

POL 443
The Military Instrument of Foreign Policy

Instructors:

- LTC Kevin McKiernan, Director of the US Army Officer Education Program
Office Hours TBD
- Professor Jake Shapiro, Politics and Woodrow Wilson School
Office Hours 10-12 Wednesday, 032 Corwin Hall

Schedule:

Tuesday/Thursday 1:30-3:00 pm, Scheide Caldwell 209

Synopsis:

This course analyzes the relationship of military force to politics. Nuclear war and deterrence, conventional war, revolutionary war, terrorism and counterinsurgency are examined from the U.S. perspective.

The policy-making process provides the context within which one should examine the existence, utility, capabilities, and limitations of the military instrument of foreign policy. Since America's foreign policy interests emanate from within our borders, the first part of the course will cover the theory and politics of civil-military relations, and how the military influences foreign policy decision making, including some recent case studies.

The second part of the course investigates the various theories of conflict, the problems of nuclear war and deterrence (including how other peer competitors think about these issues), the diverse forms of warfare, the efficacy of war termination strategies, and the future of warfare and what that future portends for the utilization of the military instrument of foreign policy.

The aim of the course is to help acquaint students of international relations with the vital importance of the military instrument in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and in the functioning of the international system. Thus, this course will enable students to employ additional analytical tools and better evaluate policy decisions and implementation in the study of international relations.

Course Requirements:

- 1) Final paper. 10-15 double-spaced pages. Due on Dean's Day. 20% of total course grade.
- 2) Group presentation to class on how elements of class subject matter related to a historical event. 40% of total course grade. Groups and events will be chosen during the first or second week of class.
- 3) Seminar participation and reaction outlines. 40% of total course grade. Student will prepare a one page outline of what they considered significant points in the readings to serve as a starting point for class discussion. There are 19 class period and 15 students.

Agenda:

Each week students will be directed to specific readings and one student will be responsible for providing a 1-2 page outline of what they considered the most relevant points of the readings. They will provide the outline to the instructors and other students no less than 24 hours before class. Students providing the outline will use their outline as a starting point for class discussion and will typically lead most of the class discussion that day.

Week of September 20th and 22nd: Civil-Military Relations

Required Reading Outline 1:

Cohen, Elliot. *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesman, and Leadership in Wartime*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), chapters 1, 6, 7, Afterword and Appendix.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Soldier and the State*, New York, Wiley 1957. Chapters 1-4 and 14-17.

Nielsen, Suzanne C., “American Civil–Military Relations Today: The Continuing Relevance of Samuel P. Huntington's *The Soldier and the State*”, *International Affairs* 88:2 (2012): 369-376.

Sarkesian, Sam C. “The Price Paid by the Military”, *Orbis*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Fall 2001, pp. 557-568.

Required Reading Outline 2:

Davidson, Janine “The Contemporary Presidency: Civil - Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue”, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43:1 (March 2013):129-145.

McMaster, H.R. *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, The Joint Chiefs, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam, 6th Edition*.

Hoffman, Frank G. *Dereliction of Duty Redux?: Post-Iraq American Civil-Military Relations*, *Orbis* Spring 2008.

Week of September 27th and 29th: The Military’s Role in Formulating and Implementing Foreign Policy

Required Reading Outline 3:

Jordan, Amos J. , William J. Taylor, Michael J. Meese, and Suzanne C. Nielson, “Military Power and the Use of Force” Chapter 8 in *American National Security, 6th Edition*.

Sarkesian, Sam C., John Allen Williams, and Stephen J. Cimbala. *U.S. National Security: Policymakers, Processes, and Politics Fourth Edition* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 2008. Selected pages i-22, Part 1 chapters 2, 3, Part 2 chapters 6, 8, Part 3 chapters 10, 13 part 4 chapter 15.

Required Reading Outline 4:

Ricks, Thomas, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2003 to 2005*, 2006.

Ricks, Thomas, *The Generals: American Military Command from World War II to Today*, 2013: Part V Iraq and the Hidden Cost of Rebuilding and Epilogue.

Week of October 4th and 6th: Power Projection

Required Reading Outline 5:

The Heritage Foundation, edited by Dakota L. Wood, *2015 Index of U.S. Military Strength: Assessing America's Ability to Provide for the Common Defense*, 2015.

Michèle Flournoy, and Janine Davidson, "Obama's New Global Posture: The Logic of U.S. Foreign Deployments", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No.4, 2012: 54-63.

Barry R. Posen. "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 92:1 (January/February 2013).

Required Reading Outline 6:

Stephen G. Brooks and G. John Ikenberry and William C. Wohlforth. "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment." *International Security* 37:3 (2012): 7-51.

Beckley, Michael. "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure", *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 3, 2011: 41-78.

Derek, Gregory. "From A View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War", *Theory, Culture, and Society* Vol. 28, No. 7-8, 2011: 188-215. <http://tcs.sagepub.com/content/28/7-8/188.full.pdf+html>

Week of October 11th and 13th: Weighing Options-COA Development and Policy Making

Required Reading Outline 7:

Woodward, Bob, *Obama's Wars*, 2010.

Baker, Peter. *New York Times*, December 5th, 2009. "How Obama Came to Plan for 'Surge' in Afghanistan."

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/06/world/asia/06reconstruct.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

Required Reading Outline 8:

Feaver, Peter D. "Right to be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision", *International Security*, Spring 2011, Vol. 35, No. 35: 87-125.

https://www.cimicweb.org/cmo/compapp/Documents/Research%20and%20Analysis/Feaver_TheRightToBeRight_2011.pdf

Ricks, Thomas E. *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq 2006-2008*, 2009.

Week of October 18th and 20th: Theories of Conflict

Required Reading Outline 9:

Arnaud, Blin. "Armed Groups and Intra-State conflicts: the Dawn of a New Era?," *International Review of the Red Cross* Vol. 93, No. 882, 2011: 287-310.

Black, Jeremy. "War and Strategy in the 21st Century", *Orbis* Vol. 46, No. 1, 2002: 137-144.

Lynch, Marc. "The Political Science of Syria's War: From 'veto players' to 'emotions,' a state-of-the-art tour of the scholarship on civil wars and insurgencies." *Foreign Policy*, December 19, 2013. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/19/the-political-science-of-syrias-war/>. For longer version see full studies here: http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/POMEPS_Studies5_PoliSciSyria.pdf.

Waltzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars*. (New York: Basic Books, 1992).

Week of October 25th and 27th: Deterrence, Nuclear Proliferation and Cyber Warfare

Mid-term week

Required Reading Outline 10:

Sarkesian, Sam C., John Allen Williams, and Stephen J. Cimbala. *U.S. National Security: Policymakers, Processes, and Politics Fourth Edition* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 2008. Chapter 4.

Ross, Andrew L. "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in International Politics: A Strategic Perspective", *FPRI* article. 5/2009.

Bracken, Paul. "The Structure of the Second Nuclear Age", *Orbis*, Summer 2003, pp. 399-414.

Scott Sagan, Kenneth Waltz, and Richard K. Betts. "A Nuclear Iran: Promoting Stability or Courting Disaster?" *Journal of International Affairs* Spring/Summer 2007, vol. 60, no. 2, 135-150. https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Sagan_Nuclear_Iran.pdf

Waltz, Kenneth N. "Why Iran should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing would Mean Stability", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 4, 2012: 2-5.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137731/kenneth-n-waltz/why-iran-should-get-the-bomb>.

Whitney Raas and Austin Long, "Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities", *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 7-33.

Required Reading Outline 11:

Farwell, J.P. and Rohozinski, R. (2011). Stuxnet and the Future of Cyber War. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 53:1, 23-40.

Junio, Timothy. "How Probable is Cyber War? Bringing IR Theory Back In to the Cyber Conflict Debate." *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 36, 2013, 125-133.

Smith, Philip. "How Seriously Should the Threat of Cyberwarfare be Taken?" E-International Relations, Jan 17, 2014. <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/01/17/how-seriously-should-the-threat-of-cyber-warfare-be-taken/>

Nye, J.S. (2011). Nuclear Lessons for Cyber Security? *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 5:1, 18-38. <http://www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2011/winter/nye.pdf>

Week of November 8th and 10th: Conventional War- Large Scale Interstate Conflict

Required Reading Outline 12:

Howard, Michael. "War and the Nation State", *Daedalus* 108, Fall 1979, pp. 101-110.

Bernhard, Michael, Jeff Carter, and Glenn Palmer, "Social Revolution, the State, and War: How Revolutions Affect War –Making Capacity and Interstate War Outcomes", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 56, No. 3, 2012: 439-466.

Lake, Daniel R. "The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO's "Victory" in Kosovo Revisited", *International Security*, Summer 2009, Vol. 34 No. 1, pp. 83-112.

Bob Woodward, *The Commanders*, 2007.

Week of November 15th and 17th: Group Presentations

Week of November 22nd: Military 101 (and then Thanksgiving)

Snider, Don M. An Uniformed Debate on Military Culture, *Orbis*, Winter 1999

https://www.vetfriends.com/military_structure/index.cfm?branch=Air%20Force

https://www.vetfriends.com/military_structure/index.cfm?branch=Army

https://www.vetfriends.com/military_structure/navyShips.cfm?branch=Navy

Week of November 29th and December 1st: Unconventional War- Internal War: Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism

Required Reading Outline 13:

Boyle, Michael J. “Do Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency go together?” *International Affairs* Vol. 86, No. 2, 2010: 333-353.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. “U.S. Grand Strategy and Counterterrorism.” *Orbis* 56:2 (2012): 192-214.

Johnston, Patrick B. “Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns”, *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 4, 2012: 47-49.

Howard, Russell D., Reid L. Sawyer, and Natasha E. Bajema, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment*, 3rd Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009). Chapters 7-10.

Required Reading Outline 14:

Bacevich, Andrew. *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Gian Gentile. *Wrong Turn: America’s Deadly Embrace of Counterinsurgency* (The New Press, 2013), Chapter 1 and Afterword plus one other chapter of your choosing.

Nagal, John A. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*. (University of Chicago Press, 2002). Part III.

Week of December 6th and 8th: War Termination

Required Reading Outline 15:

Cline, Lawrence E. "Defending the End: Decision-Making in Terminating the Persian Gulf War", *Comparative Strategy*, Oct-Dec. 1998, pp. 363-380.

Johnson, D.P., and Dominic Tierney, "The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return", *International Security*, Summer 2011, Vol. 36, No. 1: 7-40.

Stanley, Elizabeth A. "Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace", *International Security*, Summer 2009, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 42-82.

Review: Bob Woodward, *The Commanders*, 2007.

Week of December 13th and 15th: Peacekeeping and Stability Operations

Required Reading Outline 16:

Autesserre, Severine. "Trouble in Peaceland." *Foreign Policy*. October 6, 2015.
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/06/trouble-in-peaceland-united-nations-congo-development/>

Bellamy, Alex J. and Williams, Paul D. *Understanding Peacekeeping, 2nd Edition*. Polity Publishing 2010.

Herrly, Peter F. "The Impact of Peacekeeping and Stability Operations on the Armed Forces", The Heritage Foundation Lecture #915 on National Security and Defense, December 2, 2005.
<http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/the-impact-of-peacekeeping-and-stability-operations-on-the-armed-forces>