

**2017–2018 Academic Year  
Winter Session**

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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**FACULTY OF ARTS**

**Political Science 633 L01  
US Security Policy**

**Instructor:** Dr. T. Terriff  
SS 732 Ph 403-220-5502  
Email: tterriff@ucalgary.ca

**Office Hours** W 12:00 to 13:00

**Seminar Location:** SS 729

**Seminar Time:** W 09:00 to 11:45

**D2L Website:** <https://d2l.ucalgary.ca>

**Course Description**

This course examines US security policy, with an emphasis on how US security policy is made and on the main contemporary security issues the US faces today.

**Course Objective**

To understand the factors, influences and actors which have shaped and continue to shape American security and defence policy in the post cold war period, and to gain an understanding of the main issues in contemporary US security and defence policy.

**Method of Assessment**

1	Seminar Presentation			20%
2	Research Proposal	Wed	7 February	10%
3	Research Essay	Wed	4 April	40%
4	Final exam (take home)	Wed	11 April	30%

This is a seminar based course, with a few exceptions. Each seminar session will consist of a student presentation on a selected issue based on the seminar topic. Students are required to deliver at least one oral seminar presentation, with the other students reading at least one book or the equivalent beyond the identified required reading.

## READINGS

### Core Texts (available in Bookstore)

Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution, 2003/2005). ISBN-13: 978-0471741503 pb  
E902 INTERNET, and E902 .D33 2003

### Additional Readings

Mead, Walter Russell *Special providence: American foreign policy and how it changed the world*

Dueck, Colin, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy*.

McCrisken, Trevor B., *American exceptionalism and the legacy of Vietnam: US foreign policy since 1974* [electronic resource]

Halberstam, David, *War in a time of peace: Bush, Clinton, and the generals*

Bacevich, A. J *American empire: the realities and consequences of U.S. diplomacy*

Suskind, Ron, *The one percent doctrine: deep inside America's pursuit of its enemies since 9/11*

Woodward, Bob, *Bush at War*

Woodward, Bob *Plan of Attack*

Woodward, Bob *State of Denial*

Woodward, Bob *The war within : a secret White House history, 2006-2008*

Ricks, Thomas, *Fiasco: the American military adventure in Iraq*

Ricks, Thomas, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American military adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008*

Jones, Seth G *In the graveyard of empires: America's war in Afghanistan*

Bacevich, A. J., *The limits of power: the end of American Exceptionalism 1st ed.*

Zakaria, Fareed, *The Post American World*, 2008

### Reading Current News

The character and content of US security policy often may be fast changing due to events. Thus, it is useful to pay attention to current events relating to US security policy. The main US newspapers are *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles*, *The Washington Times*, among others; unfortunately, almost all of these have imposed subscription fees in the past year and are now behind pay walls. *RealClearPolitics*' World and Defense sections are free, and provide some coverage (may be behind pay wall). The weekly news magazines such *Time* also do cover some elements of US security policy but again seem to be at least partially behind pay walls.

There are also a large number of useful internet sources, including US government websites, that can be accessed for free; indeed, many if not most US security issues being currently debated are done so in a mixture of journals, newspapers and blogs.

### **Class Participation**

**There is no mark for class participation**, but students will be expected to come to class prepared for discussion. This means staying up with the required readings as set forth on the course outline, *plus* reading at least one book or the equivalent beyond the identified required reading. Students are also expected to pay attention to current affairs as it may concern the subject of the course. Students must also be prepared to be called upon to offer their assessment of the issues being discussed.

### **Seminar Presentations**

In each seminar session one or more students will be expected to give a presentation on a set question. Each student is required to give at least one presentation. The oral presentation should be approximately 30 minutes in length, and develop an argument that addresses the set question. Further instructions, including a list of questions, will be furnished in a separate handout that is available on D2L in the Assignment folder.

### **Research Proposal**

Each student must develop a research question for their course research essay. The purpose of the research proposal is for the student to develop their research question, identify the context and significance of the research question, and identify the research methodology to be used to address the research question. The research proposal shall be 1200 words in length, and must in addition include a one page bibliography of sources cited or consulted.

***Due date is Wednesday, 7 February, 2018.***

Do note that the generation of a research proposal requires conducting research!

### **Research Essay**

The research essay will address the research question set forth in the research proposal. The research essay shall be 8,000 – 10,000 words in length, word count does not include required bibliography. ***Due date for the research essay is Wednesday, 4 April, 2018 .***

***Do note that students' seminar presentation and research proposal/essay cannot be on the same topic.***

## **Final Exam**

The final exam is take home research essay of 5000 words. *The Final Exam will handed out at the end of the last seminar, **Wednesday, 11 April, 2018** and must be submitted electronically to the course instructor no later than **12:00 Noon, Monday, 16 April, 2018.***

## **Writing Statement**

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3<sup>rd</sup> floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support>.

## **Grade Scale**

The following grading scale will be used:

A+ = 97-100	B+ = 87-89	C+ = 77-79	D+ = 65-69
A = 93-96	B = 83-86	C = 73-76	D = 60-64
A- = 90-92	B- = 80-82	C- = 70-72	F = 0-59

## **Late Penalties**

A late penalty of three (3) percent will be applied for each day past the required submission date a piece of work is submitted. This late penalty applies to the research proposal and the research essay. A late penalty of three (3) percent will be applied for each hour past the required submission time and date for the final take home exam.

## **Class Preparation and Desire2Learn**

Seminars focus on the material presented in the textbook and general discussion relating to the topic(s) outlined in the seminar schedule. Students are expected to read the assigned text chapters and readings before class, as well as to read one book or the equivalent (5-6 articles) and be prepared for class discussion. Important information and additional readings for US Security Policy (Political Science 633) are posted on Desire2Learn. Students should regularly check the Announcements section of Desire2Learn for ongoing notices.

*Your instructor may not necessarily cover all of the materials in the course outline, and the outline may be subject to change. It is the responsibility of the student to understand the concepts presented in the textbook and seminars. If you are unsure of any of the concepts, please take the initiative to ask the instructor during class.*

## **Instructor Instructions**

Students requiring assistance are encouraged to speak to the instructor during class or their office hours. Should you wish to meet outside of office hours, please email the instructor or teaching assistant to make an appointment. It is to the student's advantage to keep such appointments.

Email is commonly used by students to communicate with their instructor. However, it does limit the effectiveness of the communications and may not be the best way for instructors to answer student questions, especially those requiring an explanation of concepts covered in this course or some personal concerns. Therefore the instructor may request a telephone call or personal meeting. *Your instructor will inform you as to his/her expectations about emails.*

Students are welcome to use laptops and other electronic note-taking devices in this course. Please be considerate of others and switch off all cell phones when you enter the classroom. Sending/receiving texts and browsing the Web is extremely disruptive to others and will not be tolerated.

## **Course Outline**

There are three main sections to the course. All three are seminar based.

*Week 1* (Wednesday 10 Jan) Introduction

### **I Sources of Influence**

*Week 1* (Wednesday 10 Jan) American Political and Strategic Culture

*Required Reading:* Stephen Brooks, *Still Exceptional? America's Role in the World, Critical Issues of Our Time*, Centre for American Studies, University of Western Ontario 2012, 40 pp.

*Week 2* NO CLASS

*Week 3* American Security Policy Decision Making: Of Policymakers, Bureaucracies, and Organizations

*Required Reading:* Van Jackson, "I Got a Story to Tell: Who Does What in National Security Policy?", *War on the Rocks*, 14 February 2017, at:

Footnote 1 <sup>1</sup>

## II US Security Policy Before 9/11

### Week 4 The Cold War

*Required Reading:*

Heather Stur. "Why the United States Went to War in Vietnam", *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 28 April 2017, at:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/04/united-states-went-war-vietnam/>

*Strongly Recommended:*

John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, Updated version (2005)

### Week 5 From 11/9 to 9/11: The Post Cold War Interregnum

*Required Reading:*

John Dumbrell, "Was There a Clinton Doctrine? President Clinton's Foreign Policy Reconsidered", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 13:2, 2002.

Stephen M. Walt, "Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2000, pp. 63-79.

Charles-Philippe David, "'Foreign Policy Is Not What I Came Here to Do': Dissecting Clinton's Foreign Policy-Making: A First Cut", pp. 1-13, at Footnote Two <sup>2</sup>

**Research Proposal Due: Wednesday, 7 February 2018**

### Week 6 From 11/9 to 9/11: War in a Time of Peace

### Week 7 **Reading Week Sunday-Sunday, February 18-25 2018**

## III US Security and Defense Policy From 9/11 Onward

*Required Reading for Weeks 8 to 14*

Daalder and Lindsey, *America Unbound* (entire book).

*The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, issued 20 September 2002, at

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<sup>1</sup> <https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/i-got-a-story-to-tell-who-does-what-in-national-security-policy/>

<sup>2</sup> [https://dandurand.uqam.ca/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/04/ERd\\_foreign\\_policy\\_came\\_here\\_David.pdf](https://dandurand.uqam.ca/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/04/ERd_foreign_policy_came_here_David.pdf)

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>

Week 8 The 'Long War': America's Global War on Terrorism (GWOT)

*Required Reading:*

Trevor McCrisken, "Ten years on: Obama's war on terrorism", *International Affairs*, 87/4 (2011) pp. 781-801.

Jessica Stern, "Obama and Terrorism: Like It or Not, the War Goes On", *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2015: 62-70.

Week 9 Perils of Proliferation: Deterrence or Defence?

*Required Reading:*

Sarah Lohschelder, "Three Presidents Facing North Korea - A Review of U.S. Foreign Policy", *Huffington Post*, no date, at Footnote Three <sup>3</sup>

Week 10 'Blind into Baghdad'? The US Intervention in Iraq, 2003-2011

*Required Reading:*

David H Dunn, "'Myths, Motivations and Misunderestimations': The Bush Administration and Iraq", *International Affairs* 79/2 (March 2003) pp. 279-289.

Week 11 Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, and all that: America and its European Allies:

*Required Reading:*

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness", *Policy Review*, 113, June 2002, at <http://users.clas.ufl.edu/zselden/course%20readings/rkagan.pdf>

Terry Terriff, "Fear and Loathing in NATO: The Atlantic Alliance after the Crisis over Iraq", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 4/3 (December 2004) pp. 419-446.

*Recommended:* Todd Greentree, "Bureaucracy Does Its Thing: US Performance and the Institutional Dimension of Strategy in Afghanistan", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 36/3 (2013) pp. 325-356.

Week 12 Leading from Behind: Obama, the Arab Spring, Libya, and Syria/Iraq

*Required Reading:*

'President Obama's speech at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony', 10 December 2009,

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<sup>3</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/young-professionals-in-foreign-policy/three-presidents-facing-n\\_b\\_9335546.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/young-professionals-in-foreign-policy/three-presidents-facing-n_b_9335546.html).

at: see footnote Four 4

- Fawaz A. Gerges, “The Obama Approach to the Middle East: The End of America’s Moment”, *International Affairs*, 80/2 (2013), pp. 299-323.
- Robert G. Kaufman, “Prudence and the Obama Doctrine”, *Orbis*, Summer 2014, 441-459.
- Colin Dueck, “The Real Obama Doctrine Exposed”, *The National Interest*, 28 April 2015, at Footnote Five <sup>5</sup>
- Jeffrey Goldberg, “The Obama Doctrine”, *The Atlantic*, April 2016, at: Footnote Six <sup>6</sup>

*Week 13* America’s Decline? The Challenge of America’s Near Peer Competitors

*Required Reading:*

- Walter Russell Mead, “The Return of Geopolitics”, *Foreign Affairs*, May 2014, Vol. 93 Issue 3, pp. 69-79.
- Sevasti-Eleni Vezirgiannidou, “The United States and rising powers in a post-hegemonic global order”, *International Affairs*, 89/3 (2013) pp. 635–651.

**Research Essay Due Wednesday, 4 April, 2018 .**

*Week 14* (11 April) Trumping the World

*Required Reading:* To be Determined

**The take home exam will be handed out at end of the final seminar on Wednesday, 11 April, 2018.**

**The exam is due no later than 12:00 Noon, Monday, 16 April 2018.**

**NB.** All articles listed above without internet addresses can be found in the Library or through the Library’s electronic access to journals.

**IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION**

Absence From a Mid-term Examination:

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons (e.g. illness with the appropriate documentation) are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof

<sup>4</sup> [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Barack\\_Obama%27s\\_Nobel\\_Peace\\_Prize\\_acceptance\\_speech](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Barack_Obama%27s_Nobel_Peace_Prize_acceptance_speech)

<sup>5</sup> <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-real-obama-doctrine-exposed-12745?page=show>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>



of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

#### Deferral of a Final Examination:

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams>.

#### Appeals:

If a student has a concern about the course or a grade they have been assigned, they must first discuss their concerns with the instructor. If this does not resolve the matter, the student can then proceed with an academic appeal. The first in an academic appeal is to set up a meeting with the Department Head.

#### University Regulations:

Students are encouraged to familiarize themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at [www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html).

#### Student Accommodations:

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit [www.ucalgary.ca/access/](http://www.ucalgary.ca/access/).

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.

The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf>.

#### Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct:

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k-5.html>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

#### Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP):

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final

exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests will be destroyed after three months; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

Evacuation Assembly Points:

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at [www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints](http://www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints) and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources:

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students' Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email [artsads@ucalgary.ca](mailto:artsads@ucalgary.ca). You can also visit [arts.ucalgary.ca/advising](http://arts.ucalgary.ca/advising) for program assistance.

For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Library Block.

Important Contact Information:

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)

Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives

Phone: 403-220-6551

Email: [arts1@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts1@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts2@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts2@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts3@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts3@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts4@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts4@su.ucalgary.ca)

Students' Union URL: [www.su.ucalgary.ca](http://www.su.ucalgary.ca)

Graduate Students' Association

Phone: 403-220-5997

Email: [ask@gsa.ucalgary.ca](mailto:ask@gsa.ucalgary.ca)

URL: [www.ucalgary.ca/gsa](http://www.ucalgary.ca/gsa)

Student Ombudsman

Phone: 403-220-6420

Email: [ombuds@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ombuds@ucalgary.ca)