceeds through the impact of the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols reforms and ends with post-9/11 security considerations. The course will also focus on the policy process and current challenges in security policy including the Global War on Terror.

<u>REQUIRED TEXT</u>: Inderfurth & Johnson. 2004. <u>Fateful Decisions: Inside the National Security Council</u>. Oxford University Press, ISBN: 978-0-19-515966-0

Kettl, Donald F. 2103. <u>System Under Stress: Homeland Security and American Politics</u>, 3rd ed. CQ Press, ISBN:

Sarkesian, Williams & Cimbala. 2013. <u>US National Security:</u>
<u>Policymakers, Processes & Politics</u>. Lynne Rienner Publishers, ISBN: 978-1-58826-856-3

Zelizer, Julian E. 2010. <u>Arsenal of Democracy</u>. Basic Books. ISBN: 978-0-465-01507-8

Handouts.

I would also recommend that you acquire a reference manual/handbook on English grammar and usage. There are many fine examples available.

Useful websites: www.fpri.org; www.fpri.org; www.un.org; www.policy.com; http://www.aspeninstitute.org; www.redalert@stratfor.com; http://www.brookings.edu/about/projects/archive/nsc/oralhistories; www.thepresidency.org/programs/past-programs/project-on-national-security-reform; http://csis.org/program/archived-homeland-security-projects

Useful journals: Foreign Policy; Foreign Affairs; Orbis; Parameters; National Interest. International Security.

OBJECTIVES: Besides the obvious acquisition of an appreciation and understanding of American politics, this course is specifically tailored to do as Hercule Poirot so often states - "to exercise the little gray cells". I will present varying models of analysis of the national security policy-making process with which you are to conduct your own analyses and assessments. Most importantly, this course seeks to allow you to develop your own evaluation of national security issues and present those assessments to decisionmakers. Key provisions of national security have changed in the 21st century as a result of a variety of different pressures and threats. We will look at the key players as they considered national security priorities; how they went about providing national security; and what role they saw for the use of hard and soft power elements in the construct of a national security policy. Relative international standing and balance of power remain important elements to the calculus of decision-making. What other elements must be considered in a more globalized, yet still anarchic world?

I divide the course into three parts. The first deals with the formation and articulation of a National Security Policy. In this section, the interests of the United States - to provide for the security and prosperity of its citizens, territory, and way of life - set the foundation for a national strategy. The subsequent section places that formulation squarely into the structure of American government. Here we place the theory into the complex interdependence of competing interests, objectives, and priorities that make decision-making and planning extraordinarily complicated. The last and arguably the bulk of this course emphasize "theory to practice" in that we will evaluate several case studies pertaining to the implementation of national security policy. As future policy makers, your task is to constantly keep in mind the role of the Council within the democratic framework and recommendations you would make. Ever keep in mind alternative approaches for dealing with uncertainty while remaining consistent with America's basic guiding principles. Begin to think of events around the globe as more than components in a geopolitical struggle. How might the U.S. be better served by analyzing 'trouble spots" as unique contours? Then ask yourself how and whether the U.S. should see these spots as part of the National Security Policy.

METHOD OF EVALUATION:

- Student participation/individual contribution
- Oral presentations (2+)
- Response/analysis papers (~3 pages each)
- One historical analysis paper/Doctrine (5-7 pages)
- One longer strategy articulation analysis paper (<10 pages)

GRADING CRITERIA: I compute your final grade as follows:

	 Participation 			10%			
	 Attendance 			10%			
	• Re	• Response papers			30%		
	• Pro	Presentation			% (10% each)		
	• Hi	Historical Analysis Paper			%		
	• As	Assessment Paper			20%		
			-				
A	95-100	4.0	C	73-76	2.0		
A-	90-94	3.7	C-	70-72	1.7		
B+	87-89	3.6	D+	67-69	1.3		
В	83-86	3.0	D	63-66	1.0		
B-	80-82	2.7	D-	60-62	0.7		
C+	77-79	2.3	F	below 60	0.0		

READINGS: I assign the readings for each session in the syllabus. To properly prepare for class sessions, I expect you to complete the readings, prepare questions on areas you do not understand, and engage in discussion with your classmates. In addition to the assigned readings, I expect each of you to read a major newspaper (NY Times) and to monitor the news with an eye

to keeping up with national and international events as they happen. I do not expect you to know every detail of every event, but I do expect you to be acquainted with the major events and how the NSC should consider those events. This is a momentous period in American government — the potential for a complete shift in vision could translate into a rewriting of national security policy.

DISABILITIES STATEMENT: If you have a hidden or visible disability requiring classroom or test-taking modifications, please see me as soon as possible. Bentley University abides by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 which stipulate no students shall be denied the benefits of an education solely by reason of disability. If you have a hidden or visible disability which may require classroom accommodations, please make an appointment with the Coordinator of Disability Services Stephanie Brodeur, within the first 4 weeks of the semester. The Office of Disability Services is located in the Office of Counseling and Student Development (CSD), LaCava 166, 781-891-2274. The Coordinator of Disability Services is responsible for coordinating accommodations and services for students with disabilities.

HONOR CODE: The Bentley University Honor Code formally recognizes the responsibility of students to act in an ethical manner. It expects all students to maintain academic honesty in their work, recognizing that most students will maintain academic honesty because of their own high standard. The honor code expects students to promote ethical behavior throughout the Bentley community and to take responsible action when there is a reason to suspect dishonesty. In addition, the honor code encourages faculty members to foster an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect in and out of the classroom. Faculty are also expected to share the responsibility of maintaining an academically honest environment.

<u>MAKE-UP EXAMS:</u> Are NOT given. This also holds true for written assignments. Be responsible, work with me to provide you the best education possible. I also do not accept late work. You know the scheduled due dates, plan accordingly.

PERFORMANCE: How well you perform is a combination of three factors:

- How well I present the material
- Your personal motivation to learn. (Notice that I did not mention your capability. You are capable by the mere fact that you are sitting here)
- Your personal discipline to prepare

<u>COMMENTARY:</u> I welcome, and value, feedback, questions, and comments from you regarding any subject or aspect of the course. If you are confused, concerned, have issues, or just want to chat regarding class discussions/topics and your performance in class, please take the initiative and come see me. Please DO NOT WAIT until the end of the semester to resolve festering issues. Feel free to approach me before/after class or stop by my office (MOR 202) to discuss and attempt to resolve such issues. The whole basis of democracy, regardless of the level (federal, state, regional, local, or between citizens) is discourse, dialogue, and compromise.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THIS CLASS IS TO ENJOY IT.

Bentley University National Security Policy (GLS 242) Office: MOR 202 (inside MOR 200) Dr. Gary Donato T/F 12:45-2pm gdonato@bentley.edu

Class Session	READINGS	TOPIC
9/2	Zelizer 19	Introduction

- What is national security policy?
- What are the implications of establishing such a policy?
- How should the U.S. see the world in. re. NSP?
- Compare and contrast liberty and security.

9/5 Zelizer 1-3 National Interest Sarkesian 1, 10, 12 within Am. Gov't

- What 4 questions does Zelizer ask us to consider?
- What is the U.S. national interest?
- How does the national interest inform both foreign policy and national security policy?
- If we see NSP as a subset of public policy, what are the implications?
- What are some internal/domestic forces driving foreign policy (FP) and national security policy (NSP)? How do both compare to domestic policy (DP)?
- What is the significance of TRs statement (Zelizer, 18)?
- How do policymakers differentiate forms of interest (vital, critical, etc)?

9/9 Zelizer 4 Institutionalizing NSP Sarkesian 4 NSA 1947

- What was the impetus for institutionalizing NSP?
- What were the internal dynamics of establishing a National Security Council and completely restructuring the foreign and military establishments?

9/12 Sarkesian 5, 11, 13 Separation of Powers Constitution Article I & II

- How does the NSC fit into the U.S. political system?
- Go back to Zelizer Ch 1 (p3) what is the answer to his question?
- What is the civil military relationship?
- What forces exist in the democratic process affecting decision-making?

9/16 Sarkesian 2, 3 Context matters

- Why is context important for policy making?
- What is America's place in the global environment?

Presentation of Eberstadt Report

- How does Eberstadt's (in Inderfurth) view of the NSC organization align with Sarkesian in the necessity of centering NSP in the executive branch?
- What was the partisan critique of the National Security Advisor (NSA)?
- Why was Republican support for Truman's ideas so crucial?

9/23 Sarkesian 7, Zelizer 4 Inderfurth 3, 4, 14 Policy Triad

Presentation of NSA 1947

- What is Congress's response to establishing an NSC?
- What is the policy triad?
- What are the component parts of NSA 1947 and what are the checks and balances identified in the Act?
- Policy is the recipient of democratic input. How does Zelizer, Sarkesian, and Inderfurth present that influence in the national security process?
- What is the role of the NSA in E-L relations?
- How is the NSA role unique from other advisors and what are the implications?

9/26 Sarkesian 8, 9

Zelizer 4; Inderfurth 14

Military/Intelligence

- How do the establishments complement/supplement the NSC (or the reverse)?
- What complications do you foresee (we'll return to this question often over the course of the semester)?
- What was the military's perspective of their role in the NSP process?
- What is the NSA's responsibility with regard to DoD; DoS, CIA?

9/30 Zelizer 5-7 10/3 inderfurth 5, 6 Truman/Eisenhower

Presentation of the Truman and Eisenhower Doctrines Presentation of NSC 68 Presentation of the Bricker Amendment Presentation of DoD Reorganization Act (1958)

• How would the emergence of Communist China and the Soviet acquisition of the bomb affect NS decision-making (NSDM)?

- What does Zelizer mean by conservative internationalism? Why is this emerging concept important for NSDM?
- Why did the Republicans gain the upper hand in NSDM in 1950/1952? What would conceivably change with the change from a Democratic to a Republican administration?
 Inderfurth 7, 8 Checking Truman and DDE

Presentation of the Gaither Commission Presentation of the Jackson Subcommittee

- Who is Jackson and what role did he play in NSDM?
- What were the recommendations of the Jackson subcommittee?

10/10 Zelizer 8, 9 JFK/LBJ Inderfurth 9, 17, 23

Cuban Missile Crisis (go online)

Presentation of Kennedy Doctrine and Johnson Doctrine Presentation of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment

- How and why did JRK deviate from the NSC structure of HST & DDE?
- What is the EXCOMM and how does it compare to the NSC? Why a different advisory body?
- What new component did Kennedy introduce to NSP?

10/14 NO CLASS MINI-BREAK

10/17 & 21 Zelizer 9-11 Nixon/Ford Inderfurth 10, 18, 27

Presentation of the Nixon & Ford Doctrines Presentation of Church Committee Presentation of War Powers Act 1974

- In what ways did Nixon follow/even go beyond the NSDM of JFK?
- What are the implications of combining the role of NSA with DoS?
- How does Nixon's overtures to China and the Soviet Union alter NSDM?
- Bring Jackson back into the process. How does he react to Nixon's overtures and why?

10/24 Zelizer 12 Carter Inderfurth 11, 19

Presentation of the Carter Doctrine Presentation of Nelson-Bingham Bill

• Carter follows the Jackson-Vanik Amendment fairly closely, incorporating the recommendations into his NSDM. What are the implications on NSP in the future?

How does Zelizer consider the Democratic opportunity "lost"?

10/28 & 31 Zelizer 13, 14 11/4 Inderfurth 10, 20, 24, 28, 30 Video Iran-Contra EO12333 Reagan/Bush

Presentation of Reagan/Bush Doctrine.
Presentation of the Boland Amendments
Presentation of Goldwater-Nichols Act
Presentation of Long Commission
Presentation of Inouye-Hamilton Committee
Presentation of the Tower Commission

- What is the significance of the Weinberger Doctrine on NSDM?
- What was the reasoning (i.e. global context) of Reagan's decision to invade Grenada or Bush's decision to enter Panama? How were either a policy to ensure a more secure nation?
- What was the reasoning behind SDI as an integral part of NSP?
- Why was Reagan so against Nixon's détente/rapproachment policies toward Russia/China?
- How did the Boland Amendments seek to re-establish the guidelines of Art I & II (review Jackson subcommittee report and the Jackson-Vanik amendment)?
- What was the root cause of the backlash to Iran-Contra? Implications?
- What was the purpose and conclusions of the Tower Commission?

11/7 & 11 Zelizer 15, 16 Inderfurth 12, 21, 25, 33

Clinton

Presentation of Clinton Doctrine Presentation of Hart-Rudman Commission

- Since the NSP centered around anti-communism (Truman Doctrine; Marshall Plan, NSC 68, etc), what then becomes the centralizing point after the collapse of the Soviet Union?
- Cheney as Bush I's SecDef focused on "rogue dictators" (Zelizer 357). When and under what conditions should "rogue dictators" become a salient element of NSP?
- How are Democrats Clinton/Gore "conservative internationalists" and how is this reflected in the Clinton Doctrine and his NSDDs?
- How and why did globalization become part of NSP?
- After Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia, Clinton put forth R2P as both a national and an international security policy. What is R2P and how does it affect structure and process of national security?
- After 1994, we see a merging of 'liberal internationalism' and "conservative internationalism". In what ways does this merger re-inform NSP?

Bush and 9/11

Presentation of NSS 2002 (Bush Doctrine) Presentation 9/11 Commission

- What changed with 9/11 (see Zelizer 439)?
- Compare/contrast the findings of Hart Rudman with the 9/11 Commission.
- Bush compared 9/11 and the restructuring of NSP with that of the rise of communism and the establishment of NSA 1947.
- What transformations did his comparison foreshadow?
- Who was Richard Clarke and why was his voice not dominant in either the Clinton or Bush NSC or Foreign Policy groups? (Bring back Sarkesian 8, 9)

11/21 Inderfurth 31 Obama
Handouts
Sarkesian 14

Presentation of Obama Doctrine

- Differentiate the Taliban from Al Qaeda and ISIS?
- What problems is Obama experiencing with regard to NSP?
- What ways has the "basis of national security qualitatively shifted" (Sarkesian 123)?

11/25 Sarkesian 14 Further Issues
Kettl 1-4 Protecting the Homeland
HSPD 1, 5

- Why was the HSC so necessary and philosophically problematic? Wasn't the NSC enough?
- What does Kettl mean by connecting the dots? Think beyond the causal problem.
- How is HSC a concern to Congress (relook at the Jackson subcommittee report).
- What problems did the establishment of HSC and later DHS resolve with regard to NSC?
- What problems came to light as a result of the creation of DHS?
- How does HSC complicate (or does it?) the creation of a strategic vision?

11/28 NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK

- Go back to week 1 and re-ask yourself the question of liberty vs security in light of DHS/HSC.
- How and why has the establishment of DHS caused us to relook at the policy process?

12/5 Kettl 5 Risk Management
Inderfurth 30, 33 Lessons Learned?????
Zelizer 1, 19
Sarkesian 15

- What recommendations would you make to Obama's successor?
- Can the tension between national security state, the arsenal, and domestic politics be resolved (Zelizer 505)?
- Should it be resolved?

12/9 Reading Day

12/17 Final Exam for Block 10 1-3pm

RANGE OF VIEWPOINTS IN AMERICA

LIBERALS would like to see a country in which there are no great disparities of income, wealth, power, and status. They would also like to see stalemate and inertia removed from our constitutional system. In foreign policy, they favor discouraging the obsession of ideology.

RADICAL LEFTISTS desire a socialist society. Property, except for a few personal possessions, should be communally owned, and cooperation replaces competition in the economic realm. Inequalities should be eliminated and corporate wealth broken up. In foreign policy, the radical left wants a reconstruction of America's aims and an elimination of corporate businesses' undue influence in shaping that policy.

CONSERVATIVES believe that America should be a land in which individuals are encouraged to improve themselves by hard work, initiative, and creativity. Power should reside at the state and local levels. America must remain a leader among nations. They denounce the drab conformity of the welfare state and denounce liberal programs that engage in "social engineering."

RADICAL RIGHTISTS have two differing strands of thought. One embraces the elitist position typified by the John Birch society, which advocates competitive individualism and unrestricted business activities. On the other side, populist rightists seek a much broader base for their ideal system that denounces the poor, the minority, and the counter-culturalists. They are highly aggressive in foreign policy.

CENTRISTS hope to create a land of moderation, reasonableness, and goodwill based on diversity and multiple interests. They believe in equality of opportunity, but allow substantial variations in income and property. Their foreign policy, they believe, has been a judicious mixture of firmness and restraint.

The continuum would look something like this:

RADICAL LEFT --- LIBERALS --- CENTRISTS --- CONSERVATIVES --- RADICAL RIGHT

PAPERS AND EXAMINATION INFORMATION

I will constantly evaluate your writing skills as the course develops.

EXAMS: Examinations will be of the "mixed type" combining true/false, multiple choice, short answer (less than a paragraph), longer answer (paragraph), and essay (page to page and a half). Responses other than multiple choice require supporting evidence in the form citation/quotation using either MLA/APA/Chicago Manual of Style format.

NOTE: Grading on take home examinations consist of 50% for the correct answer and 50% for germane supporting evidence.

PAPERS All written material must be typed double-space and with 1½" left margin, 1" margins top/bottom/right. The writing must comply with MLA standards. I most strongly recommend you acquire a writing guide/handbook. I evaluate the papers for content, grammar, and historical accuracy, and most importantly, integration of reading material (text, reader, contemporaneous readings). The best way to ensure you have a presentable paper is to conduct both spell and grammar check and have at least one peer read your paper, preferably aloud so you can hear your errors. The quality of your papers falls into and between three categories: Superior, Excellent, and Good.

SUPERIOR: (A/A-) Paper is historically accurate with main ideas supported by facts. The paper has a clear thesis, original/thoughtful interpretation, and demonstrates significant knowledge of the topic. This paper also exhibits creative use of wide ranging sources that advance the thesis and analysis. Finally, this paper exhibits a balance between interpretations.

Excellent: (B+/B/B-) The ideas have factual support but can be improved with more evidence. The thesis is present, but not clearly stated. This paper presents more description than analysis. The author uses a variety of sources to support the thesis but provides little analysis of the supporting material. Finally, this paper inordinately selects one position over another with little convincing evidence or analysis.

Good: (C+/C/C-) Little evidentiary material to support thesis. The paper has a focus but no clear thesis. The work is essentially non-specific in that there is little analysis and factual material to support a position. Source material is not diverse, too much emphasis on one type of resource. The paper only presence one point of view when it is obvious that others exist.

Poor: (**D/F**) There are no cogent or pertinent ideas present. No evidence or analysis, source material not present. The paper was obviously written in haste. (you generally have to "work" to achieve a grade this low!)