

IP 536: Comparative National Security Policymaking

Fall 2004

Wednesday-Friday 2:00-3:50 PM

Course Description: This course uses a comparative approach to examine the national security policymaking process in the United States, Russia, France and the European Union, China, and Japan. The course will examine the impact of a range of factors—including the international system, domestic politics, bureaucratic politics, and individual personalities—in determining the national security policies of these states. The role of historical and institutional factors in shaping national security policies will also be examined. Differences between authoritarian and democratic states, large and small states, and presidential and parliamentary democracies, will also be discussed. The first part of the course will introduce a number of theoretical perspectives on national security policy making. The second part of the course will consist of case studies of national security policymaking in the five countries, and examine their reactions to the security dilemma posed by North Korea and Iraq.

Course Objectives: To provide students with a firm understanding of the leading theoretical approaches to the study of national security policy and the ability to apply these approaches to evaluate contemporary security issues facing a range of countries.

Instructors:

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Office Hours: Wednesdays and Fridays 4:00-5:00pm and by appointment

Assessment/Grading: Student grades in the course will be based on both written assignments and class participation. There will be three written assignments for the course: an in-class midterm (scheduled for September 24), a paper proposal, and a final paper.

The largest share of your grade will be based on the final paper. The length of this paper should be no more than 10-12 pages. The paper should take the form of a policy memo (more details on the format will be distributed later). The paper will be due on the last day of the semester, December 16.

Before writing the paper you will need to discuss the topic with one of the instructors and receive approval, and also prepare and submit a paper proposal (research design) of about 3-5 pages. You will receive comments from both instructors regarding your proposal. The goal is to provide you with feedback before you become too involved in the paper. The research proposal is due on October 29. The paper proposal will account for 10 percent of the final grade.

Please note that it is critically important that you come to class prepared. Although we will be lecturing, we also intend to adopt an interactive approach to the material, and class participation is expected and will account for 10 percent of your final course grade. As part of this process, be forewarned that we may sometimes put individuals “on the spot” with regard to specific readings and the arguments they make. When relevant, students may also be asked to attend presentations by outside speakers at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies.

Weighting of Assignments:

Class Participation:	10 percent
Research design:	10 percent
Midterm:	35 percent
Paper:	45 percent

Readings:

The readings consist of articles. Those that are not readily available on-line (with specific URLs listed on the syllabus) will be on reserve, in both the MIIS library and the CNS reading room (in the McGowan building, Ste. 210-214). It is possible that we will be adding a few more readings during the course of the term to the list below (although we will give you at least one week notice of any additions).

Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

1 September—The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations

J. David Singer “The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations,” *World Politics* (October 1961), pp. 77-92

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, ch. 1, pp. 13-31.

3 September—Realism and its Discontents

Kenneth Waltz, “Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power,” in *Neorealism and Its Critics*, pp. 98-130.

Kenneth Waltz, “Structural Realism after the Cold War,” *International Security* 25 (Summer 2000), pp. 5-41.

Glenn H. Snyder, “Mearsheimer’s World: Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security,” *International Security* 27 (Summer 2002), pp. 149-173.

David A. Baldwin, “Neoliberalism, Neorealism, and World Politics,” in David A. Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, pp. 3-25.

8 September—Regime Theory and International Organizations

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-37).

Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, “Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions,” in Kenneth A. Oye, ed. *Cooperation under Anarchy*, pp. 226-254.

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, “The Rational Design of International Institutions,” *International Organization* 55 (Autumn 2001), pp. 761-799.

Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realists Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 42 (Summer 1988), pp. 485-508.

10 September—Rational/Strategic Choice Approaches

David A. Lake and Robert Powell, “International Relations: A Strategic-Choice Approach,” Ch. 1, pp. 3-38, in David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations*.

Jeffrey A. Frieden, “Actors and Preferences in International Relations,” Ch. 2, pp. 39-76, in David A. Lake and Robert Powell, editors, *Strategic Choice and International Relations*.

15 September—Domestic Politics and Democratic Peace Theory

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), Ch. 1 and Ch. 2, pp. 1-65.

David A. Lake, "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *American Political Science Review* 86 (March 1992), pp. 24-37.

Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton, 1995), "The Fact of the Democratic Peace" and "Why Democratic Peace?" chaps. 1-2.

17 September—Non-State Actors: Multinationals, NGOs, and Terrorists

Robert Gilpin, Chapter Six "Age of the Multinational," in *The Challenge of Global Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 163-192.

Phil Williams, "Cooperation Among Criminal Organizations," Chapter Five in Mats Berdal and Mónica Serrano, eds., *Transnational Organized Crime & International Security* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), pp. 67-80.

Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Counter-Measures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 3-42.

22 September—Review Session

24 September—Midterm Exam

29 September—The United States: Historical and Institutional Context

James M. McCormick, *American Foreign Policy and Process*, Chapter 1, "America's Traditions in Foreign Policy," pp. 5-36; Chapter 7, "The President and the Making of Foreign Policy," pp. and Chapter 8, "Congressional Prerogatives and the Making of Foreign Policy."

Peter Trubowitz, "Regional Conflict and Coalitions in the Making of American Foreign Policy," Chapter One in *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), pp. 1-30.

Andrew Bennett, "Who Rules the Roost? Congressional-Executive Relations on Foreign Policy after the Cold War," in Robert J. Leiber, ed., *Eagle Rules? Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century* (Prentice-Hall, 2002), pp. 47-69.

1 October—The United States: Missile Defense

Michael Nacht, "The Politics: How Did We Get Here?" in Alexander T.J. Lennon, ed., *Contemporary Nuclear Debates*, pp. 3-11.

James M. Lindsay and Michael E. O'Hanlon, "Missile Defense after the ABM Treaty," in Alexander T.J. Lennon, ed., *Contemporary Nuclear Debates*, pp. 83-100.

Wade Boese, "U.S. Missile Defense Programs at a Glance," *Arms Control Today* (September 2003), <<http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/usmissiledefense.asp>>.

Wade Boese, "Missile Defense Post-ABM Treaty: No System, No Arms Race," *Arms Control Today* (June 2003),
<http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003_06/mdanalysis_june03.asp?print>.

Carnes Lord, "A Strategic Defense Initiative: Building a Better Shield," *The National Interest* (Summer 2004), pp. 84-92. Available on Proquest.

6 October—United States: Arms Control and Cooperative Threat Reduction

Rose Gottemoeller, "Arms Control in a New Era," in Alexander T.J. Lennon, ed., *Contemporary Nuclear Debates*, pp. 83-100.

Christopher Jones, "The Rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty: The Politics of Ratification," in Ralph G. Carter, ed., *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy, From Terrorism to Trade* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002), pp. 160-195.

Kenneth N. Luongo and William Hoehn III, "Reform and Expansion of Cooperative Threat Reduction," *Arms Control Today* (June 2003),
<http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003_06/luongohoehn_june03.asp?print>.

"Excerpts from the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review," January 2002,
<<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm>>.

"U.S. National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction," December 2002,
<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/WMDStrategy.pdf>>.

Sidney Drell, et. al., "A Strategic Choice: New Bunker Busters Versus Nonproliferation," *Arms Control Today* (March 2003),
<http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003_03/drelletal_mar03.asp>.

8 October— Russia: Historical and Institutional Context

Dmitrii Trenin, *The End of Eurasia* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002), Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 6.

Strobe Talbott, *The Russia Hand* (excerpts).

Celeste Wallander, "Ideas, Interests, and Institutions in Russian Foreign Policy," in Celeste Wallander, ed., *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy After the Cold War*, (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1996).

Vladimir Putin, *First Person* (Public Affairs, 2000), Part 9, "The Politician," pp. 163-207.

Stephen White and Ian McAllister, "Putin and His Supporters," *Europe-Asia Studies* 55 (May 2003), pp. 383-399,
<<http://content.ebsco.com/fulltext.asp?wasp=f62clce4kc7vpva8a2dh&ext=.pdf>>.

13 October—Russia: Chechnya, Counterterrorism

Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (Yale University Press, 1998), Chapter 2, “Russia and Chechnya, 1991-1994, The Origins of War,” pp. 56-101.

Matthew Evangelista, *The Chechen Wars* (Brookings Institution, 2002), Chapter 1, pp. 1-10, <http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/press/books/chapter_1/chechenwars.pdf>.

Ekaterina Stepanova, “Partners in Need: U.S.-Russian Cooperation on and Approaches to Anti-Terrorism,” Ponars Policy Memo No. 279, October 2002, <http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm_0279.pdf>

Dmitrii Trenin, “Southern Watch: Russia’s Foreign Policy in Central Asia,” *Journal of International Affairs* 36 (Spring 2003), pp. 119-131.

For the latest news on Chechnya, see: <http://www.rferl.org/specials/chechnya/>

15 October—Russia: Arms Control and Nonproliferation

Christoph Bluth, “Arms Control and Nonproliferation,” in *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), pp. 303-322.

Nuclear Threat Initiative, “Controlling Nuclear Warheads and Materials: The Threat in Russia and the Newly Independent States,” October 2002, <http://www.nti.org/e_research/cnwm/threat/russia.asp>.

Nikolai Sokov, “The Russian Nuclear Arms Control Agenda After SORT,” *Arms Control Today* (April 2003), <http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003_04/sokov_apr03.asp?print>.

Pavel Podvig, “Who is In Charge? Russia Handles Arms Control Negotiations,” PONARS Policy Memo No. 277, October 2002, <http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm_0277.pdf>.

20 October—China: Historical and Regional Context

Alastair Iain Johnston, “Is China A Status Quo Power?” *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56.

Avery Goldstein, “An Emerging China’s Emerging Grand Strategy: A Neo-Bismarckian Turn?” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp.57-106.

Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, “China’s New Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs* 82:6 (November/December 2003), pp.22-35.

Thomas J. Christensen and Michael A. Glosny, “China: Sources of Stability in U.S.-China Security Relations,” in Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04: Fragility and Crisis* (Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2003), pp.53-79.

22 October—China: Institutional Context

David Shambaugh, “China’s Military Views the World,” *International Security* 24 (Winter 1999/2000), pp. 52-79.

David M. Lampton, “China’s Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing and Does It Matter?” in Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp.1-38.

Tai Ming Cheung, “The Influence of the Gun,” in Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp.61-90.

Michael D. Swaine, “Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000,” in Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000*, pp.289-336.

27 October—China: Arms Control and Nonproliferation

“China,” in Joseph Cirincione *et al.*, *Deadly Arsenal: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002), pp.141-162.

China State Council Information Office, *White Paper on China’s Nonproliferation Policy* (Beijing: State Council Information Office, December 2003).

Bates Gill and Evan S. Medeiros, “Foreign and Domestic Influences on China’s Arms Control and Nonproliferation Policies,” *The China Quarterly* 161 (March 2000), pp.66-94.

Jing-dong Yuan, “China’s Pragmatic Approach to Nonproliferation Policy in the Post-Cold War Era,” in Suisheng Zhao, ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2003), pp.151-176.

29 October—Taiwan’s National Security Policy and Cross-Strait Relations

Michael D. Swaine, *Taiwan’s National Security, Defense Policy, and Weapons Procurement Processes* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 1999), chap. 2, “National Security Policy.”

Robert S. Ross, “Navigating the Taiwan Strait: Deterrence, Escalation Dominance, and U.S.-China Relations,” *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall 2002), pp. 48-85.

Lynn T. White III, “Taiwan’s External Relations: Identity versus Security,” in Samuel S. Kim, ed., *The International Relations of Northeast Asia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), pp.301-327.

Pan Zhongqi, “US Taiwan Policy of Strategic Ambiguity: A Dilemma of Deterrence,” *Journal of Contemporary China* (May 2003), pp.387-407.

3 November—Europe: Historical Context

John J. Mearsheimer, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War,” *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56.

Didier Bigo, “When two become one: Internal and external securitizations in Europe,” in Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams, *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, security and community*, pp. 171-204.

Optional:

Gaddis, J. L. “The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System.” *International Security* vol. 10, no. 4 (1986), pp. 99-142.

5 November—Europe: Institutional Context

Ole Wæver, “The EU as a security actor: Reflections from a pessimistic constructivist on post-sovereign security orders,” in Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams, *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, security and community*, pp. 250-294.

Christoph Meyer, “Theorising European Strategic Culture: Between Convergence and the Persistence of National Diversity,” CEPS Working Document No. 204, June 2004. Available at <http://shop.ceps.be> – click CEPS Working Documents.

David G. Haglund, “‘Community of Fate’ or Marriage of Convenience? ESDP and the Future of Transatlantic Identity,” in Alexander Moens, Lenard Cohen and Allen Sens, *NATO and European Security*, pp. 1-18.

10 November—Europe: The View from Paris

Philip Gordon, Chapter Eight, “Epilogue: The Gaullist Legacy in the Post-Cold War World” and Chapter Seven, “The Gaullist Legacy Today: French Security Policy in the 1990s,” in *A Certain Idea of France: French Security Policy and the Gaullist Legacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 163-202.

Etienne de Durand, “French Security Policy under the New Government,” U.S.-France Analysis Series, Brookings Institution, November 2002 (available at <http://www.brookings.edu/usfrance/analysis/index.htm>).

Avery Goldstein, Chapter Six, “France,” in *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century: China, Britain, France, and the Enduring Legacy of the Nuclear Revolution*, pp. 181-216.

Optional:

Jeremy Shapiro and Bénédicte Suzan, “The French Experience of Counter-terrorism,” *Survival*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 67-95.

12 November—Japan: Historical Context

Kenneth B. Pyle and Eric Heginbotham, "Japan," in Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, editors, *Strategic Asia: Power and Purpose 2001-02*, pp.71-126.

Peter J. Katzenstein and Noburo Okawara, "Japan, Asia-Pacific Security, and the Case for Analytical Eclecticism," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter 2001), pp. 153-185.

Eugene A. Matthews, "Japan's New Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 82, No. 6 (November/December 2003), pp.74-90.

Thomas Berger, "Japan's International Relations: The Political and Security Dimensions," in Samuel S. Kim, ed., *The International Relations of Northeast Asia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), pp.135-169.

17 November— Japan: Institutional Context

Peter J. Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara, "Japan's National Security: Structures, Norms and Policies," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp.84-118.

Tsuyoshi Kawasaki, "Japan and Two Theories of Military Doctrine Formation: Civilian Policymakers, Policy Preference, and the 1976 National Defense Program Outline," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 1 (2001), pp.67-93.

Kuniko Ashizawa, "Japan's Approach toward Asian Regional Security: From 'Hub-and-Spoke' Bilateralism to 'Multi-Tiered'," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2003), pp.361-384.

19 November— Japan: Regional Security and Arms Control

Katsuhisa Furukawa, "Making Sense of Japan's Nuclear Policy: Arms Control, Extended Deterrence, and the Nuclear Option," in Benjamin L. Self and Jeffrey W. Thompson, eds., *Japan's Nuclear Options: Security, Politics, and Policy in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: The Stimson Center, 2003), pp.95-147.

Yuri Kase, "Japan's Nonnuclear Weapons Policy in the Changing Security Environment: Issues, Challenges, and Strategies," *World Affairs* 165:3 (Winter 2003), pp.123-131.

Nobuo Okawara and Peter Katzenstein, "Japan and Asian-Pacific Security: Regionalization, Entrenched Bilateralism and Incipient Multilateralism," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2001, pp. 165-194.

Michael D. Swaine, Rachael M. Swanger, and Takashi Kawakami, *Japan and Ballistic Missile Defense* (Santa Monica: Rand, 2001),
<<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1374/>>.

24 November—The North Korean Case

Tentative readings:

Leon V. Sigal, "North Korea Is No Iraq: Pyongyang's Negotiating Strategy," *Arms Control Today*, December 2002, pp. 8-12,
<http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2002_12/sigal_dec02.asp>.

Daniel A. Pinkston and Phillip C. Saunders, "Seeing North Korea Clearly," *Survival*, Vol. 45 (Fall 2003), pp. 79-102, <<http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/450079.pdf>>.

Victor D. Cha, "Hawk Engagement and Preventative Defense on the Korean Peninsula," *International Security* 27 (Summer 2002), pp. 40-78.

26 November: No Class

1 December— The Iraqi Case

Tentative readings:

Ashton B. Carter, "The Architecture of Government in the Face of Terrorism," *International Security* 26 (Winter 2001/2002), pp. 5-23.

Stephen M. Walt, "Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security* 26 (Winter 2001/2002), pp. 56-78.

Jeff Knopf, "Missapplied Lessons: 9/11 and the Iraq Debate," *Nonproliferation Review* (Fall/Winter 2002), pp. 47-66.

Robert Jervis, "The Compulsive Empire," *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2003),
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=1&did=000000376502781&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=6&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1063752823&clientId=944> m

3 December—Policy Memo Presentations

8 December—Policy Memo Presentations

10 December—Policy Memo Presentations

Final Paper Due December 16, 5:00 pm (either hard copy to Dr. Yuan's or Professor Chuen's mailbox at CNS, or via e-mail to them with confirmation).