Spring 2020

**Leadership Studies/Political Science 367: The Politics of American National Security** Monday/Thursday 1:10pm - 2:25pm

Instructor: Former U.S. REP Chris Gibson, Ph.D., 202 Schapiro Hall, office hours: Monday/Thursday 2:30 - 5:00pm

***Course Description:*** Liberal democracies face the challenge of establishing effective civil-military relations in order to protect and promote their cherished way of life while preserving civilian control of the armed forces. A lot is at stake in getting it right – everything from national survival to the preservation of societal values, and so much in between. Liberal societies must confront first order questions such as; when should they go to war and for what purposes? In the process, these societies must decide on policies for their armed forces; what should be their size? Share of the national budget? Should the armed forces be forced to adopt the values of the society they protect and should the military be used to drive social change in society or should the answers to these questions be driven by how they impact organizational effectiveness? This course provides an extensive examination of American civil-military relations from the Founding era to the current day. The constitutional, legal, and theoretical frameworks for civil-military relations are explored to set the conditions for students to assess contemporary US grand strategy and the merits and consequences (including moral-ethical) of using military force to achieve political ends. The course concludes with a section on the future of American civil-military relations.

***Required Books/Materials:***

Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider, editors, American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2009).

The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Volumes I and II.

***Course Requirements:***

***-Class Participation 34%****:* you will be assessed based on preparation for class and the quality of your seminar contributions, including your performance presenting/commenting on the readings. This will include a formal grade for lessons 1-12 (17%) and a formal grade for lessons 13-25 (17%). I expect you to attend each class, come prepared having done the readings and contemplated the discussion questions, stay focused during the session, and contribute meaningfully to the seminar dialogue. Periodic quizzes will be used to assess class preparation. These will be based on the readings and will be open notes (not open book).

***-1st Writing Requirement (Mid-Term Analytical Essay) 33%:*** This requirement will be an analytical essay (3500 words) due at the beginning of lesson 13. It will cover the first section of the course.

***-2nd Writing Requirement 33%:*** This writing requirement (3500 words) will be due at high noon, 20 May. It will be a broad topic requiring the student to demonstrate knowledge and understanding mastered throughout the entire course.

***Course Outline***

***Section One – Civil-Military Relations: why they matter, Constitutional & Historical Foundations & Theoretical Approaches***

**Lesson 1 (5 FEB)** **Course Introduction: What are Civil-Military Relations? Why do they matter?**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, James Fallows, “The Tragedy of the American Military.” *The Atlantic.* Also, visit and review the Official Department of Defense website: Defense.gov

**Lesson 2 (10 FEB) Continuation of Course Introduction: What are Civil-Military Relations? Why do they matter?**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Kathy Gilsinan interviewing Rosa Brooks, “We have no idea what war is,” *The Atlantic*, August 2016. Mark Bowden, “General Chaos,” *The Atlantic,* November 2019. Mackubin Owens, “Civil-Military Relations in the age of Trump.” “Do American political divisions impact troops? Here’s what enlisted leaders have to say.” *Military Times*, July 25, 2019.

**Lesson 3 (13 FEB)** **Continuation of Course Introduction: What are Civil-Military Relations? Why do they matter?**

Readings: From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Suzanne Nielsen and Don M. Snider, “Introduction” and Richard Betts, “Are Civil-Military Relations Still a Problem?”

**Lesson 4 (17 FEB) The Constitutional Framework for American Civil-Military Relations**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader *Declaration of Independence, Constitution,* and *Bill of Rights*, *Federalist Paper* #69, and Richard Kohn, “The Constitution and National Security: The Intent of the Framers.”

**Lesson 5 (20 FEB) Historical Foundations and American Civil-Military Relations**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader Russell Weigley, *The American Way of War*, selected passages.George Washington, “Farewell Address.”

**Lesson 6 (24 FEB) Historical Foundations and American Civil-Military Relations (continued: during the Cold War)**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Harold Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?* Chapter 1.

**Lesson 7 (27 FEB)** **Historical Foundations and American Civil-Military Relations (continued: Goldwater-Nichols Act and its legacy)**

Readings: James Locher, *Victory on the Potomac*, selected passages.

**Lesson 8 (2 MAR)** **Normative** **Theoretical Approaches for** **Civil-Military Relationships – Huntington’s “Objective Control”**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State,* Preface/Intro, Chapters 1 and 4.

**Lesson 9 (5 MAR) Normative Theoretical Approaches for Civil-Military Relationships – Huntington’s “Objective Control”**

From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State,* Chapter 17. From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider, editors, chapter 14 (Conclusion), and Darrell Driver, “The Military Mind.”

**Lesson 10 (9 MAR) Normative Theoretical Approaches for Civil-Military Relationships – Janowitz’ “Subjective Control”**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier,* selected passages, and Eliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command,* preface and chapter 1.

**Lesson 11 (12 MAR)** **Normative Theoretical Approaches for Civil-Military Relationships – Gibson’s “Madisonian Control”**

Readings: From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Christopher P. Gibson, “Enhancing National Security and Civilian Control of the Military: A Madisonian Approach.” From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Book Reviews on Gibson*, Securing the State* by Don Snider, HR McMaster, Victor Davis Hanson, William Caldwell, Peter Molin, Peter Leahy, Jose Olmeda, Gary Schaub and Ian Wing.

**Lesson 12 (16 MAR) Final thoughts on Normative Theoretical Approaches**

Readings: From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Risa Brooks, “Militaries and Political Activities in Democracies.”

***Section Two – National Security Decision-Making: US Grand Strategy and Use of Force***

**Lesson 13 (19 MAR)** **US Grand Strategy – what is it and should we have one?**

**1st Writing Requirement Due (Mid-Term Analytical Essay)**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Hal Brands, What Good is Grand Strategy, selected passages. Amy Zegart, “A Foreign Policy for the Future.” November 20, 2013. A. Jurek, Book Review of “What Good is Grand Strategy,” February 3, 2014.

**Lesson 14 (6 APR)** **US Grand Strategy – Liberalism**

**Evening Guest Speaker: Lieutenant General H.R. McMaster, US Army retired and former National Security Advisor to President**

Readings: From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Michael C. Desch, “Hartz, Huntington and the Liberal Tradition in America: The Clash with Military Realism.” From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, John Ikenberry, “A Broad overview of the principles of Wilsonianism.” pp. 10-20. Charli Carpenter, “Yes, Bernie Sanders has a foreign policy vision. Here are its three central ideas.” *The Washington Post*, April 27, 2016.

**Lesson 15 (9 APR) US Grand Strategy – Neoconservatism**

Readings:From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader James Mann, Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush’s War Cabinet. Ch. 20 “A New Strategy.”

**Lesson 16 (13 APR)** **US Grand Strategy** **-** **Conservatism**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader Chris Gibson, *Rally Point*, intro and chapter 1.

**Lesson 17 (16 APR) US Grand Strategy – Trump and America First?**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Russell Walter Mead, “The Jacksonian Tradition and American Foreign Policy.” Donald J. Trump, “The National Security Strategy of the US,” December 2017, selected passages. Michael D’Antonio, “Trump’s influence is spreading like a virus.” *CNN,* August 10, 2019.

**Lesson 18 (20 APR)** **National Security Decision-Making &** **the** **struggle against terror**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Gibson, *Rally Point*, pp. 50-58. Paul Yingling, “A Failure of Generalship.” Gibson, “The Path Forward in Iraq.”

**Lesson 19 (23 APR)** **Use of Force – the Political Process/Legal Framework & Moral-Ethical consequences**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, USConstitution Articles I and II. Library of Congress summary of the War Powers Resolution (1973). Chris Gibson, “War Powers Reform Act.” Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars,* selected passages.

**Lesson 20 (27 APR)** **Use of Force and Civil-Military Relations**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, HR McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty.* pp. 300-334, and from American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era Matthew Moten, A Broken Dialogue: Rumsfeld, Shinseki, and Civil-Military Tension.”

**Lesson 21 (30 APR) Use of Force and Civil-Military Relations (cont.)**

Readings: The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader Suzanne C. Nielsen, “Rules of the Game? The Weinberger Doctrine and the American Use of Force,” and from American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era James Burk, “Responsible Obedience by Military Professionals: The Discretion to do what is wrong.”

***Section Three: The Future of US Civil-Military Relations***

**Lesson 22 (4 MAY) Military Professionalism and the All-Volunteer Force: Should we reinstate the draft? (In-Class Debate)**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Lenny Wong, “From Black Boots to Desert Boots: The All-Volunteer Army Experiment Continues.” Rand, “The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force.” US REP Rangel (D-NY), “Reinstate the Draft.” “Rangel’s Right: It’s Time to Reinstate the Draft,” *US News* Commentary, March 20, 2013.

**Lesson 23 (7 MAY)** **Diversity in the Military (Functional and Societal Imperatives)**

Readings: From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Mady Wechsler Segal and Chris Bourg, “Professional Leadership and Diversity in the Army.” Scott Neuman, “First Female Soldiers Graduate from Army Ranger School,” *NPR,* August 21, 2015. Dan Lamothe, “Study: Women Struggle in Combat Roles,” *Washington Post*, September 10, 2015. Janell Ross, “Should Women Be Drafted? *Washington Post,* February 7, 2016, Ailsa Chang, “Female Vets Say They’ll Put Country First, even on Capitol Hill, *NPR,* October 15, 2014, and Benjamin Luxenberg, “If Inequality is our problem, military service is the answer,” *LA Times*, January 6, 2015.

**Lesson 24 (11 MAY) Military Professionalism – the future of the Officer Corps**

Readings: From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Williamson Murray, “Professionalism and Professional Military Education in the Twenty-first Century.” From The Politics of American National Security – Course Reader, Don M. Snider, “The US Army as Profession.”

**Lesson 25 (14 MAY)** **The future of US Civil-Military Relations/Course Wrap-Up & Critique**

Readings: From American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Richard Kohn, “Building Trust: Civil-Military Behaviors for Effective National Security.”

**2nd Analytical Paper – Due high noon, 20 May**