

Semester at Sea, Course Syllabus
Colorado State University, Academic Partner

Voyage: Spring 2017
Discipline: Political Science
Course Number and Title: POLS 437 International Security
Division: Upper Division
Faculty Name: Mara E. Karlin, PhD
Semester Credit Hours: 3

Prerequisites: None

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Perplexity is the beginning of knowledge.
- Khalil Gibran, 1950

Students will be immersed in the foundational literature in the security studies discipline, including Carl von Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, and Thucydides. Students will examine key international security dilemmas throughout the post-World War II environment, particularly focusing on those relevant to the ports of call. Students will learn about the global landscape, major security-related trends since World War II, and explore different paradigms for understanding the future security environment. In exploring trends in international security, students will learn a variety of tools to help them assess the future security environment and explore the spectrum of conflict in a rigorous manner. The class will employ a wide range of tools for analyzing global security challenges, including simulations, emulations, and red-teaming. Using these tools, and building on literature about decision-making, students will draft defense strategies from different perspectives. They will be able to identify trends in international security and different apertures through which to examine the potential trajectories of these trends. This appreciation for historic, contemporary, and future security dilemmas will help students understand and effectively shape the international security landscape.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course seeks to explore and debate the contours of international security. By the end of this course, students will understand the foundational theorists, key historical events, strategy and defense planning, and the major dilemmas animating contemporary issues in the field of international security.

REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS

AUTHOR: Carl von Clausewitz (Michael Howard and Peter Paret, trans.)
TITLE: *On War*
PUBLISHER: Princeton University Press
ISBN #: 978-0691018546
DATE/EDITION: 1984

AUTHOR: Sun Tzu (Roger T. Ames, trans.)
TITLE: *The Art of Warfare* (Books 1-13)
PUBLISHER: Ballantine Books; New York, NY
ISBN #: 978-0345362391
DATE/EDITION: 1993/1st Edition

TOPICAL OUTLINE OF COURSE

Depart Ensenada — January 5

A1 — January 7: Seminar introduction; class introduction, and central questions

A2 — January 9: Strategic Studies and Why It Matters

Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* (June 1992).

Available at: <http://users.metu.edu.tr/utuba/Walt%20Renaiss.pdf>

Summary of debate between Steven Pinker/Matt Ridley and Malcolm Gladwell/Alain de Botton on the future trajectory of international affairs. November 6, 2015.

Available at: <http://munkdebates.com/debates/progress>.

A3 — January 11: WWII and Getting Ready for Pearl Harbor

Donald Cameron Watt, "1939 revisited: on theories of the origins of wars," *International Affairs* 65:4 (Autumn 1989): 685-692.

Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton University Press: 2006). Read Chapter 24: "American and Japanese Strategies in the Pacific War," by D. Clayton James (pp. 703-34).

Marc Trachtenberg, *The Craft of International History* (Princeton University Press: 2006). Read Chapter 4, "The 1941 Case," pp. 79-139.

Tim Harper, "Japan's Gigantic Second World War II Gamble," *The Guardian* 7 September 2009.

Before we have our field class in Honolulu, please read:

Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," October 11, 2011. Only read speech, not Q&A: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/11/176999.htm>

Honolulu — January 12

A4 — January 14: Grand Strategy for Defense: A Unicorn? But what About WWII?

Tami Davis Biddle, "Strategy and Grand Strategy: What Students and Practitioners Need to Know," *Strategic Studies Institute* December 2015. Available at: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1305>

Peter Feaver, "8 Myths About Grand Strategy," *Foreign Policy* November 23, 2011. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/11/23/8-myths-about-american-grand-strategy/>

A5 – January 17: Foundational Strategic Thinkers: Thucydides

Excerpts from *History of the Peloponnesian War*, available online at: "The Melian Dialogue" (<https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/melian.htm>); Pericles Funeral Oration (<http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/pericles-funeralspeech.asp>); The Outbreak of War (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/readings/thucydides1.html>)

Eliot A. Cohen, "The Historical Mind and Military Strategy," *Orbis* 49:4 (Fall 2005): 575-588.

No class January 19

A6 – January 20: Foundational Strategic Thinkers: Clausewitz

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Book One (entire); Book 2 (chapter on historic examples); and Book 8, Chapters 1-7.

A7 – January 22: Foundational Strategic Thinkers: Sun Tzu

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Roger T. Ames, trans. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), Books 1-13.

Kobe – January 24 - 28

A8 – January 29: Defense Strategies: Models?

2014 Quadrennial Defense Review (U.S. defense strategy). Available at: http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/2014_Quadrennial_Defense_Review.pdf

Japan's 2014 National Defense Program Guidelines. Available at: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/d_policy/national.html

China's 2015 Military Strategy. Available at: <https://news.usni.org/2015/05/26/document-chinas-military-strategy>

Shanghai — January 31 – February 5

A9 — February 6: Presentations

A10 — February 8: Civil-Mil Relations/Roles and Missions

Eliot Cohen, "The Unequal Dialogue: The Theory and Reality of Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force," in Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 429-458.

Carl Builder, *The Masks of War* (The RAND Corporation: 1989). Read Chapter 3: The Service Identities and Behavior.

Ho Chi Minh City — February 10-14

A11 — February 15: Cold War

Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, September 1969.

Michael Dobbs, "Cool Crisis Management? It's a Myth. Ask JFK," *The Washington Post* 22 June 2008.

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). Read chapters: 1-3; 10 (pp. 1-84, 281-96). (skim)

No Class February 17

A12 — February 18: Defense Planning

Paul K. Davis and Peter A. Wilson, "The Looming Crisis in Defense Planning," *Joint Force Quarterly* no. 63 (Oct 2011). Available at: <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jfq/jfq-63.pdf>

Draft Defense Planning Guidance, *New York Times*, March 8, 1992.
http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/doc03_extract_nytedit.pdf

Yangon — February 20-24

A13 — February 25: Post-Cold War: Security Dilemmas

Frank Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989): 3-18.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72:3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.

A14 – February 27: Analytic Tools: Intelligence, Wargaming, Red-Teaming, and Our Own Biases for Approaching Security Challenges

Richard K. Betts, "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable," in Klaus Knorr, ed., Power, Strategy, and Security: A World Politics Reader (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). Read pp. 211-39.

Andrew Krepinevich, 7 Deadly Scenarios (Bantam Books: 2010). Read "Introduction: A Glimpse of the Future."

U.S. Defense Department, Defense Science Board Task Force, "The Role and Status of DoD Red Teaming Activities," September 2003. (skim – available online at: www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/dod/dsb-redteam.pdf)

Daniel Kahneman, et. al., The Big Idea: Before You Make That Big Decision, *Harvard Business Review*, June 2011.

Cochin – March 1-6

A15 – March 7: Technology and Its Advances, Especially Nuclear Weapons

Simulation: Nuclear Debates from the Indian, Chinese, and American Perspectives

J. F. C. Fuller, Armament and History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945). Read Chapter 1, "Armament and History," pp. 1-23.

Martin van Creveld, Technology and War (New York: Free Press, 1989). Read Chapter 15, "The Invention of Invention," pp. 217-32.

Paul Fussell, "Thank God for the Atom Bomb" and "An Exchange of Views," in Paul Fussell, Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988). Read pp. 1-28.

Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," International Security 21:3 (Winter 1996): 54-86. (skim)

No Class March 9

A16 – March 10: Iraq and Afghanistan: Lessons? For Whom?

Richard D. Hooker, Jr. and Joseph Collins, eds., Lessons Encountered: Learning From the Long War, (National Defense University: 2015).

<http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/lessons-encountered/lessons-encountered.pdf>

Read Introduction and Reflections (Chapters 1 and 6). You may also wish to skim the Iraq and Afghanistan timelines at the end.

A17 – March 13: High-End Warfare

Eliot A. Cohen, “A Revolution in Warfare.” *Foreign Affairs* 75:2 (March/April 1996): 37-54.

David C. Gompert and Terrence K. Kelly, “U.S.-China, and An Unthinkable War,” *Los Angeles Times* 26 August 2013. Available at:
<http://www.rand.org/blog/2013/08/us-china-and-an-unthinkable-war.html>

Peter W. Singer (among others), “Here’s the Defining National Security Question of Our Time,” *Defense One* 7 July 2015. Available at:
<http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/07/heres-defining-national-security-question-our-time/117139/>

No Class March 15

A18 – March 16: Low-End Warfare

Mao Tse-Tung, Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung (May 1938). Available online. Read: “On Protracted War.”

David J. Kilcullen, “Countering Global Insurgency,” Journal of Strategic Studies 28:4 (August 2005): 597-617.

Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 1-42.

A19 – March 18: Or Something Else?

Michael Howard, “Mistake to declare this a ‘war,’” 30 October 2001, accessible at
www.thisislondon.co.uk/news/articles/817909.

Eliot A. Cohen, “World War IV,” Wall Street Journal, 20 November 2001.

Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, Unrestricted Warfare (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House, February 1999). Read Chs. 2, 8, Conclusion, “The War God’s Face Has Become Indistinct,” “Essential Principles” pp. 36-60, 204-26. Available at
<http://www.terrorism.com/documents/TRC-Analysis/unrestricted.pdf>.

Derek Chollet and Ben Fishman; Alan J. Kuperman, “Who Lost Libya?”, *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2015).

Cape Town – March 19-24

A20 – March 26: Forecasting International Security

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, Released December 2012.

Available at: <http://www.dni.gov/index.php/about/organization/global-trends-2030>.

A21 – March 28: The Future of Conflict

Daniel Byman, “Why Drones Work,” and Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Why Drones Fail,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2013).

Audrey Kurth Cronin, “ISIS Is More Than a Terrorist Group,” *Foreign Affairs* March 23, 2016.

Dave Majumdar, “Great Power Pivot: U.S. Shifts Focus to War With China and Russia,” *The National Interest*, 10 February 2016. Available at: <http://www.nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/great-power-pivot-us-shifts-focus-war-china-russia-15175>

Robert D. Kaplan, “Eurasia’s Coming Anarchy: The Risks of Chinese and Russian Weakness,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2016).

No Class March 29

Tema – March 31-April 3

A22 – April 4: What Kind of Conflicts Should We Focus On? And How?
Debates

A23 – April 6: What Kind of Conflicts Should We Focus On? And How? (con’t)
Debates

A24 – April 8: Wrapping up

Study Day April 10

Casablanca – April 11-April 14

A25 Finals – April 15: Presentations on National Defense Strategies

Arrive Hamburg – April 19

ASSIGNMENTS

- A) February presentation: Each student will have 3-4 min to advise the U.S., Japanese, or Chinese Minister/Secretary of Defense on which theorist they should learn from and why (Thucydides, Clausewitz, or Sun Tzu). 10% of grade.
- B) Memo: 20% of grade. (More info below)

C) April debates on conflicts: 15% of grade. Students will be given an argument to make regarding the future security environment and will debate one another about the merits (or lack thereof).

D) 2018 National Defense Strategy (group presentation): 30% of final grade. (More info below)

Class Contribution. Students are expected to complete all assigned reading and to contribute fully to class discussion. Class contribution comprises a robust portion of the grade; students should be willing, able, and enthusiastic about sharing their analysis and insights as we examine these issues. Do your reading in advance and be prepared to ask hard questions of yourself, your fellow students, and your professor. I will regularly ask students to spend a few minutes summarizing portions of the assigned reading. This is to help you develop the critical skill of actively reading and synthesizing information. If you have not done the reading, that will be clear. And, it will affect your grade. 25% of final grade.

Memo-writing

Clear, concise, persuasive writing is one of the most critical aspects of influencing policy. Students will write one memo (not more than 3 single-spaced pages) making a policy recommendation to the President or a Cabinet Official (e.g., Secretary of Defense; Secretary of State) of one country we will visit on this voyage.

Each memo should:

- Outline issue or concern
 - Touch on U.S. interest(s) affected. Why should this be addressed now?
- Discuss options (include brief, even-handed coverage of pros and cons)
- Recommend a course of action and steps needed to implement course of action.

Mechanically, each memo should include To, From, Subject and Date at the top and should be written in 12 point font with 1-1.5 margins. The memo should address a decision regarding a post-9/11 security challenge and will be due March 13.

2018 National Defense Strategy

Students will form groups (size and assignments depend on the course enrollment) and brief national defense strategies from the perspective of the United States, China, India, or Japan, to the entire class. All members of a group will be expected to pull their weight for this project.

FIELD WORK

Semester at Sea field experiences allow for an unparalleled opportunity to compare, contrast, and synthesize the different cultures and countries encountered over the course of the voyage. In addition to the one field class, students will complete independent field assignments that span multiple countries.

Field Class attendance is mandatory for all students enrolled in this course. Do not book individual travel plans or a Semester at Sea sponsored trip on the day of your field class. Field Classes constitute at least 20% of the contact hours for each course.

Field Class and Assignment

The Field Class for this course will take place on January 12 in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Security Challenges in Asia: Then and Now

Visit Pearl Harbor in the morning and U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) in the afternoon.

Objectives: Students will have studied U.S.-Japan dynamics during WWII. Visiting Pearl Harbor will help them understand the attack itself and the implications of it. We'll revisit those implications later in the class when we study 9/11. Students will then have the opportunity to visit U.S. Pacific Command, which leads all U.S. military involvement in the Asia-Pacific. They will receive a command briefing and engage in a dialogue about security opportunities and challenges in the Asia-Pacific with U.S. military personnel.

Assignment: Memo and National Defense Strategies (previously outlined)

METHODS OF EVALUATION / GRADING SCALE

The following Grading Scale is utilized for student evaluation. Pass/Fail is not an option for Semester at Sea coursework. Note that C-, D+ and D- grades are also not assigned on Semester at Sea in accordance with the grading system at Colorado State University (the SAS partner institution).

Pluses and minuses are awarded as follows on a 100% scale:

<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Satisfactory/Poor</u>	<u>Failing</u>
97-100%: A+	87-89%: B+	77-79%: C+	Less than 60%: F
94-96%: A	84-86%: B	70-76%: C	
90-93%: A-	80-83%: B-	60-69%: D	

Attendance:

Students are expected to attend class regularly and do the reading assigned for the topic. If it becomes necessary for you to miss a class, please email Professor Karlin in advance. Absences, especially repeated absences, can have an impact on your final grade.

LEARNING ACCOMMODATIONS

Semester at Sea provides academic accommodations for students with diagnosed learning disabilities, in accordance with ADA guidelines. Students who will need accommodations in a class, should contact ISE to discuss their individual needs. Any accommodation must be discussed in a timely manner prior to implementation. A memo from the student's home institution verifying the accommodations received on their home campus is required before any accommodation is provided on the ship. Students must submit this verification of accommodations pre-voyage as soon as possible, but no later than November 19, 2016 to academic@isevoyages.org.

STUDENT CONDUCT CODE

The foundation of a university is truth and knowledge, each of which relies in a fundamental manner upon academic integrity and is diminished significantly by academic misconduct. Academic integrity is conceptualized as doing and taking credit for one's own work. A pervasive attitude promoting academic integrity enhances the sense of community and adds value to the educational process. All within the University are affected by the cooperative commitment to academic integrity. All Semester at Sea courses adhere to this Academic Integrity Policy and Student Conduct Code.

It covers all activities in which students present information as their own, including written papers, examinations, oral presentations and materials submitted to potential employers or other educational institutions. It requires that students be truthful and exercise integrity and honesty in their dealings with others. Plagiarism will definitely result in failure of the assignment and may result in failing the course depending on the judgment of the professor.

RESERVE BOOKS AND FILMS FOR THE LIBRARY

The required books (listed above) are on reserve, as well as, the following films available:

Apocalypse Now

The Godfather

Dr. Strangelove

The Battle of Algiers or Beaufort or Restrepo

ELECTRONIC COURSE MATERIALS

All materials on the syllabus are on intranet with the exception of reserve books/textbooks. This includes journal articles, speeches, national defense strategies, the online book on Lessons Encountered, the online book on Unrestricted Warfare, the National Intelligence Council's 2030 study, and newspaper articles.