

INTA 4803HP: Comparative National Security

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Goals, Requirements, and Expectations of INTA 4803HP:

The central goals of this course are two fold. The first is to explore the national security concerns and perspectives for the major countries and regions of the world. The second is to understand the connection between alternative constructions of national security and the security policies of nation-states. This is a heavily analytical course; critical thinking is required equipment.² My intent is not to teach you or measure your ability to commit 'facts' to memory by rote. While there are dates and actors that will be of significance, of far more importance will be your ability to take the concepts and theories we discuss in class and use them to analyze issues confronting societies and the policy responses mounted by political leaders.

The reading load for this class is not light; we will average 117 pages a week, but some weeks will approach 160. We will be making use of two excellent textbooks in addition to a wide range of popular and academic readings.³ By the end of the course, your understanding of national security both globally and in the U.S. context will be significantly more sophisticated and nuanced. Light bulbs will go off. Mysteries will be revealed and resolved. You might even enter a higher plane of consciousness.

This assumes, of course, that you study. I have high expectations in this regard (you are Honors students after all!). I have checked the requirements for a degree and this course is not required to graduate. It follows, since you are enrolled in this class, that you have an abiding interest in International Relations and international security and seek to learn as much as you can about it. This course has been structured under the assumption that every student in this class *wants* to be here. Accordingly, I have expectations regarding your desire to commit time and energy to this course. Among other things, this means showing up for class. Course attendance, however, will not be enforced. I expect that you, as adults (and Honors students!), are responsible for your decisions. While this means you have the freedom to skip class without immediate consequence, it also means that stories of woe at the end of semester will have very little audience with me (i.e. extra credit will not be forthcoming).

Given the wide-ranging nature of comparative national security, the course is structured similarly to a graduate seminar. Accordingly, participation is critical for the success of the class and the value you derive from it. This is

¹ Because unexpected meetings and assorted similar events occur all the time, office hours must inevitably be flexible and I may, from time to time be required to cancel them. If this becomes necessary, I will notify you as far in advance as possible and endeavor to arrange alternative office hours. If you cannot make office hours, I am available for scheduled appointments.

² Professor Jason Enia at Occidental College defines critical thinking in the International Relations context thus: "Critical thinking is not about blindly accepting the wisdom of the 'talking heads' you see on television or the information you get online. It is about admitting and being comfortable with uncertainty. In the complex arena of international politics—where there are almost always multiple and competing assessments of and solutions to international problems—this type of analysis is crucial. It includes the ability to *break a problem into its component parts, to question assumptions, to recognize and critically assess multiple and competing sources of information, to evaluate alternative perspectives on problems, and finally to design and evaluate solutions to those problems*. The value of the study of the social sciences lies in the development of these critical thinking skills.

³ In addition, you should also be regularly reading a current events news source like the *New York Times* or the *Economist*. You will find that doing so will be critical to your success in this class.

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a discussion-based class. That means you need to **complete the assigned reading before the class date to which it is attached**. Let me say this again. If chapter 6 is listed next to January 19, that means you need to read chapter 6 *by* that date, *not* on that date.

Objectives for students:

- Appreciate variation in conceptions of national security between states and regions.
- Develop analytical skills
- Understand the significance of alternative conceptions of national security for policy

Course texts:

- Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.
- Katzenstein, Peter (ed). *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

These two texts play an important role in the course, but they do not comprise the bulk of the readings. Each week, you will be reading a wide variety of academic articles, book chapters, and reports from the popular press designed to give you a sense of how each country or region is constructing their security environment. All of the readings will be available on the course website on T-Square.

Course grading:

Participation (questions/discussion) ⁴	25 percent
Film Quiz	5 percent
Reading Quizzes (one percent each)	10 percent
End of term presentations	15 percent
Analytical paper (Due April 17)	45 percent

Grade scale: 100-90 (A) | 89-80 (B) | 79-70 (C) | 69-60 (D) | 59-0 (F).

Grading policy: Grade inflation is a documented problem in U.S. higher education. While no single class will change the phenomenon to any significant degree, this course will be graded to the original conceptualization of the letter grades. As such, an A represents excellent work, a B marks good or above average work, a C indicates average work, a D represents below average, and F indicates unacceptably subpar work. This does not mean that the average or median of the class will be a C. The descriptors are meant to signal the assessed level of understanding of the course material demonstrated by the student rather than a measure against the performance of other students.

Participation: Participation is a critical component of your grade. I strongly believe that the best courses are those where students take ownership of the ideas and concepts they are exposed to in the reading, using the time with me as professor to work through questions and explore the implications of new ideas. To further facilitate communication and communal development of knowledge, I have established a class account at the online Q&A/discussion forum *Piazza*, where you and your fellow classmates (using either your real names or anonymously) can discuss the ideas, concepts, and theories in class and I can provide guidance in your discussions. To access the site, you need to sign-up at: <http://www.piazza.com/gatech/spring2012/inta4803hp>

⁴ Note that quality is more important for participation credit than quantity.

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Reading Quizzes: These quizzes are designed and intended to provide grade feedback throughout the semester as well as provide encouragement to complete reading in preparation for class. There will be 10 quizzes spaced (unpredictably) throughout the semester, each worth 1 percent of your overall grade.

Analytical paper: The analytical paper should be **no fewer than 5,250** words **not** including footnotes and references. As the paper comprises a very large portion of the course grade, it is critically important you dedicate significant effort to the paper over the course of the semester. Attempting to write the paper at the last minute is a tremendously risky proposition. This point cannot be emphasized strongly enough. Given the somewhat unusual grading structure of the course, it is important that you not underestimate the analytical paper is you hope to do well. To this end, I am willing to look over one rough draft of the paper, but the draft must be submitted to me by April 3.

The paper represents an opportunity for you to explore in depth a security issue or how a state or region constructs its security environment in a way we cannot cover in class. The subject of the paper is completely up to you. You may decide you want to explore how major countries construct their environmental, social, or political security, or you may want to delve deeply into how a state constructs its general security environment. You may choose to write the paper as a policy briefing for major policy-makers, or you may choose a more academic route. Some things to keep in mind as you formulate your ideas and write:

- What role does history play? How has security been constructed in the past, and does that past construction have an effect on the present?
- What modern day factors influence the security construction? How do different areas of security play a role?
- Who is driving the security construction? Political leaders, NGOs, corporate actors, the public?
- How is the security construction reflected in, and linked to, policy?
- How do academics explain the security construction? Do they differ in their analysis? If so, who do you find more compelling, and why?

Citations **are required** both for academic sources and popular media. This is an in depth research and analysis project; to do well, you must demonstrate a significant level of knowledge and understanding about your chosen topic as well as high quality analysis regarding the sources of security construction as well as the effects. Given the fluid nature of the paper, generalized advice on structure would not be useful. However, you will also be graded on the quality of your writing (syntax, subject verb agreement, appropriate use of transitions, etc) as well as how you structure it (argument and narrative flow, clear signposting, etc). If you are concerned about your writing, or just want to improve it (a most admirable desire), I highly recommend you contact the fine people at the new GT communication center housed in the Clough Commons (<http://www.communicationcenter.gatech.edu/>).

You must discuss your paper ideas (topic, possible sources, etc) with me in my office by February 14. Failure to do so will result in a 5% automatic markdown on your paper. When you discuss your paper ideas with me, you need to bring them in the form of a question, i.e. starting with why or how. For example, do not simply come to office hours with the claim that you are interested in French security. You must come with specific why/how questions about French security. **Do not** wait until February 14 to meet with me. I will not schedule additional office hours on this day nor will I be available for appointments. If the line to meet with me on February 14 precludes you from seeing me that day, you will still lose the 5%.

Papers must be submitted using the 'Assignments' feature on T-Square. Hard copies will not be accepted. Be aware that these papers will be analyzed using a plagiarism detection service.

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End of term presentation: At the end of the semester, each student will have an opportunity to present the fruits of their work on the analytical paper to the class. Rather than simply a summary of the analytical papers, students should approach the presentations as though they are briefing important policy-makers in the United States government.⁵ While formal attire is not required (though strongly recommended), professionalism in manner and presentation are critical. The audio-visual aspect of the presentation should be in PowerPoint or similar format. Each student should cover the following areas in the presentation:

- What is the issue area/country you are briefing?
- What is the traditional U.S. approach to the issue/country? How has the United States constructed the issue/country in the past, and is present treatment different?
- Describe your findings regarding the construction of the issue area/country.
- Discuss how the United States can or should alter its policy to better serve U.S. national interests, and discuss whether U.S. national interests align with international trends or the interests of the country in question.

Each student will have a **minimum of 10 and a maximum of 12** minutes for their presentation with an additional **4** minutes for Q&A, which should provide ample opportunity both the presentation as well as any follow-up questions from the audience.

Miscellaneous: Students are required to take exams and submit assignments at the scheduled time. Students with excused absences will be able to take a make-up, but are responsible for arranging the time. All work for the semester should be kept until final grades are processed. Grades will be posted to T-Square.

Policy on letters of recommendation:

You must have taken at least two courses with me before I will consider writing a letter of recommendation for you. I will only write letters for students that have performed well in class, which means usually an A- or better in both classes, although I would be open to writing a letter for an individual who shows improvement from the first to second class (e.g. B or B+ in the first class to A in second class). Since a recommendation relies on personal knowledge, it would be in your interest to distinguish yourself in class. If I don't know you, I cannot comment on anything besides your course performance. Trust me when I tell you that "Jim/Jane did well in two courses, receiving an A in both," hardly makes for a compelling recommendation.

Laptops in class:

I am aware that students no longer use chalk on cave walls to take notes, and that laptops are ubiquitous in the modern classroom. I have no problem with using laptops to take notes. It even makes sense to have your notes in a format where you can easily search for particular dates or terms. What I have a serious problem with is the use of your laptop to check email, browse the web, or catch up on Facebook, Twitter, Fritter, or whatever the latest social networking is called. Do not do it. If I see you reading your screen (i.e. not paying attention to whomever is speaking) I will give you a warning. The next time, the laptop will be banned from class. International Relations is a serious matter, I expect you to respect it and the class. Express your digital self before or after class.

Cheating and plagiarism:

Don't do it. I have a zero tolerance with respect to these activities. Cheating and plagiarism demean the efforts of others who put in blood, sweat, and tears to do well in the class. I will not allow the above-board work of honest students to be undermined by those who seek shortcuts. Cheating includes, but is not limited to, receiving unauthorized assistance on exams and asking another student to respond to clicker questions in your absence. The Georgia Tech Honor Code is available online:

⁵ Alternatively, if you are focusing on a U.S. security issue, then you will brief the audience as if they were policy-makers of a foreign government of your choosing. However, in doing so you must identify the national security constructions of that government in your presentation about the U.S.

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<http://www.honor.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=9>. If caught cheating, you *will* be dealt with accordingly.

Students with Disabilities:

Georgia Tech is committed to providing reasonable accommodation for all students with disabilities through the ADAPTS program (<http://www.adapts.gatech.edu/>). Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent them from fully demonstrating their abilities should contact me as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate their educational opportunities. Students with disabilities must be registered with the ADAPTS-Disability Services Program prior to receiving accommodations in this course. The ADAPTS-Disability Services Program is located in Smithgall Student Services Building, phone 404-894-2564 or TDD only 404-894-1664.

Religious Observance:

It is the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty for the rescheduling of examinations and additional required class work that may fall on religious holidays. Please see me immediately if you will need to miss class at any point during this semester.

Add/Drop:

Please consult the GT academic calendar to make sure you observe add/drop deadlines (<http://www.registrar.gatech.edu/home/calendar.php>)

Course Schedule

Key: BWD = *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* | KATZ = *The Culture of National Security* | ➔ Marks an important date, usually exam date or assignment deadlines.

Laying the Theoretical Foundations

Week I

- January 10 | Introduction, Syllabus, Why are we here?
- January 12 | The Copenhagen School: BWD Chapters 1&2

Week II

- January 17 | Military, Political, and Economic Sectors: BWD Chapter 3,5&7
- January 19 | Environmental and Societal Sector and Synthesis: BWD Chapters 4,6&8

Week III

- January 24 | Alternative Perspectives on National Security: KATZ Chapter I (pp. 1-32)
- January 26 | Norms, Identity, and Culture: KATZ Chapter 2 (pp. 33-78)
Lantis, J. S. (2002). Strategic Culture and National Security Policy. *International Studies Review*, 4(3), 87-113

The United States

Week IV

- January 31 |
 - United States Department of Defense (2010). *U.S. Quadrennial Defense Review*. Skim Executive Summary, Read Introduction and Chapter I
 - Obama, B. (2010). "National Security Strategy of the United States." Read sections I-III, pp. 1-47
 - Schwartz, P. & Randall, D. (2003). "An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and Its Implications for United States National Security."
http://www.accc.gv.at/pdf/pentagon_climate_change.pdf, particularly pp 14-22

February 2 |

- Bobrow, D. B. (2001). "Visions of (In)Security and American Strategic Style." *International Studies Perspectives*, 2(1), 1-12.
- Cronin, A.K. (2002). "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, 27(3) 30-58
- Hemmer, C. J., & Katzenstein, P. (2002). Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism. *International Organization*, 56(03), 575-607.

Russia and Central Asia

Week V

February 7 |

- National security of the Russian Federation until 2020:
<http://www.scrf.gov.ru/documents/99.html>
- National Security Concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan. (2007). Introduction and Sections 1-3
- Aleksēi Georgievich Arbatov, Karl Kaiser, Robert Legvold (eds) (1999). *Russia and the West: the 21st century security environment*. M.E. Sharpe. Chapter 2
- Gilbert Rozman, Mikhail Grigor'evich Nosov, Kōji Watanabe (eds) (1999). *Russia and East Asia: the 21st century security environment*. M.E. Sharpe. Chapters 4

February 9 |

- Kuchins, Andrew (2002). "Explaining Mr. Putin: Russia's New Nuclear Diplomacy," *Arms Control Today* (October) http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2002_10/kuchinsoct02.asp
- Trenin, Dmitri (2006). "Russia Leaves the West." *Foreign Affairs* 85(4), 87-96.
- Tuathail, Gearóid Ó (2009). "Russia's Kosovo: A Critical Geopolitics of the August 2008 War over South Ossetia." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 49(6): 670-705

China

Week VI

February 14 |

- People's Republic of China. (2010) "China's National Defense in 2010." [Electronic Version] from http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node_7114675.htm. Preface and Sections 1& 2.
- Ellis Joffe (2009). "China's Military After Taiwan." *Far Eastern Economic Review*
- David Zweig and Bi Jianhai (2005) "China's Global Hunt for Energy." *Foreign Affairs* September/October
- Wang Jisi. (2005) "China's Search for Stability With America." *Foreign Affairs* September/October

February 16 |

- Shambaugh, David (1999). "China's Military Views the World," *International Security* 24 (Winter), pp. 52-79.
- Swaine, Michael D. (1998). *The Role of the Chinese Military in National Security Policy Making* (RAND Corporation). Summary of Key Findings, Chapters 1&2
- Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China: KATZ Chapter 7

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Asia-Pacific

Week VII

February 21 |

- Japanese Council on Security and Defense Capabilities. (2010) "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2011 and beyond." [Electronic Version] from www.mofa.go.jp/policy/security/pdfs/h23_ndpg_en.pdf. Sections I-IV
- Commonwealth of Australia. (2009) "Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030." [Electronic Version] from http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/docs/defence_white_paper_2009.pdf. Chapters 4-6.
- Heginbotham, Eric and Richard Samuels (2002). "Japan's Dual Hedge," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No.5 (September/October).

February 21 |

- Acharya, A. (2001). *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia : ASEAN and the problem of regional order*. London; New York: Routledge. Chapter 2 (pp. 47-79)
- Kang, David C. (2009). "The Security of Northeast Asia." *Pacific Focus*, 24(1): 1-24
- Dupont, A. (1999). "Transnational Crime, Drugs, and Security in East Asia." *Asian Survey*, 39(3), 433-455.

South Asia

Week VIII

February 28 |

- India Ministry of Defence (2010). "Annual Report Year 2010-2011." Chapter I (Security Environment)
- Thakar, M. (2006). "Identity, Institutions, and War: A New Look at South Asian Rivalry." *India Review*, 5(2), 233-254.
- Riedel, B. (2002). "American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House." Online at http://media.sas.upenn.edu/casi/docs/research/papers/Riedel_2002.pdf. Read Introduction-Aftermath
- Singh, J. (1998). "Against nuclear apartheid." *Foreign Affairs*, 77(5), 41-52.

March 1 |

- Karnad, B. (2005). "South Asia: The Irrelevance of Classical Nuclear Deterrence Theory." *India Review*, 4(2), 173-213.
- Behuria, A. K. (2007). "Fighting the Taliban: Pakistan at war with itself." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61(4), 529-543.
- Hussain, M. (2006). "Pakistan's Quest for Security and the Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal." *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 18(2), 117-137.

Middle East

Week IX

March 6 |

- Identity and Alliances in the Middle East: KATZ Chapter 11 (pp. 400-447)
- Horowitz, D. (1993). "The Israeli concept of national security." In A. Yaniv (Ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner (pp. 11-53).
- Rubin, Barry (2006). "Israel's New Strategy." *Foreign Affairs*, 85(4), 111-125

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March 8 |

- Byman, D. (2001). *Iran's security policy : in the post-revolutionary era*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.: Summary, Chapters 2, Implications
- A.E. Hillal Dessouki. (1993) "Dilemmas of Security and Development in the Arab World: Aspects of the Linkage" in Korany, B., Noble, P., & Brynen, R. *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab world*. New York: St. Martin's Press. (pp. 76-90)
- Mustapha Kamel al-Sayyid (2001). "Legitimacy and Security in Arab Countries, 1989-1996." In Lenore G. Martin (2001). *New Frontiers in Middle East Security*. Palgrave Macmillan. (pp. 47-78)

Africa

Week X

March 13 |

- Sierra Leone *Defence White Paper: Informing the People* (2002). Forward, Chapters I-3
- *Defence in a Democracy: White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa*. (1996). Chapters I,2,4
- Atzili, B. (2007). "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness, and International Conflict." *International Security*, 31(3), 139-173.
- Salih, Mohamed A. Mohamed. (1999). "The Horn of Africa: Security in the New World Order." In Caroline Thomas & Peter Wilkin (ed), *Globalization, Human Security, and the African Experience*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 8

March 15 |

- Elbe, S. (2002). "HIV/AIDS and the Changing Landscape of War in Africa." *International Security*, 27(2), 159-177.
- Heineken, L. (2001). "Living Terror: The looming security threat to Southern Africa." *African Security Review*, 10(4).
- Cilliers, J., & Cornwell, R. (1999). "Mercenaries and the Privatisation of Security in Africa." *African Security Review*, 8(2).
- Ashton, P. J. (2002). "Avoiding Conflicts over Africa's Water Resources." *AMBIO: A Journal of the Human Environment*, 31(3), 236-242.

Week XI (Spring Break)

March 20 | SPRING BREAK: No Class!

March 22 | SPRING BREAK: No Class!

European Union

Week XII

March 27 |

- Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: KATZ Chapter 10 (pp. 357-399)
- Solana, J. (2003) "A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy" [Electronic Version] from <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=266&lang=en>.
- Williams, M. C., & Neumann, I. B. (2000). "From Alliance to Security Community: NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 29(2), 357-387

March 29 |

- Wæver, Ole (1996). "European Security Identities." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34(1), 103-132.
- Jones, Seth G. (2003). "The European Union and the Security Dilemma" *Security Studies* 12 (3): 114-156.

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Week XIII

April 3 | Film

➔ April 5 | Film, **Film Quiz**

Central and South America

Week XIV

April 10 |

- *Book of the National Defense of Chile* (2002). Part I, Chapter I, Section 2; all of Part II
- Columbia Ministry of National Defense. "Policy for Consolidation of Democratic Security" (2007). Chapters 1&2
- Resende-Santos, J. (2002). "The Origins of Security Cooperation in the Southern Cone." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 44(4), 89-126.

April 12 |

- Diamint, R. (2004). "Security Challenges in Latin America." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23(1), 43-62.
- Dziedzic, M. J. (1989). "The transnational drug trade and regional security." *Survival*, 31(6), 533-548.
- Pion-Berlin, D. (2000). Will Soldiers Follow? Economic Integration and Regional Security in the Southern Cone. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 42(1), 43-69.

Week XV

➔ April 17 | PRESENTATIONS, **Analytical Paper due**

April 19 | PRESENTATIONS

Week XVI

April 24 | PRESENTATIONS;

April 26 | PRESENTATIONS