

**Course Professor**  
**Donna Marie Oglesby**  
**Diplomat in Residence**  
**Miller 104B**  
**Ext. 7977**  
[Oglesbdm@eckerd.edu](mailto:Oglesbdm@eckerd.edu)  
**TTH 3:00 - 4:20**  
**Cobb 121**



## **I. Rationale:**

PO 351: National Security Policy is an upper division political science course centered in the sub-field of foreign policy analysis. For IRGA students, this is a Group "A": international relations and foreign policy course. For political science majors this is a Section "A" American politics course.

*Foreign policy analysis* is a subfield of study that seeks to explain how policy decisions about international relations are made. The scholarship investigates the relative importance of causal factors from different levels of analysis on the state's behavior: strategic, ideological, economic, domestic political and psychological.

Now that the Iraq War is over, most Americans and scholars consider it to have been a misadventure of serious consequences. So, the pivotal decision to go to war in Iraq in 2003, as one strategic response to 9/11, offers us an excellent case study for "lessons learned." *What were they thinking* and did it matter who *they* (decision-makers) were? There are a range of approaches to explaining the Iraq War from the claim that "it was all about oil," to recognizing a genuine American fear (however misplaced) of Iraq's belligerence and WMD program in a post 9/11 world. Some focus simply on the personality and worldview of the president.

We will give the alternative explanations for the causes of this war a fair hearing and given the historical evidence, work out the complex puzzle of motivations, politics and power. In the process we might become more self-conscious about our own reasoning and judgments in the face of challenges from a rapidly changing world.

**II. Course Aims and Objectives:****Aims:**

The course seeks to explore:

- Alternative scholarly explanations for the causes of war in general and the Iraq War in particular through a levels of analysis framework;
- The assertion that the difference between good and bad policy decisions is the people who make them;
- The "wiring" of the mind that must deal with both inherent uncertainty (the natural fog surrounding complex, indeterminate intelligence issues) and induced uncertainty (the man-made fog fabricated by denial and deception operations).
- The effects of cognitive and other "unmotivated" biases, such as the tendency to see information confirming an already-held judgment more vividly than one sees "disconfirming" information.

**Specific Learning Objectives**

By the end of this course, successful students should be able to:

- Hone their own judgments about the identification and merit of alternative explanations for why certain policy decisions are made;
- Better critique the work of peers by raising questions of theoretical coherence, strength and validity of supporting evidence and applying other intellectual standards to their work.
- Better understand events and political phenomena beyond isolated occurrences, thereby strengthening their ability to analyze political outcomes;
- Write more fluidly and succinctly in a less descriptive, more questions based analytical style.
- Pay more honor to doubt.
- Be more humble about the writ of your research findings.

**III. Format and Procedures:**

This is a writing and discussion intensive class. I will prepare and deliver introductory comments on the each particular body of literature to supplement and expand on the assigned reading each week. We will then move to an open discussion of the week's material, including your written analyses and critiques.

**IV. My Assumptions:**

I assume that this course will require considerable time from each of you. Since this course is an elective, I assume you both want to be here and have chosen to engage this material in a critical and disciplined way.

You should know that as an American Foreign Service officer for the first 26 years of my professional life, I practiced public diplomacy -- a form of strategic political communication across cultures. I have lived as well as studied this material and will no doubt bring my personal experience to bear in my teaching of this subject.

**V. Course Materials & Requirements:**

Class attendance and participation policy: Eckerd College expects students to attend all classes for which they are registered. It is important to me that you attend and participate fully in every one of the course sessions we will have this semester. Should you choose not to attend class with any degree of frequency, you can expect a serious negative impact on your grade. Five absences for any reason will trigger an "F" in the course. I expect you to arrive at class on time. I consider tardy arrivals to be disrespectful and will note them.

**Course Materials:**

Derek Chollet & James Goldgeier, *America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11; The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror*, PublicAffairs; Reprint edition (June 1, 2009), ISBN-10: 1586487051

Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge Global Security Studies), 2012, ISBN 978-0-415-78213-5

John S. Duffield & Peter J. Dombrowski eds., *Balance Sheet: The Iraq War and U.S. National Security*, Stanford Security Studies, 2009, ISBN:13:978-0804760133

Richard Haass, *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars*, Simon and Schuster; 1st edition, 2010, ISBN:-10:14165444903X

Robert Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs) Cornell University Press; First Edition edition (March 1, 2010), ISBN-13: 978-0801447853

Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations*, University of Michigan Press, 2004, ISBN: 0-472-06701

Steve A. Yetiv, *Explaining Foreign Policy: U.S. Decision-Making & The Persian Gulf War 2nd edition*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, ISBN: 978-0801898945

It is always a good idea to keep a copy of Roselle & Spray's *Research and Writing on International Relations* at hand. The book is an excellent guide to writing political science papers.

Moodle: Readings will also be posted or linked on the course Moodle site and occasionally provided as hard copy handouts and e-mail attachments.

New York Times: Students enrolled in this course should make it a point to read the New York Times daily. Hard copies are available by subscription, in the library or you may read on-line.

#### **VI. Assessment:**

Forty-percent (**40%**) of your grade will derive from the best five of six essays. On alternate weeks, each student in this seminar will prepare an essay in response to a prompt on the assigned readings. Students will be assigned to Teams A & B and alternate weekly responsibility for drafting. The essays will be 3 - 4 pages in length (750 words). You must post on - line by 1 P.M. on the Wednesday prior to the Thursday session during which it will be discussed. Late submissions will be penalized. Grading will be based on critical thinking standards.

Twenty-percent (**20%**) of your grade will be based on your written critical responses to colleagues' essays. Each student not required to prepare an essay that week, will be required to select two of the posted essays to evaluate and critique. The critique, in the form of letters (250 words each) to the two selected essay authors must be posted by noon on Thursday. Grading will be based on critical thinking standards. Grades will be calculated by averaging a student's best 10 of 12 responses.

Thirty-percent (**30%**) of your grade will come from your final summative paper (8 - 10 pages). This research paper will cycle back through the alternative perspectives we have considered and offer your individual judgment of the causes of the war against Iraq in 2003. You must identify the primary and secondary factors involved and the causal mechanism that led to the war effectively using evidence from the texts and additional research.

The remaining ten percent (**10%**) of your grade will come from oral participation in class. Your oral participation in the seminar is essential. Do not come to class without having read the assigned reading and the essay exchange posted on-line. You will be expected to present and defend your written essays and critiques during seminar exchange. Grading is based on oral participation standards.

#### **VII. Grades:**

Grades will be letter grades with the plus or minus option exercised.

#### **VIII. Academic Integrity:**

Eckerd College definitions of cheating and plagiarism apply to all work required in this course. Eckerd students are expected to know and honor these standards without exception. On each paper please write out and sign "pledged." This will indicate to me that you know and adhere to the Eckerd honor code: On my honor, as an Eckerd College student, I pledge not to lie, cheat, or steal, nor to tolerate these behaviors in others. Violators of academic standards will be referred to the Academic Honors Council.

**IX. Accommodations for students with disabilities:**

If you have a disability or believe that you qualify for accommodations under the Americans with Disabilities Act or other laws, please contact Disability Support Services at extension 8248 or via email at [dss@eckerd.edu](mailto:dss@eckerd.edu) as soon as possible. Appropriate accommodations can only be arranged through that office, and may not be made retroactively.

**X. Course Schedule**

***Unit I: Systems Level Theories -- the primary question is whether or not the American choice for war with Iraq is best explained by the theory that states go to war to increase their power, security and wealth in a high threat international environment. The International system is the cause, state behavior is the effect.***

**Week #1: Course overview and introduction**

*Sessions on Tuesday, Jan. 31 & Thursday, February 2, 2012*

Read: Explaining Foreign Policy chapter 11 (pp. 214 - 250)

Read: Why Did The United States Invade Iraq? Chapters 1 & 2 (pp. 1 - 48)

Choice: Make your team selection on Moodle by Feb 2.

***End of Add/Drop period: February 7th, 2012***

**Week #2: Post 9/11 American Strategic Thinking**

*Sessions on Tuesday, February 7 & Thursday, February 9, 2012*

Due: Team A Essay #1, Team B critiques

Read: Explaining Foreign Policy preface, introduction and chapters 1 & 2 (pp. vii - 57)

Read: Why Did The United States Invade Iraq? Chapter 3 (pp. 50 - 72)

Read: Gaddis, "A Grand Strategy of Transformation," *Foreign Policy* 133 (Nov/Dec 2002): 50-57.

Read: National Security Strategy 2002

Read: Bush West Point Speech, June 2002

### **Week #3: Perception/Misperception**

*Sessions on Tuesday, February 14 & Thursday February 16, 2012*

Due: Team B Essay #1, Team A critiques

Read: Why Intelligence Fails chapters 1, 3 & 4

***CPS Event: 7:30 In Fox Hall: Eliza Griswold, the author of The Tenth Parallel: Dispatches from the Fault Line Between Christianity and Islam.***

### **Week #4: Power and Security Above All**

*Sessions on Tuesday, February 21 & Thursday, February 23, 2012*

Due: Team A Essay #2, Team B critiques

Read: Why Did The United States Invade Iraq? chapter 10 (pp. 201 - 244)

Read: Mearsheimer, John J; Walt, Stephen M., "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* 134 (Jan/Feb 2003): 50-59.

Read: Kevin Woods, James Lacey, and Williamson Murray, "Saddam's Delusions: The View From the Inside," *Foreign Affairs*, 85. 3 (May/Jun 2006): 2.

Read: Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.41, No. 1. (Mar., 1997): (87 - 112)

***Unit II: State and Societal Level Theories: the focus is on factors internal to the United States: political culture, system, and history. Considerations might include an ideological preference for democracy, capitalism and human rights or to consolidate the the positions of key domestic elites.***

### **Week #5: The Prism of Ideology and Domestic Politics**

*Sessions on Tuesday February 28 & Thursday, March 1, 2012*

Due: Team B Essay #2, Team A critiques

Read: Explaining Foreign Policy chapter 4 (pp. 82 - 103)

Read: Jack Snyder, Robert Shapiro and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon (2006), "Free Hand Abroad: Divide and Rule at Home," unpublished paper on Moodle (25 pages)

Read: John J. Mearsheimer (2005), "Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq war: realism versus neo-conservatism" posted on [Open Democracy](#) (6 pages)

### **Week #6: Deep Dive into American Political Culture**

*Sessions on Tuesday, March 6 & Thursday, March 8, 2012*

Due: Team A Essay #3, Team B critiques

Read: America Between The Wars chapters 7 - 11 (pp. 178 - 330)  
[The entire book is worth reading.]

### **Week #7: Oil, Israelis, Neocons -- Oh My!**

*Sessions on Tuesday, March 13 & Thursday, March 15, 2012*

Due: Team B Essay #3, Team A critiques

Read: Why Did The United States Invade Iraq? chapters 3 - 8 (pp. 49 - 166)



Read: Norman J. Ornstein & Thomas E. Mann, "When Congress Checks Out," *Foreign Affairs*, 85. 6 (Nov/Dec 2006): 67.

**Sat., Mar. 17, 2012**  
**Spring recess begins.**

**Mon., Mar. 26, 2012**  
**Classes resume at 8:00 a.m.**

***Unit III: Individual level theories -- here the primary focus is on the decision-makers themselves. The argument is that the only way to understand the decision for war with Iraq in 2003 is to open the black box and look at the individuals who made the decisions: their motivations, beliefs, governmental roles and decision-making processes.***

### **Week #8: Walk in a Policy-maker's Shoes**

*Sessions on Tuesday, March 27 & Thursday March 29, 2012*

Due: Team A Essay #4, Team B critiques

Read: War of Necessity, War of Choice chapters 6 - 9 (pp. 168 - 278) [The entire book is a useful read for the comparisons between the decision making in the Gulf War and the Iraq War from an insider perspective.]

### **Week #9: Cognitions and Attitudes**

*Sessions on Tuesday, April 3 & Thursday, April 5, 2012*

Due: Team B Essay #4, Team A critiques

Read: Explaining Foreign Policy chapter 3 (pp. 58 - 81)

Read: Political Psychology in International Relations Chapters 1, 3, & 4

### **Week #10: Groupthink and Behavior**

*Sessions on Tuesday, April 10 & Thursday, April 12, 2012*

Due: Team A Essay #5, Team B critiques

Read: [Explaining Foreign Policy](#) Chapters 5 & 6 (pp. 102 -120)

Read: [Political Psychology in International Relations](#) chapter 9 (pp. 239 -260)

Read: Daniel Kahneman and Jonathan Renshon. "Why Hawks Win," *Foreign Policy* Foreign Policy 158 (Jan/Feb 2007): 34-38.

***Withdraw with "W" Deadline: April 13th, 2012***

**Week #11: Individuals: The Personal Element I**

*Sessions on Tuesday, April 17 & Thursday, April 19, 2012*

Due: Team B Essay #5, Team A critiques

Read: Jonathan Renshon, "[Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush,](#)" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52, no. 6 (2008): pp. 820-849.

Read: Select a Bush Administration decision-maker of your choice and research the appropriate memoir, biography or insider stories to evaluate the evidence of powerful personal elements driving the decision to go to war.

**Week #12: Individuals: The Personal Element II**

*Sessions on Tuesday April 24 & Thursday, April 26, 2012*

Due: Team A Essay #6, Team B critiques

Listen: [Conversation with James Mann](#) (2008), author of [The Rise of the Vulcans: Bush's War Cabinet.](#)

Read: Select a Bush Administration decision-maker of your choice and research the appropriate memoir, biography or insider stories to evaluate the evidence of powerful personal elements driving the decision to go to war.

**Week # 13: Integrating Perspectives**

Sessions on Tuesday, May 1 & Thursday, May 3, 2012

Due: Team B Essay # 6, Team A critiques

Read: Explaining Foreign Policy Chapter 7 - 9, 10 & 12

Read: Political Psychology in International Relations chapter 10 (pp. 261 - 273)

**Week #14: Evaluating Outcomes**

*Sessions on Tuesday, May 8 & Thursday, May 10, 2012*

Read: Toward a Balance Sheet entire book

**Final Papers Due before Tuesday, May 16, 2012 at 5 P.M.**