# POLS-Y 311 (13217), Spring 2017 Democracy and National Security TR 5:45-7:00 p.m., Woodburn Hall 121



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The contents of this syllabus may be subject to changes throughout the semester. All such changes will be announced in advance (i.e., before they come into effect).

## **Course Description**

Democracy and national security are two desirable political outcomes, yet they often seem to be in conflict. Drawing insights from recent and established research within the fields of American Politics, Comparative Politics, and International Relations, this course explores the complex, multifaceted relationship between democracy and national security from a political science perspective, with a particular focus on how this relationship plays out in the context of US politics in the wake of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. It does so by first laying out the conceptual groundwork for examining both the normative tensions between democracy and national security, and the causal and empirical links that connect the two (Part I). Next, this course investigates the causal relationships between democracy and national security by comparing democracies to dictatorships (Part II). It then examines whether and how democracies can balance the need for state secrecy with political accountability, with a particular focus on the role of national security oversight institutions. It does so first by comparing democracies (Part III) and next by focusing upon the US context (Part IV). Do democracy and national security necessarily collide? Does democracy encourage terrorism? Can international democracy promotion and military interventions stem the tide of domestic and transnational terrorism? How does democracy affect the outbreak of international and domestic armed conflicts? And how does it affect policies supposedly meant to counter such national security threats, such as domestic repression? These are some of the questions this course will explore. **Credit Hours:** 3

Required Textbook 1: Colaresi (2014)

**Title:** Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security **Author:** Michael Colaresi; **Publisher:** Oxford University Press; **ISBN:** 978-0199389773

Required Textbook 2: Sagar (2013)

**Title:** Secrets and Leaks: The Dilemma of State Secrecy **Author:** Rahul Sagar; **Publisher:** Princeton University Press; **ISBN:** 978-0691149875

### Course Requirements (percentages indicate weights for your final score):

Class Attendance	5%
Each class, students will be asked to sign an attendance sheet.	
Class Participation	5%
There will be occasional pop quizzes to assess class participation.	
Assignments $(3 \text{ in total}; 10\% \text{ each})$	30%
Choose 3 out of a total of 5 assignments (due in class):	
#1 due on Thursday (5:45 p.m.) of Week 3 $(1/26)$ .	
#2 due on Thursday (5:45 p.m.) of Week 5 (2/9).	
#3 due on Thursday (5:45 p.m.) of Week 6 $(2/16)$ .	
#4 due on Thursday (5:45 p.m.) of Week 7 $(2/23)$ .	
#5 due on Thursday (5:45 p.m.) of Week 13 (4/13).	
Midterm Exam	30%
Thursday, March 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 5:45-7:00 p.m., Woodburn Hall 121.	
Final Exam	30%
Tuesday, May 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 7:15-9:15 p.m., Woodburn Hall 121.	

#### Class Attendance and Class Participation (each worth 5% of final score)

Class attendance is mandatory, affects your grade and will be recorded using in-class signin sheets. You can request excused absences for illness, familial situations demanding your immediate attention, religious observances, and official IU business. Each class, you are expected to have read the assigned materials in advance, to have studied the previous lecture, and to participate actively and meaningfully. To assess your class participation, there will be occasional pop quizzes on that day's readings and the material presented in the previous day's lecture.

## Assignments (each worth 10% of final score)

Students are required to submit a total of three assignments (printed copies are due in class on the dates listed in the syllabus). There are five assignments to choose from. Only the first three assignments that you submit will be considered. Students should complete these assignments on their own. Late assignments will be heavily penalized. Assignments include opportunities for extra credit to improve your final score, but these opportunities will only be available for the first three assignments that you submit. The assignments are posted on Canvas.

#### Midterm and Final Exams (each worth 30% of final score)

The midterm exam will cover the assigned readings and lectures from Weeks 1-8, except Bush (2002) and Obama (2015). The final exam is non-cumulative and will cover the material from Weeks 9-15. On each exam, students will be asked to answer 20 multiple choice questions (worth  $\frac{1}{3}$  of exam points) and several short essay questions (worth  $\frac{2}{3}$  of exam points). Essay questions are similar to assignment questions. During the mid-term exam and the final exam, each student is allowed to consult his or her submitted version(s) of Assignments 1-4 and Assignments 4-5, respectively. Please note that it is the student's responsibility to check the final examination schedule to determine the date and time of the final exam.

#### **Reading Requirements**

The assigned readings are listed in the course outline presented below and are indicated by citations, which refer to the full list of references presented at the end of this syllabus. Some citations only assign particular chapters or pages. For instance, "Colaresi (2014, Chapter1)" only assigns Chapter 1 of "Colaresi, Michael C. (2014), *Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security*, Oxford: Oxford University Press" for that particular class date. All assigned readings can be accessed via Canvas, except Sagar (2013) and Colaresi (2014).

#### Letter Grade Policies

Your final score can range from 0 to 100 points (excluding extra credit). After adding extra credit, and together with the remaining grade policies detailed below, your final score will determine your final letter grade, which will be assigned on the basis of the following letter grade distribution:

>= 93.00	А	73.00 - 76.99	С
90.00 - 92.99	A-	70.00 - 72.99	C-
		67.00 - 69.99	$\mathrm{D}+$
83.00 - 86.99	В	63.00 - 66.99	D
80.00 - 82.99	B-	60.00 - 62.99	D-
77.00 - 79.99	C+	<= 59.99	$\mathbf{F}$

#### How to Obtain an A+

An A+ is awarded to students who have earned an A for the class and have successfully completed an empirical research project ( $\pm$  15 pp.) no later than Thursday, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 5:45 p.m. Students who wish to work on such a project should notify the instructor no later than Week 9.

#### Academic Integrity

As a student at IU, you are expected to adhere to the standards and policies detailed in the *Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities, and Conduct* (available online at the following website: http://studentcode.iu.edu). When you submit an assignment with your name on it, you are signifying that the work contained therein is yours, unless otherwise cited or referenced. Any ideas or materials taken from another source for either written or oral use must be fully acknowledged. If you are unsure about the expectations for completing an assignment or taking a test or exam, be sure to seek clarification beforehand. All suspected violations of the Code will be handled according to University policies. Sanctions for academic misconduct may include a failing grade on the assignment, reduction in your final course grade, a failing grade in the course, among other possibilities, and must include a report to the Dean of Students, who may impose additional disciplinary sanctions.

#### **Re: Note Selling**

Several commercial services have approached students regarding selling class notes/ study guides to their classmates. Please be advised that selling a faculty member's notes/ study guides individually or on behalf of one of these services using IU email, Canvas, or Oncourse violates both IU information technology and IU intellectual property policy. Selling the faculty member's notes/ study guides to fellow students in this course is not permitted. Violations of this policy will be considered violations of the *Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities, and Conduct* and will be reported to the Dean of Students as a violation of course rules (academic misconduct). Sanctions for academic misconduct may include a failing grade on the assignment for which the notes/ study guides are being sold, a reduction in your final course grade, a failing grade in the course, among other possibilities.

#### Notifications via Canvas

The default notification settings for Canvas can be found online at the following website: https://kb.iu.edu/d/bfdl. Students can customize these settings as they wish. Please note, however, that these customizations will apply to all courses in which you are enrolled — there is no way to have messages forwarded for one course, but not for others, for example. By default, you will receive messages ("conversations") and announcements forwarded to your IU account; if you choose to modify this default setting, it will be your responsibility to make sure you check Canvas regularly for communications.

# Course Outline

The weekly coverage is tentative and might change as it depends on the progress of the class. However, you must keep up with the assigned readings as indicated by the citations, which refer to the list of references.

Week	Topics and Readings		
	Part I: Democracy, National Security and Political Science		
	Introduction		
Week 1	<ul> <li>Tuesday 1/10: Course Requirements and the Principles of Political Science <i>Readings</i>: class syllabus.</li> <li>Thursday 1/12: Spying on Citizens and Hacking Elections <i>Readings</i>: Cohen (2013), Gellman (2013), Snowden (2015), and Katz (2016)</li> </ul>		
	Core Concepts: Democracy and the State		
Week 2	<ul> <li>Tuesday 1/17: Democracy: Competition and Participation <i>Readings</i>: Dahl (1971, Chapters 1 and 3)</li> <li>Thursday 1/19: The State: State Scope vs. State Strength <i>Readings</i>: Fukuyama (2004), Carothers (2007), and Mansfield and Snyder (2007); and Bush (2002) or Obama (2015)</li> </ul>		
	Core Questions and Persistent Puzzles		
Week 3	<ul> <li>Tuesday 1/24: National Security vs. Political Order Readings: Davenport (2007a)</li> <li>Thursday 1/26: Normative Tensions vs. Causal Relationships Assignment 1 is to be submitted in class no later than 5:45 p.m.</li> </ul>		
	Part II: Comparing Democracies to Dictatorships		
	Democracy and Armed Conflict		
Week 4	<ul> <li>Tuesday 1/31: The Democratic Peace Readings: Mansfield and Snyder (1995) and Levy and Thompson (2010, pp. 104-17)</li> <li>Thursday 2/2: Domestic Political Conflict Readings: Tilly and Tarrow (2006, Chapter 7) and Fukuyama and McFaul (2008)</li> </ul>		
	Democracy and State Repression		
Week 5	<ul> <li>Tuesday 2/7: The Domestic Democratic Peace Readings: Davenport (2007b, Chapter 1)</li> <li>Thursday 2/9: Disaggregating Democracy, Conflict, and State Repression Readings: Davenport (2007b, Chapter 2) Assignment 2 is to be submitted in class no later than 5:45 p.m.</li> </ul>		

(Course outline continued on the next page.)

Course outline (continued from the previous page):

Week	Topics and Readings					
	Democracy and Terrorism					
Week 6	<ul> <li>Tuesday 2/14: Does Democracy Encourage Terrorism? Readings: Pape (2003) and Chenoweth (2013)</li> <li>Thursday 2/16: Voice and Veto in the US in the Wake of 9/11 Readings: Klein (2013) and Lichtblau (2013) Assignment 3 is to be submitted in class no later than 5:45 p.m.</li> </ul>					
	Part III: Comparing Democracies					
	When Democracy and National Security Collide: The Secrecy Dilemma					
Week 7	<ul> <li>Tuesday 2/21: Institutions: The Solution to the Problem Readings: Colaresi (2014, Chapter 1)</li> <li>Thursday 2/23: Interests: The Problem of the Solution Readings: Sagar (2013, Introduction) Assignment 4 is to be submitted in class no later than 5:45 p.m.</li> </ul>					
	Preparation for the Mid-Term Exam					
Week 8	<ul> <li>Tuesday 2/28: Exam Review Session Readings: readings from Weeks 1-7, except Bush (2002) and Obama (2015)</li> <li>Thursday 3/2: Mid-Term Exam, 5:45-7:00 p.m., Woodburn Hall 121 Midterm Exam Material: all readings and lectures from Weeks 1-8, except Bush (2002) and Obama (2015)</li> </ul>					
	Transparency, Secrecy, and National Security in Democracies					
Week 9	<ul> <li>Tuesday 3/7: Does Transparency Advance National Security? <i>Readings</i>: Colaresi (2014, Chapter 2)</li> <li>Thursday 3/9: Does State Secrecy Advance National Security? <i>Readings:</i> Colaresi (2014, Chapter 3)</li> </ul>					
	The Abuse of State Secrecy in Democracies					
Week 10	<ul> <li>Tuesday 3/21: Government Abuses of State Secrecy <i>Readings</i>: Colaresi (2014, Chapter 4)</li> <li>Thursday 3/23: Popular Responses to Secrecy Abuses <i>Readings</i>: Colaresi (2014, Chapter 5)</li> </ul>					
	Solving the Secrecy Dilemma					
Week 11	<ul> <li>Tuesday 3/28: The Secrecy Dilemma Readings: Colaresi (2014, Chapter 6)</li> <li>Thursday 3/30: National Security Oversight in Democracies Readings: Colaresi (2014, Chapter 7)</li> </ul>					

(Course outline continued on the next page.)

Course outline (continued from the previous page):

Week	Topics and Readings
	Part IV: Democracy and State Secrecy in the US
Week 12	<ul> <li>The US Context (1)</li> <li>Tuesday 4/4: The Secrecy Dilemma in the US Readings: Sagar (2013, Chapter 1)</li> <li>Thursday 4/6: The Judiciary</li> </ul>
	Readings: Sagar (2013, Chapter 2)
Week 13	<ul> <li>The US Context (2)</li> <li>Tuesday 4/11: The US Congress Readings: Sagar (2013, Chapter 3)</li> <li>Thursday 4/13: The Bureaucracy Readings: Sagar (2013, Chapter 4) Assignment 5 is to be submitted in class no later than 5:45 p.m.</li> </ul>
Week 14	<ul> <li>The US Context (3)</li> <li>Tuesday 4/18: Whistleblowers Readings: Sagar (2013, Chapter 5)</li> <li>Thursday 4/20: Leakers Readings: Sagar (2013, Chapter 6)</li> </ul>
Week 15	<ul> <li>Class Presentations and Prepration for the Final Exam</li> <li>Tuesday 4/25: Additional class lecture on Sagar (2013) if necessary; possibly some optional class presentations of optional research projects. Readings: readings from Weeks 9-14</li> <li>Thursday 4/27: Exam Review Session Readings: readings from Weeks 9-14 <ul> <li>A paper copy of the optional research project is to be submitted in class no later than 5:45 p.m. A late and/ or digital submission of your research project is worth 0 points.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Week 16	<ul> <li>Finals Week (No Classes)</li> <li>Final Exam: Tuesday, May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 7:15-9:15 p.m., Woodburn Hall 121 Final Exam Material: all readings and lectures from Weeks 9-15, except the class presentations of research projects.</li> </ul>

A note about the list of references: The list of references presented below is primarily meant as a resource for you to use if you'd like to follow up on a given topic. Please not that students are only required to read the material indicated in the course outline presented above. For instance, you are only required to read Chapter 7 of Tilly and Tarrow (2006), not the whole book.

# List of References

- Bush, George W (2002). The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. Report. The White House.
- Carothers, Thomas (2007). "The "Sequencing" Fallacy". In: Journal of Democracy 18.1, pp. 12–27.
- Chenoweth, Erica (2013). "Terrorism and Democracy". In: Annual Review of Political Science 16, pp. 355–378.
- Cohen, Jon (2013). "Most Americans Back NSA Tracking Phone Records, Prioritze Probes Over Privacy". In: *The Washington Post*.
- Colaresi, Michael P. (2014). Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dahl, Robert Alan (1971). Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Davenport, Christian (2007a). "State Repression and Political Order". In: Annual Review of Political Science 10, pp. 1–23.
- (2007b). State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis (2004). "The Imperative of State-building". In: Journal of Democracy 15.2, pp. 17–31.
- Fukuyama, Francis and Michael McFaul (2008). "Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?" In: Washington Quarterly 31.1, pp. 23–45.
- Gellman, Barton (2013). "Edward Snowden, After Months of NSA Revelations, Says His Mission's Accomplished". In: *The Washington Post*.
- Katz, Ian (2016). "Hacking: How the New York Times Decides What to Publish". In: BBC Newsnight. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCKpM\_8WFko&index=123&list=WL.
- Klein, Ezra (2013). "The NSA vs. Democracy". In: The Washington Post.
- Levy, Jack S and William R Thompson (2010). Causes of War. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lichtblau, Eric (2013). "In Secret, Court Vastly Broadens Powers of N.S.A." In: *The New York Times*.
- Mansfield, Edward and Jack Snyder (1995). "Democratization and War". In: Foreign Affairs 74.3, pp. 79–97.
- Mansfield, Edward D and Jack L Snyder (2007). "The Sequencing" Fallacy". In: Journal of democracy 18.3, pp. 5–10.
- Obama, Barack (2015). National Security Strategy. Report. The White House.
- Pape, Robert A (2003). "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism". In: American Political Science Review 97.03, pp. 343–361.
- Sagar, Rahul (2013). Secrets and Leaks: The Dilemma of State Secrecy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Snowden, Edward (2015). "Edward Snowden: The World Says No to Surveillance". In: *The New York Times*.
- Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow (2006). Contentious Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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