



U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
Est. 1884
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

Joint Professional Military Education Phase I Intermediate Level Course

College of Naval Command and Staff and Naval Staff College

THEATER SECURITY DECISION MAKING

November 2023 to February 2024

NSA
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT



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THEATER SECURITY DECISION MAKING (TSDM) COURSE SYLLABUS

1. COURSE OVERVIEW AND POLICIES

The National Security Affairs (NSA) Department's course in Theater Security Decision Making (TSDM) is designed to engage intermediate-rank students in the complexities of today's national and international security environment with a strong emphasis on regional security issues. The course offers a broad interdisciplinary curriculum in contemporary security studies that encompasses a diverse spectrum of regional and global issues and perspectives, but with particular emphasis on U.S. decision-making challenges and processes at the theater-strategic level through the geographic combatant commands. Because of the theater-strategic focus of the course, each TSDM seminar will concentrate on a specific geographic region.

a. Course Objectives. Our goal is to provide an educational experience that combines conceptual rigor and professional relevance in order to prepare students to be more effective participants in the decision-making environment of a major national security organization such as a combatant command. The intended outcome of this graduate-level course is to foster joint warfighter skills, regional awareness, strategic perspectives, critical thinking, and analytic rigor that are needed by national security professionals in command or working in a complex staff environment. Our goal is to help develop skilled joint warfighters who can develop and execute national military strategies that effectively employ the Armed Forces in concert with other instruments of national power to achieve the goals of national security strategy and policy in the air, land, maritime, and space physical domains and the information environment (which includes cyberspace). Our course learning outcomes include:

- i. Evaluate regional security issues to develop theater strategy.
- ii. Analyze factors involved in the national security policymaking processes that influence U.S. interests in regional affairs.
- iii. Communicate strategic arguments and ideas in appropriate professional ways.

b. Learning Outcomes. The TSDM course supports the following Naval War College CNC&S program learning outcomes:

- i. Demonstrate joint planning and joint warfighting in military operations and campaigns across the continuum of competition.
- ii. Create theater and national military strategies designed for contemporary and future security environments.
- iii. Apply the organizational and ethical concepts integral to the profession of arms to decision-making in theater-level, joint and multinational operations.

- iv. Apply theory, doctrine, and seapower through critical, structured thought in professional, written communication.

c. Course Approach. TSDM is focused at the theater-strategic level where students intensively study one region of the world and analyze how U.S. government foreign policy decisions impact theater security. The course follows the logic of analyzing national security through two sub-courses: *International Security* (providing the international strategic context with a strong regional focus) and *Foreign Policy Analysis* (focusing on U.S. national and organizational decision-making environments).

At the end of the course, each seminar acts as a NSC-level working group during the capstone event known as the Final Exercise (FX). Each seminar will develop an executive-level strategic estimate of the assigned ocean region over the next eight years, an outline of a regional strategy, and identify four capabilities required to advance the strategy.

d. Course Organization. The TSDM course includes the following major elements:

i. TSDM (lecture and seminar)	1 Session
ii. International Security (seminars)	24 Sessions
iii. Foreign Policy Analysis (seminars)	24 Sessions
iv. Final Exercise Introductions (lectures and seminars)	1 Sessions
v. TSDM Final Exercise (FX) (course-wide capstone)	9 Sessions

e. Course Requirements

i. *Individual Student Responsibilities.* Students are expected to prepare fully for each seminar session and to participate actively and positively in classroom discussions. An inquisitive attitude and the willingness by all students to engage constructively with peers and faculty are essential prerequisites for a successful graduate-level seminar experience.

ii. *Workload.* Every effort has been made to provide for a consistent reading and preparation workload from week-to-week throughout the trimester. TSDM is a graduate-level course that as a general rule requires approximately two hours of student preparation for every hour of class time. Accordingly, on balance over the course of each week, students should expect to have over three hours of preparation required for every 90-minute seminar period. However, a significant peak in workload unavoidably occurs toward the end of the trimester when written assignments are due. Students should take careful note of the due dates for assignments as indicated below in order to plan far in advance for effective time and workload management.

iii. *Essential and Recommended Readings.* All essential readings must be completed prior to class since they serve as a basis for informed and lively seminar discussion. The goal of the seminar is to discuss national security issues informed by the readings, not necessarily review each

reading. Recommended readings may also be listed to provide background for those who do not possess adequate knowledge to understand the essential readings.

iv. *Study Guidance.* For each session, the session page identifies the focus, objectives, guidance, and readings. Guidance questions should be used to prepare for class discussion.

v. *Formative Assignments.* These assignments give students an opportunity to assess their progress and comprehension of course material prior to completing graded assignments. The following is a listing of ungraded course requirements:

Sub-course	Requirement	Type Effort
International Security	Paper Proposal	Written/Individual
International Security	Paper Draft	Written/Individual
Final Exercise	Seminar Presentation	Review/Seminar

vi. *Summative Assignments.* * An overall TSDM grade will be assigned to CNCS students based on the grades earned on individual graded requirements, individual seminar preparation and contribution, and a group grade for the FX. Any collaboration between students on individual graded assignments is strictly prohibited. All graded, written student assignments for Core courses at the Naval War College will be submitted to their respective professors electronically through Turnitin Assignments set up in each Blackboard seminar course. Students may assess their papers through the Turnitin Student Workbooks in Blackboard to benefit from Turnitin’s Similarity Report prior to final paper or exam submission. This will highlight for students any areas that may require additional citation, as appropriate. As students review the Turnitin report, it is important to note there is no percentage that means "all clear" and no percentage that means "big trouble." Papers with as low as a 10% similarity score may have serious plagiarism concerns while a 50% similarity score could be fine (an example is a large portion of an official document attached as an appendix). Turnitin requires students to go through the markup line by line to identify and correct any problems. When submitting papers for evaluation to professors through the Blackboard seminar course, students are still able to revise and resubmit the assignment up to the assignment deadline. For this reason, faculty will refrain from downloading or otherwise viewing any assignment submissions that come in through Turnitin assignments in their Blackboard seminar courses until the final deadline for submitting papers has passed. Students should refer any questions regarding Turnitin to their professors.

Graded assignments, due dates, and weights assigned for the overall TSDM grade are as follows:

Sub-course	Requirement	Type/Basis of Evaluation	Due Date	Weight
Foreign Policy Analysis	Exam	Individual. Ability to comprehend course topics.	DEC 15	10%

International Security	Analytic Research Paper	Individual. Ability to explore in-depth a dimension of strategy and theater security. This is the only research paper of the TSDM course.	FEB 02	35%
Foreign Policy Analysis	Final Exam	Individual. Ability to apply course concepts in a logical and concise way to a case study. Time-limited assignments.	FEB 08	25%
TSDM	Seminar Preparation and Contribution*	Individual. Preparedness and individual contributions in the seminar.	Cumulative	15%
FX	Capstone Group Exercise	Seminar. Ability of seminar to apply all three sub-course concepts and present a coherent, professional presentation reflecting the seminar's theater strategic guidance.	FEB 22	15%

***AN IMPORTANT NOTE ON YOUR SEMINAR PREPARATION AND CONTRIBUTION GRADE.**

Your preparation for seminar by mastering the required readings and contribution to seminar discussion is a key aspect of this course. Students will therefore be assessed on the cumulative quality of their individual seminar preparation and contributions over the course of the trimester. This seminar preparation and contribution grade is based on the rounded average of contribution grades assigned in each sub-course. Student contribution is assessed by its quality. The goal is not to measure the number of times students have spoken, but how well they have demonstrated that they have prepared and understood the subject matter, enriched discussion, and contributed to a positive active learning dynamic. This caliber of commitment requires students to come prepared to take part in every seminar discussion by absorbing the readings, listening attentively, thinking critically, and offering informed comments on session topics. Students are expected to prepare for and be thoughtfully engaged in each seminar session. The seminar is a team effort. Not contributing in seminar undercuts the learning experience for everyone.

In addition to grades for individual assignments and seminar contribution, all students will receive a group grade for their seminar's performance in the TSDM FX. This grade will be determined by a three-member faculty team and assigned to the seminar as a group.

vii. *Return Dates.* The NSA Department uses a modified "double-blind" grading system in which students complete end-of-course surveys before receiving grades on the Foreign Policy Analysis final exam and International Security Analytic Research Paper graded assignments and faculty turn in grades before receiving student feedback from these surveys. This system is intended to optimize the fairness of the grading process. Grades will be returned to students by close of business as follows:

Foreign Policy Analysis Exam	04 JAN 24
International Security Paper	16 FEB 24

Foreign Policy Analysis Final Exam	22 FEB 24
FX Grade Assigned	22 FEB 24
TSDM Seminar Contribution Grade	Cumulative

f. Grading Standards. Grades for all TSDM assignments are based on the standards set forth in the *U.S. Naval War College Faculty Handbook 2019* (chapter 3, section 7), which in part states:

“Historical evidence indicates that a grade distribution of 35%-45% ‘As’ and 55%-65% ‘Bs’ and ‘Cs’ can be expected from the overall War College student population. While variations from this norm might occur from seminar to seminar and subject to subject, it would rarely if ever be expected to reach an overall ‘A’ to ‘B/C’ ratio of greater than or equal to an even 50/50 distribution.”

Common standards for numeric and associated letter grades for individual written assignments and for the group Final Exercise (FX) are as follows:

<i>Letter Grade</i>	<i>Numeric Range</i>	<i>Description</i>
A+	97-100	Work of very high quality. Clearly above the average graduate level.
A	94-96	
A-	90-93	
B+	87-89	Expected performance of the average graduate student.
B	84-86	
B-	80-83	
C+	77-79	Below the average performance expected for graduate work.
C	74-76	
C-	70-73	
D+	67-69	Well below the average performance expected for graduate work.
D	64-66	
D-	60-63	
F	0-59	Unsatisfactory work.

Common standards for numeric and associated letter grades for individual seminar preparation and contribution are as follows:

Seminar preparation and contribution will be graded at the end of the trimester as a whole number on a 100-point scale. Students will receive a contribution grade as a whole number from each sub-course with the final TSDM grade comprised of a rounded average of the contribution grades from each sub-course as a whole number. The key criteria used to evaluate seminar contribution are:

- Evidence of preparation for class
- Positive impact on seminar environment
- Listening to and engaging with classmates
- Quality and originality of thought
- Clear and concise communication of relevant ideas

A+ (97-100): Contributions provide a wholly new understanding of the topic, expressed in a clear and concise manner. Demonstrates exceptional preparation for each session as reflected in the quality of contributions to discussions. Strikes an outstanding balance of “listening” and “contributing,” engaging with classmates in a way that elevates the overall level of seminar discourse.

A (94-96): Contribution is always of superior quality. Unfailingly thinks through the issue at hand before comment. Can be relied upon to be prepared for every seminar, and contributions are highlighted by insightful thought, understanding, and in part original interpretation of complex concepts. Thoughts are generally expressed clearly and concisely, and engage with contributions of others.

A- (90-93): Fully engaged in seminar discussions and commands the respect of colleagues through the insightful quality of their contribution and ability to listen to, analyze, and build upon the comments of others. Ideas are generally expressed clearly. Above the average expected of a graduate student.

B+ (87-89): A positive contributor to seminar meetings who joins in most discussions and whose contributions reflect understanding of the material. Contributes original and well-developed insights.

B (84-86): Average graduate level contribution. Involvement in discussions reflects adequate preparation for seminar with the occasional contribution of original and insightful thought, with some consideration of others’ contributions. Ideas may sometimes be difficult to follow.

B- (80-83): Contributes, but sometimes speaks out without having thought through the issue well enough to marshal logical supporting evidence, address counterarguments, or present a structurally sound position. Sometimes expresses thoughts that are off-track, not in keeping with the direction of the discussion. Minimally acceptable graduate-level preparation and participation for individual lessons.

C+ (77-79): Sometimes contributes voluntarily, though more frequently needs to be encouraged to participate in discussions. Satisfied to allow others to take the lead while showing minimal interest in course content and the views of others. Minimal preparation for seminar reflected in arguments lacking the support, structure or clarity to merit graduate credit.

C (74-76): Contribution is marginal. Occasionally attempts to put forward a plausible opinion, but the inadequate use of evidence, incoherent logical structure, and a critically unclear quality of insight is insufficient to adequately examine the issue at hand. Usually content to let others form the seminar discussions and demonstrates little preparation of the session’s materials.

Alternately, the student contributes but in a manner that is dismissive of others and detracts from the overall seminar discussion.

C- (70-73): Lack of contribution to seminar discussions reflects substandard preparation for sessions. Unable to articulate a responsible opinion. Comments reduce rather than promote constructive dialogue.

D-/D/D+ (60-69): Rarely prepared or engaged. Contributions are seldom and reflect below minimum acceptable understanding of course material. Engages in frequent fact-free conversation and adds little value to seminar deliberations.

F (0-59): Student demonstrates unacceptable preparation and fails to contribute in any substantive manner. May be extremely disruptive or uncooperative and completely unprepared for seminar.

FINAL TSDM COURSE GRADE: Grades assigned for all TSDM assignments will be expressed in whole numbers and in corresponding letter grades as shown above. A final course grade will be expressed as the unrounded numerical weighted average of all graded assignments, expressed to two decimal places, along with a corresponding letter grade as follows:

<i>Letter Grade</i>	<i>Numeric Range</i>
A+	97-100
A	94-<97
A-	90-<94
B+	87-<90
B	84-<87
B-	80-<84
C+	77-<80
C	74-<77
C-	70-<74
D+	67-<70
D	64-<67
D-	60-<64
F	0-<60

g. Grade Appeals. After discussing feedback and grade with their assigned faculty member, a student may request a grade review from the Department through the Deputy Chair. The written request must be made no later than seven calendar days from receiving the grade and detail the basis for the appeal in accordance with the grading evaluation criteria. The results of this independent grade review may result in the original grade being raised, sustained, or lowered. The student may request an additional review of the work in question, whereupon the Department Chair will review the appeal and either affirm the new grade assigned based on the independent review, or assign another grade (higher or lower), which then replaces any previous grade assigned. In exceptional circumstances, the student may make a further appeal to the Dean of Academics, whose decision will be final.

h. Plagiarism and the use of ChatGPT and Similar Artificial Intelligence Software.

Occasional incidents of plagiarism require that we bring this matter to your attention. Plagiarism is defined in both the U.S. Naval War College Student Handbook and Faculty Handbook as follows:

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is the use of someone else's work without giving proper credit to the author or creator of the work. It is the act of taking ideas, writings, analysis, or the like from another and passing them off as one's own. Whether intentional or unintentional, plagiarism is a serious violation of academic integrity and will be treated as such by the command. Plagiarism includes but is not limited to the following actions:

- The verbatim use of others' words without both quotation marks (or block quotation) and citation.
- The paraphrasing of others' words or ideas without citation.
- Any use of others' work (other than facts that are widely accepted as common knowledge) found in books, journals, newspapers, websites, interviews, government documents, course materials, lecture notes, films, etc., without giving them credit.

Authors are expected to give full credit in their written submissions when utilizing another's words or ideas. Such utilization, with proper attribution, is not prohibited by this code. However, a substantially borrowed but attributed paper may lack the originality expected of graduate-level work; submission of such a paper may merit a low or failing grade but is not plagiarism.

Additionally, the PNWC 19 February 2023 Policy Memorandum on Permissible and Impermissible Uses of ChatGPT and other AI tools may not be used, "To produce drafts or final submissions of assignments instead of original student work. Students may not use ChatGPT or other AI tools to produce written, video, audio, or other work assigned to be developed originally and independently and submitted or presented to satisfy required coursework, regardless of whether it is graded or ungraded." The policy memorandum also states, "Students who resort to AI-generated research and writing lose the unique opportunity the NWC provides to engage deeply with issues, reflect on and analyze information, develop compelling arguments and counterarguments, and write coherent and convincing work that expands and broadens expertise. After all, that is precisely the reason why students are enrolled at NWC, and it is their primary duty."

i. Seminar Assignments and General Schedule. Each student is assigned to a seminar group representing a balanced distribution of services/agencies and functional expertise. Sub-course seminar sessions generally meet in the afternoon on Tuesdays and Thursdays and occasionally on Fridays. Individual class sessions are normally 90 minutes long, except on rare days when certain topics require an extension of class time. A course planning schedule containing meeting dates and times for all sessions is available on Blackboard. This is updated at least weekly to reflect schedule revisions.

j. Faculty Office Hours. The faculty will be available to assist in mastering the course material, to review progress, and for individual academic counseling as required. Faculty office hours also provide an excellent opportunity to review assigned tasks, to discuss general problems,

and to make recommendations for improvement of the course. Students are urged to use this opportunity. Faculty members are available throughout the week when not teaching, however, many also teach electives and perform other professional activities. Therefore, students are encouraged to arrange appointments.

k. NSA Department Key Personnel. If you require additional support or information in conjunction with your studies, or if classroom issues arise that you do not believe are being dealt with to your satisfaction by your instructor, please contact one of the following individuals as appropriate:

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TSDM - 01

Course Introduction

Focus

The National Security Affairs (NSA) department educates students in contemporary U.S. national security studies. This eight-credit hour course is focused at the theater-strategic level where students intensively evaluate regional security issues to develop theater strategy and analyze factors involved in the national security policymaking processes that influence U.S. interests in regional affairs. The final exercise challenges students to apply national strategies to advance and defend national interests in a regional context.

Objectives

- Define national security and the influences that lead to foreign policy decisions.
- Identify how strategic competition manifests at a regional level.
- Understand the course structure, assignments, and expectations.

Session Guidance Questions

- What is a pressing national security issue in your assigned region? What are the roles and limits of national power to address this issue?
- What does strategic competition look like through a regional lens?

Essential Preparation

- Gates, Robert M. *Exercise of Power: American Failures, Successes, and a New Path Forward in the Post-Cold War World*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2020), Chapter 1 (pp. 13-57).
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. and Derek S. Reveron, "Legacies of the Cold War and Post-Cold War Periods," Foreign Policy Research Institute, June 29, 2023 (pp. 1-9).
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. and Derek S. Reveron, "Geography, Bureaucracy, and National Security: The New Map," Foreign Policy Research Institute, July 20, 2023 (pp. 1-9).
- "The Constitution of the United States of America." n.d. National Archives.
- Video: The National Security Affairs Department USNWC. *The Debrief Episode 2*. YouTube; 2023:11:46.



FPA – 1

Foreign Policy Analysis for Practitioners

Focus

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) examines various theories to explain how governments make decisions and provides an overview of the international, domestic, and bureaucratic forces that shape national security policy. U.S. governmental decision-making is the focus. This session lays out themes that will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sessions and explores the study of decision-making as a valuable way to analyze foreign policy actions. These decisions deal with a broad range of issues including going to war, negotiating a ceasefire, imposing sanctions, entering an alliance, or signing a treaty. This introductory session also explores why it is important for national security professionals—civilian and military — to understand foreign policy analysis and to think about the boundary between expert advice and policy advocacy.

Objectives

- Familiarize students with terms of art and examples of some of the more prevalent FPA models and frameworks.
- Discuss the role of civilian and military national security professionals in the policymaking process.
- Set the stage for more in-depth examination of theories and frameworks in following sessions.

Session Guidance Questions

- The textbook notes that “a [foreign policy] decision may be less about what a president or other leaders want, and more about what options are possible given political and systemic constraints.” What are some of those constraints? How might they affect the outcome of a foreign policy decision?
- Decision-makers inevitably must act with incomplete information. Foreign policy analysts face similar informational challenges. What information would be especially important in an FPA context? What information is easiest to come by, harder to come by, and nearly impossible to come by?
- How do you see your role in the policy process? Is it important for you to understand how policy is made? Why or why not?

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain, and David A. Cooper. "Foreign Policy Analysis." In *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 14-51. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- The Debrief: Foreign Policy Analysis, U.S. Naval War College Video, Sept 2023.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. “Should Military Officers Study Policy Analysis?” *Joint Forces Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (2015).
- Blankshain, Jessica, “A Primer on US Civil–Military Relations for National Security Practitioners.” *Wild Blue Yonder*, Air University, 6 July 2020.



IS – 1

USA in the World Today

Focus

The Joint Concept for Competition (2023) states, “The United States finds itself in a global competition for legitimacy, credibility, and influence. National interests require the United States to shape the strategic environment to U.S. advantage and uphold a stable and open international system.” This requires us to think about U.S. foreign policy and national security in a logically coherent and consistent manner: what are U.S. interests, and how are they to be prioritized? How should the United States pursue those interests, and in what manner? What sort of world does America wish to live in, and how important is it that the world reflect that wish? Finally, how does the United States prioritize which regions of the world matter most for its national security?

Objectives

- Understand how national interests are conceptualized and shape U.S. engagement with the international system.
- Grasp the fundamental questions—not necessarily the answers—that a practitioner must assess when analyzing U.S. national security strategy and policy.
- Comprehend the kaleidoscope of interests—both geographical and functional—that U.S. national security policy must balance.
- Analyze how the U.S. national security system assigns priorities to issues and regions.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are U.S. national interests? How are they defined? How are they prioritized?
- What are Zoellick’s five traditions of American statecraft and how do they help set the parameters for the International Security sub-course?
- How can we set regional priorities for U.S. foreign policy? How do concepts like Slaughter’s “chessboard and web” or a “transoceanic region” help?

Essential Preparation

- Zoellick, Robert. *America in the World: A History of U.S. Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, 2020. (READ Chapter 18, “Five Traditions of American Diplomacy” and the Afterword, “From Traditions to Today”)
- Reveron, Derek S. and Nikolas K. Gvosdev. “(Re)Discovering the National Interest: The Future of U.S. Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy,” *Orbis* 59, no. 3 (2015): 299-316.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. “The Regional Dimension of U.S. Foreign Policy.” *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 20 July 2022.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. *The Chessboard and the Web*. The MacMillan Report, Yale University 2015. YouTube, 15 min.
- Lissner, Rebecca and Mira Rapp-Hooper. *Re-Imagining U.S. Foreign Policy*. Commonwealth Club of California 2020. YouTube, 64 min. (WATCH through 31:33)
- U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Concept for Competing*. Washington, DC: 10 February 2023. (SCAN the Executive Summary and Annex A: A Structured Approach for Strategic Competition)



FPA – 2

The Cuban Missile Crisis

Focus

For thirteen days in October 1962, the United States and the Soviet Union moved to the brink of nuclear war. At the center of the conflict were Cuba-based Soviet missiles that could deliver nuclear payloads to much of the United States. In a haze of uncertainty, tensions, and often conflicting advice, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. President John F. Kennedy sought to achieve their respective geostrategic and political objectives at the precipice of nuclear war. While often viewed as a study in presidential decision-making, an in-depth study of the crisis provides a complicated and nuanced understanding of how these governments dealt with the crisis and how nuclear war was narrowly averted. This is the first in a series of case studies that will require an increasingly sophisticated understanding and application of analytical tools, critical thinking, and the ability to clearly and concisely explain U.S. foreign policy decision-making.

Objectives

- Identify the various actors and factors that affected U.S. decision-making during the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Examine the limitations of simple linear models of decision-making/policymaking.
- Assess how a more complete understanding of the forces operating in the policymaking arena might be useful in anticipating probable outcomes of on-going national security decisions.

Session Guidance Questions

- What key questions might an analyst want to ask to understand the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis?
- Who were the key players in U.S. decision-making during the crisis and why?
- What developments in the case were most surprising to you?
- What tools might allow an analyst to systematically examine decision-making during the Cuban Missile Crisis? How might you think about which factors were specific to the case vs. generalizable to other foreign policy decisions?
- It is easy to look at the Cuban Missile Crisis as a relic of the Cold War. Could such a crisis happen again? Would the U.S. government respond differently this time?

Essential Preparation

- Allison, Graham, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in *Foreign Policy: Theories Actors Cases*, 3rd edition. eds Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne. Oxford University Press, 2016, 256-272.
- Blankshain, Jessica D. and Andrew L. Stigler, "Applying Method to Madness: A User's Guide to Causal Inference in Policy Analysis," *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 3 (2020), 76-89.



IS – 2

The International System

Focus

The Joint Concept for Competing (2023) observes that “nations compete to improve their ability to influence the international system and the rules that govern international interactions.” This session will provide an overview of the international system and the rules and institutions that govern the interaction among states—and why maintenance of the current international system serves U.S. interests. The session will also consider the important role that geography plays in shaping state perceptions and behaviors, placing especial emphasis on the maritime environment and the role of sea power.

Objectives

- Comprehend the fundamental components of the international system: its major actors (especially states), rules, institutions, characteristics, functions, and challenges.
- Think critically about how the present international system may be or is evolving, what possible futures such changes portend, and examine how the United States ought to think about adjusting to such changes, including shifts in the global and regional balances of power.
- Gain an understanding of the maritime factor in shaping the international system.

Session Guidance Questions

- What comprises the “international system?”
- What is the U.S. role in the international order that it helped create and has largely led?
- How does sea power fit into the international system and its workings?
- What are the principal challenges facing the international system?

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas, ed. *Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 2017. (READ Chapter 7, “The Regional and International Context for Theater Security”)
- U.S. National Intelligence Council. *Global Trends: A More Contested World*. Washington, DC: March 2021. (READ 1-16, 30, 42, 54, 66-68, 78, 90, 132-149)
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. *Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community*. Washington, DC: 6 February 2023. (READ 4-39)
- Bunde, Tobias, Sophie Eisentraut, Natalie Knapp, Leonard Schütte, Julia Hammelehle, Isabell Kump, Amadée Mudie-Mantz, and Jintro Pauly. *Munich Security Report 2023: Re:vision*. Munich: Munich Security Conference, February 2023. (READ Introduction: Re:vision, 14-36)
- Till, Geoffrey. *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-First Century*. Fourth edition. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018. (READ Chapter 1: “In Search of Seapower,” 24-31)



FPA – 3

Unitary State Perspective vs. Two-Level Games

Focus

This session introduces our first two analytical tools for analyzing foreign policy decision-making. The unitary state perspective conceives of countries as unitary rational actors that evaluate all possible courses of action and select optimal policies based on a common, consistent, and enduring conception of the national interest. By privileging international-level factors, the unitary state perspective treats internal decision-making and its domestic political context as an impenetrable “black box.” The two-level games framework, originally developed by Robert Putnam (1988), challenges these assumptions arguing that domestic political pressures on leaders at one level shape their ability to bargain with allies, partners, and adversaries at another level. It underscores linkages between international-level and domestic-level factors in the United States and other countries that shape foreign policy outcomes. In this session, we will gain an increased understanding of these tools by applying them to the case of international negotiations over Iran’s nuclear program.

Objectives

- Understand the merits and drawbacks of conceptualizing states as unitary actors making decisions by weighing the benefits and costs of all available alternatives and deciding through optimization.
- Comprehend how international-level factors interact with domestic-level factors to produce foreign policy outcomes under the two-level games framework.
- Apply the unitary state perspective and two-level games framework to the negotiations over Iran’s nuclear program between 2005 and 2015, as well as the present-day prospects for a new nuclear deal.

Session Guidance Questions

- Under what conditions do international and domestic political factors shape foreign policy?
- What are the sources of a state’s national interests? Do they change over time, or are any enduring?
- Why did the United States and Iran fail to reach a nuclear agreement in 2009-10, but succeeded in 2015?
- The unitary state perspective assumes states confronted with similar external circumstances will make similar choices, regardless of individual decision-makers and domestic political pressures. Would any U.S. president have signed the JCPOA in 2015/withdrawn from the agreement in 2018?
- What international-level factors or domestic-level factors shape U.S. policy toward Iran today?

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. "Unitary State Perspective." In *Decision Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 52–87. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. "Domestic Politics." In *Decision Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 284–333. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. (READ 284–296 ONLY)
- Brewer, Eric, and Henry Rome. "Biden’s Iran Gamble: A Risky New Strategy to Keep Iran From Going Nuclear." *Foreign Affairs*, 9 June 2023.
- Hurst, Steven. 2016. "The Iranian Nuclear Negotiations as a Two-Level Game: The Importance of Domestic Politics." *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 27, no. 3: 545–559.



IS – 3

International Relations Theory

Focus

This session considers some major theories of International Relations (IR) that seek to explain why and how states have behaved the way they have in the international system. Particular emphasis will be given to the three prominent schools in American IR (realism, liberalism, and constructivism). We also examine feminism, which makes a distinctive contribution to our understanding of world politics.

Objectives

- Achieve a basic understanding of IR theories, how they differ in explaining international relations, and the implications of those differences for the conduct of foreign policy.
- Apply IR theories to real-world events, analyzing them and drawing out the different conclusions and implications for U.S. behavior.

Session Guidance Questions

- How helpful are IR theories for understanding and explaining world politics? What would the various theories have to say about, say, China's rise, or Russia's invasion of Ukraine, or U.S. international behavior?
- What are the defining characteristics of realism and liberalism? What can these two schools of thought agree on, and why do they differ?
- What are some of constructivism's critiques of the other theoretical schools? Why do you find the constructivist argument convincing or unconvincing?
- How have gender issues affected the thinking on and the conduct of war from the twentieth century onwards? How have gender issues manifested in your own professional experiences?

Essential Preparation

- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001. (READ 29-54 and 413-22)
- Meiser, Jeffrey W. "Introducing Liberalism in International Relations Theory." In *International Relations Theory*, edited by Stephen McGlinchey, Rosie Walters, and Christian Scheinpflug, 22-27. Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing, 2017. <https://www.e-ir.info/publications/download/file/71796/71812>.
- Theys, Sarina. "Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory." In *International Relations Theory*, edited by Stephen McGlinchey, Rosie Walters, and Christian Scheinpflug, 36-41. Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing, 2017. <https://www.e-ir.info/publications/download/file/71796/71812>.
- Welland, Julia. "Gender and War." In *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Security*, edited by Caron E. Gentry, Laura J. Shepherd, and Laura Sjoberg. London: Routledge, 2019. (READ 129-39)
- Kroenig, Matthew. "International Relations Theory Suggests Great-Power War is Coming." *Foreign Policy*. 27 August 2022.



FPA – 4

U.S. Constitutional System

Focus

The previous session examined how the domestic political systems of countries influence individual decision-makers and shape foreign policy. This session delves deeper into the specifics of the U.S. domestic system by providing a broad overview of the U.S. Constitution and its role in foreign policy. It looks at how the legal structure created by the Constitution affects foreign policy and the roles and powers of different branches of the government. It challenges students to understand how and why the Constitution creates “an invitation to struggle” over foreign policy.

Objectives

- Understand the formal institutions that comprise the U.S. government and their relationship to the U.S. Constitution.
- Analyze how the constitutional system both constrains and enables U.S. foreign policy.
- Apply your understanding of the constitutional system to a case study.

Session Guidance Questions

- What responsibilities and powers does each branch of the U.S. government have, as defined in the Constitution, and how do they affect national security decision-making?
- Why did the Framers of the Constitution divide powers among different branches, and what are the advantages, drawbacks, and legacies of this division?
- How has the Constitution been interpreted to facilitate the modern U.S. national security system? How do these dynamics affect the organizations in which you serve?
- How does the Constitution shape modern understanding of civil-military relations?
- What constitutional issues were at stake during the Iran-Contra affair?

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. “Domestic Politics.” In *Decision Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 284–333. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. (READ 296–312 ONLY)
- Hamilton, Alexander and James Madison. “Federalist 23” and “Federalist 51,” in *The Federalist Papers*.
- Open Letter, “To Support and Defend: Principles of Civilian Control and Best Practices of Civil-Military Relations,” *War on the Rocks*, 6 September 2022.
- Cloud, John A. and Gvosdev, Nikolas K. “A Very Slim Reed: From the Phrases of the Constitution to the Theater Security Enterprise” In *Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise*, 25–57. Newport, RI: National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College, 2018.
- Koh, Harold H. “Recognizing the Pattern of History.” In *The National Security Constitution: Sharing Power after the Iran-Contra Affair*, 38–64. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

Recommended Resources

- National Archives. “*The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription.*”



IS – 4

National Interests and Dimensions of Power

Focus

Grand Strategy can be described as the synchronized application of all elements of national power to advance and defend national interests during peace and war. The strategist must understand the types of power (and their limitations) and appreciate that national interests can be difficult to define or agree upon, and their endurance questionable depending on the political culture. Grand strategy archetypes are introduced that will be more robustly examined later in the course to guide thinking about power, interests, challenges, and approaches.

Objectives

- Examine the dimensions of national power and their role in shaping strategy.
- Analyze the role national interests play in strategic thinking.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are national interests and why are they important? How do vital, important, and peripheral national interests affect a nation's strategic calculus?
- Why is there so much difficulty determining and prioritizing national interests?
- When designing strategy, how can a country achieve balance with the various tools of national power?
- Does overemphasizing one tool of national power place strain on the other tools?

Essential Preparation

- Reveron, Derek S. and Nikolas K. Gvosdev. "National Interests and Grand Strategy." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, edited by Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. (READ 35-52)
- Sullivan, Jake. "The Sources of American Power: A Foreign Policy for a Changed World." *Foreign Affairs*, 24 October 2023.
- Kagan, Robert. "A Free World If You Can Keep It: Ukraine and American Interests." *Foreign Affairs*, January February 2023.
- Mead, Walter Russell. "America's Sticky Power," *Foreign Policy*, 2004.



FPA – 5

Cognitive and Palace Politics Perspectives

Focus

This session introduces the cognitive and palace politics perspectives for analyzing foreign policy decision-making, expanding the toolkit introduced in FPA-3. It challenges students to grasp how psychological and sociological forces influence the decision-making process. It looks at how personality traits, cognitive factors, and emotions in turn shape leaders' decisions. It also addresses how both formal and informal advisors compete for access and influence in the policymaking process.

Objectives

- Comprehend how the cognitive and palace politics perspectives relate to each other and to other analytical perspectives.
- Understand the importance of the cognitive and palace politics perspectives for analyzing foreign policy decision-making.
- Analyze when the cognitive and/or palace politics perspectives are more likely to help us understand foreign policy decision-making.

Session Guidance Questions

- How can you recognize cognitive factors and palace politics factors at work in individual decision-making processes?
- How do you differentiate between palace politics and cognitive perspectives?
- Where have you seen cognitive or palace politics factors at work in your own careers?
- How can an analyst improve their understanding of the cognitive and palace politics dynamics shaping the decision-making of other countries?
- How do these new perspectives affect your understanding of previous cases in this class like the Cuban Missile Crisis and the role the cognitive perspective plays in deterrence?

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. "Cognitive Perspective." In *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 88–124. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. "Palace Politics Perspective." In *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 192–237. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Abbe, Allison. "Understanding the Adversary: Strategic Empathy and Perspective Taking in National Security." *Parameters*, 53(2), 2023, 19–38.



IS – 5

Deterrence Theory

Focus

Deterrence is the use of threats and assurances to convince an adversary that the costs of taking an action are greater than the possible benefits. Deterrence has a long history as a strategy used by people and governments to manage and prevent conflict, but in recent years, practicing deterrence is complicated by a threat environment that has a more complex array of threats, new domains such as cyber and space, and broader range of actors. This session will examine the fundamental concepts of deterrence theory, the challenges to implementing a successful deterrent strategy, and how the theory is applied in practice.

Objectives

- Understand the basic concepts of deterrence and assess their utility in the current and future security environment.
- Examine and evaluate the usefulness of deterrence in the cyber and space domains.
- Apply deterrence theory to current security challenges.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the basic concepts of deterrence and how does a state construct a credible deterrence commitment? What role does rationality play in deterrence calculations?
- What are the challenges for states to “extend” deterrence to protect allies?
- Do traditional concepts of deterrence apply to the domains of space and cyberspace? If not, why not? Do Canadian and U.S. deterrence strategies have the correct approach?
- What is the best way to deter a Chinese invasion of Taiwan?
- What is “integrated deterrence” and is it a useful way to think of deterrence?

Essential Preparation

- Biddle, Tami Davis. “Coercion Theory: A Basic Introduction for Practitioners,” *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 2 (Spring 2020): 94-109.
- Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. (READ 35-52)
- McInnis, Kathleen. “‘Integrated Deterrence’ Is Not So Bad,” *CSIS*, 27 October 2022.
- Sacks, David and Ivan Kanapathy. “What It Will Take to Deter China in the Taiwan Strait,” *Foreign Affairs*, 15 June 2023.
- McKeown, Ryder and Alex Wilner. “Deterrence in Space and Cyberspace,” In Juneau, Thomas, et. al., *Canadian Defense Policy in Theory and Practice*, edited by Thomas Juneau, et. al. London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2020. (READ 399-416)



FPA – 6

The President and the White House

Focus

This session follows up on the introduction of the cognitive and palace politics perspectives by having students apply these perspectives to their understanding of the inner workings of the White House. Policymaking can rapidly change because of the wide variety of cognitive factors, personalities, informal relationships, rivalries, and other human factors in any given administration. Understanding how individuals gain access to and interact with the president can help explain decision-making outcomes. Furthermore, this session briefly introduces the structure and functions of the National Security Council, which was created to help presidents develop better policies and make better decisions. We will look at how the individual preferences of different presidents has shaped how the National Security Council functions.

Objectives

- Comprehend how the combination of the presidency as institution and president as individual shape foreign policymaking.
- Analyze how the advisors surrounding the president, particularly those in the White House, influence the decision-making process.
- Understand the difference between formal and informal power.
- Examine how the president and his advisors handled a specific foreign policy challenge in the case of 2003 Iraq.

Session Guidance Questions

- How does the institution of the presidency affect our understanding of the cognitive perspective in the context of the United States?
- How does the structure of the foreign policy decision-making processes of different administrations reflect the preferences or personality of the President?
- When is a member of the President's inner circle, regardless of formal position, engaging in palace politics? How do particular advisors compete for access and influence? Under what conditions is a given advisor more likely to succeed in influencing decision-making?
- How do the cognitive and palace politics perspectives, combined with an understanding of the George W. Bush White House, help us understand the decision-making process that led to the invasion of Iraq in 2003?

Essential Preparation

- Brattebo, Douglas M. and Tom Lansford, "The Presidency and Decision Making." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, ed. Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John Cloud, 97–110. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- John Dickerson. "What if the Problem Isn't the President, It's the Presidency?" *The Atlantic* 321, no. 4 (2018).
- David Samuels. "The Storyteller and the President." *New York Times Magazine*, 8 May 2016.
- Stieb, Joseph. "Not Whether, but How and When: The Iraq Debate from 9/11 to the Invasion." In *The Regime Change Consensus: Iraq in American Politics, 1990–2003*, 189–247. Cambridge University Press, 2021. (READ "Bush's Case for War" 192–214 ONLY)



IS – 6

Nuclear Deterrence

Focus

The United States was the first country to develop nuclear weapons and is the only state (so far) to have used them in war. Throughout the Cold War nuclear weapons and theories of nuclear deterrence were central to U.S. strategy and defense planning. In the years following the Cold War, both civilian and military analysts gave far less thought to nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence as the threat of an existential nuclear conflict appeared to recede. Over the past decade, however, the nuclear question was resurfaced, not only because of increased competition with China and Russia, but also because of North Korea's advancing nuclear capabilities, and ongoing concern over a potential Iranian nuclear weapons program.

Objectives

- Examine and assess the structure of the U.S. nuclear force, the plans to modernize these weapons systems, and the U.S. strategy in the 2022 Nuclear Posture Review.
- Analyze the impact of Russia's nuclear threats and Chinese nuclear modernization on deterrence.
- Understand and assess the role nuclear weapons might play in future international conflict.

Session Guidance Questions

- Should the size, composition, and capability of certain parts of the U.S. nuclear force be adjusted?
- What are the implications for norms and security should Russia decide to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine? How should the United States respond?
- What are the causes and implications of Chinese nuclear modernization for U.S. and global security? How concerned are you and how should the U.S. respond if it now has two peer nuclear adversaries?
- How does the cognitive perspective discussed in FPA come into play concerning risk and brinkmanship in deterrence?

Essential Preparation

- Kerr, Paul K. *Defense Primer: Strategic Nuclear Forces*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 19 May 2023.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: Secretary of Defense, 2022. (READ the Nuclear Posture Review, 1-25.)
- Talmadge, Caitlin and Joshua Rovner. "The Meaning of China's Nuclear Modernization." *Journal of Strategic Studies* (May 2023): 1-33.
- Schlosser, Eric. "What If Russia Uses Nuclear Weapons in Ukraine?" *The Atlantic*, 20 June 2022.
- Pauly, Reid B.C. and Rose McDermott, "The Psychology of Nuclear Brinkmanship," In *H-Diplo-Robert Jervis International Security Studies Forum Policy Roundtable II-5*, edited by Diane Labrosse and Christopher Ball, 4 August 2023. (READ 6-13.)



FPA – 7

Organizational Process Perspective

Focus

Only a short employment with a national security agency is required to gain an appreciation for the impact of organizational processes on policy decisions. This session introduces the organizational process perspective as a lens for analyzing foreign policy decision-making. Complex foreign policy decisions as well as military operations cannot be executed without a great deal of planning and organizational specialization. However, organizational behavior can open pitfalls for the agencies involved, and potentially lead to actions that do not serve the nation's national security interests. To apply this perspective, this session examines a short case study on the misplacement of nuclear weapons in 2007 and explores the ramifications of organizational processes on the decisions that were made leading up to this event.

Objectives

- Comprehend the theoretical underpinnings of the organizational process perspective.
- Understand how the organizational process perspective relates to other analytical perspectives.
- Understand how these concepts apply to the Department of Defense and other national security agencies.
- Analyze a case where organizational behavior affected U.S. national security.

Session Guidance Questions

- How can organizational behavior shape policy outcomes?
- In what ways do organizational culture, and the respective service subcultures, impact Department of Defense activities and policies?
- What role does military advice play in policymaking? What are the sources of civil-military friction when deliberating over national security policy? What does Davidson mean when she calls interactions between policymakers and military advisors a “broken dialogue”?
- How can the events and actions of the USAF and DoD in the Minot AFB case be explained by organizational behavior? Consider both the event itself and the post-event organizational response.

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. “Organizational Process Perspective.” In *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 125–160. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Davidson, Janine. “Civil-Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1: 129–145.
- Peter Grier. “Misplaced Nukes.” *Air and Space Forces Magazine*, 26 June 2017.



IS – 7

Economic Fundamentals

Focus

While this course is obviously focused on security issues and decision-making, it is important to remember that most states most of the time do not face existential threats and are equally or more concerned with their economic health. Moreover, economic activity can constitute a basis for either conflict or conflict resolution, and a state's economy is the main factor in its ability to use either coercive force or significant incentives in international bargaining. Thus, it is critical for a security professional to understand the basics of how economic systems work and interact.

Objectives

- Understand basics of value chains, foreign exchange trading, and commodities trading.
- Understand the basic structure and institutions of the international economic system, including processes of globalization and de-globalization.
- Analyze major types of domestic economic organization and their pluses/minuses.

Session Guidance Questions

- States choose whether their economy will serve the state's interests or whether state security serves economic interests. What are the pluses and minuses of each approach?
- How do states pursue economic power? What are the respective roles of cooperation and competition in the international system? Why isn't it purely competitive?

Essential Preparation

- Cohn, Lindsay P. "Introduction to Political Economy Part I Comparative and Part II International" Naval War College, National Security Affairs Department, 2022 (revised).
- Ripsman, Norrin M., Rosella C. Zielinski, and Kaija E. Schilde. "The Political Economy of Security." In *Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, eds Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. (READ 249-264.)
- Wilkinson, Rorden. "World Trade Organization." In *Oxford Handbook of the United Nations*, eds Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. (READ 299-312.)
- Lund, Susan, et al. "Globalization in transition: The future of trade and value chains—Executive Summary." *McKinsey Global Institute*, 2019. (READ 1-23.)
- Jackson, Anna-Louise, and John Schmidt. "A Basic Guide to FOREX Trading," *Forbes*, 21 April 2022.
- Rodeck, David and Jo Groves. "A Basic Guide to Commodities," *Forbes*, 28 July 2022.



FPA – 8

The National Security Bureaucracy

Focus

This session follows up on the introduction of the organizational process perspective by applying this perspective to the inner workings of the U.S. national security bureaucracy. National security in any country is a vast enterprise. For the United States, with the largest security budget in the world, the government apparatus devoted to national security is sprawling. This session explores key bureaucratic actors in the U.S. national security enterprise, exploring their missions, structures, and cultures. Students have an opportunity to research a specific non-DoD agency and explore that agency's role in formulating national security policy.

Objectives

- Comprehend the major players in the United States national security bureaucracy.
- Analyze the similarities and differences between various departments and agencies and how this might affect their approach to national security policy.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the major elements of the United States Government national security apparatus, and what are their roles?
- For the department or agency assigned to you by your faculty members, what is the culture of the agency? Why does the department have that organizational culture? How is it similar to or different from that of the Department of Defense in its approach to U.S. national security?
- Does the current technological and social environment suggest necessary changes to the current bureaucratic model?

Essential Preparation

- Congressional Research Service, "Defense Primer: The Department of Defense." Nov 30, 2022.
- Eaglen, Mackenzie. "Putting Combatant Commanders on a Demand Signal Diet." *War on the Rocks*, Nov 9 2020.
- Zegart, Amy. "American Intelligence History at a Glance: From Fake Bakeries to Armed Drones." In *Spies, Lies, and Algorithms: The History and Future of American Intelligence*, 44–76. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022. (READ "Intelligence Reform and Creation of the DNI," 70–74 ONLY)
- Burns, William J. and Linda Thomas-Greenfield. "The Transformation of Diplomacy: How to Save the State Department." *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2020.
- Powell, Colin. "Address at the Groundbreaking Ceremony of the U.S. Diplomacy Center." 3 September 2014.
- You, with a subgroup drawn from your seminar, will be assigned an agency—Department of Justice, Treasury Department, Department of Homeland Security, or Department of Energy—for individual study by your FPA faculty member. Research this agency's mission, structure, and culture with your assigned seminar subgroup in preparation for seminar discussion.



IS – 8

Political Economy

Focus

The previous IS session provided an understanding of economic fundamentals. This session will look at more complex questions of how economic power works, how states act to counter or avoid the exercise of economic power, and the relationships between economics (both domestic and international) and politics (both domestic and international). As you think more about this topic, look for the two-level games.

Objectives

- Understand how economic power is formed and used and learn to analyze its likely effects.
- Comprehend the relationships between political and economic systems and learn to incorporate them into strategic thinking. You will address this directly in FPA.

Session Guidance Questions

- Discuss specific sources of state economic power, and potential tensions between economic and security considerations, as well as what happens when a state miscalculates its use of economic power.
- Discuss how domestic political and economic organizations enable or constrain states in their foreign policy.
- Most observers see the world as becoming more multipolar, especially in economic terms. What do you think this means, and what can/should the U.S. strategy be going forward?

Essential Preparation

- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L Newman. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* 44, no.1 (2019): 42–79.
- De Goede, Marieke, and Carola Westermeier. "Infrastructural Geopolitics." *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2022): 1-12.
- Pitron, Guillaume. "The Geopolitics of the Rare-Metals Race," *Washington Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2022): 135-150.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, and George W. Downs. "Development and Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2005): 77-86.
- Morgan, T. Clifton, Constantinos Syropoulos, and Yoto V. Yotov. "Economic Sanctions: Evolution, Consequences, and Challenges." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 37, no. 1 (2023): 3-30.



FPA – 09

Bureaucratic Politics Perspective

Focus

This session introduces the bureaucratic politics perspective, which conceives of decision-making as a bargaining process among senior leaders of executive departments and agencies. In contrast to the organizational process perspective's focus on habitual actors generating organizational outputs based on routines and cultures, the bureaucratic politics perspective treats organizational actors as strategic players who leverage their positions to advance their bureaucratic interests. Foreign policy decisions reflect compromises that emerge from bargaining among players in positions pursuing their own competing bureaucratic interests. This session explores the utility of the bureaucratic politics perspective in understanding foreign policy decision-making by examining the case of the Afghanistan troop surge in 2009.

Objectives

- Comprehend the core arguments and assumptions associated with the bureaucratic politics perspective.
- Analyze the benefits and drawbacks of using this analytical perspective in understanding national security decisions and foreign policy outcomes.
- Distinguish the bureaucratic politics perspective from other analytical perspectives covered in the course, particularly the organizational process and palace politics perspectives.
- Apply this perspective and evaluate its utility in explaining President Barack Obama's decision to "surge" U.S. forces in Afghanistan in December 2009.

Session Guidance Questions

- How does the bureaucratic politics perspective challenge the common assumption that countries function as unitary actors that make foreign policy decisions that are intended to optimize their national interests?
- Why does high-level bargaining among senior leaders of key national security agencies sometimes lead to a compromise outcome that was nobody's initial preference?
- This perspective assumes that the bureaucratic interests that players pursue largely conform to "Miles' Law," the idea that "where one stands is where one sits." Do the preferences of senior leaders always reflect the interests of the organizations they represent? Why or why not?
- In what ways does President Obama's decision to "surge" U.S. forces in Afghanistan reflect the tenets of the bureaucratic politics perspective? In what ways does it differ?

Essential Preparation

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper. "Bureaucratic Politics Perspective." In *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*, 162–191. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Marsh, Kevin. "Obama's Surge: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis of the Decision to Order a Troop Surge in the Afghanistan War." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10, no. 3 (2014): 265–288.



IS – 9

Transnational Security Challenges

Focus

Globalization and hyper-connectivity have brought the world closer than ever before. This has presented numerous opportunities for states and non-state actors to interact but also given rise to emergent transnational and non-traditional security issues that cannot be solved solely through military force. Transnational challenges include: organized crime, trafficking, terrorism, disease, natural disasters, climate change, extreme weather events, refugees, corruption, illegal fishing, piracy, hackers, cyberspace, energy, and multinational corporations. Such nonmilitary threats share three features: (1) do not always involve state actors, (2) nature of threats that cross borders, and (3) necessitate cooperation among different actors for a coordinated response. Transnational security issues can threaten the stability of the international system and test the sovereignty and resilience of each state.

Objectives

- Identify and analyze future security challenges to states and the international system.
- Recognize the differences between threats coming from states versus non-state actors.
- Evaluate how governments have responded to transnational issues and implications for global stability.
- Identify future security challenges to states and the international system.
- Assess how states prepare for and respond to transnational security challenges.

Session Guidance Questions

- What non-traditional security threats will likely shape the future of the international system and various regions? Can lessons be learned from the response to the outbreak of COVID-19?
- In what ways can the military be used to respond to transnational issues? What resilience strategies should countries develop to prepare their society in coordinating responses to non-traditional security problems?
- How does climate change and extreme weather impact the U.S. and those most vulnerable?
- What are the expenses, dangers, risks, and costs associated with non-traditional threats? What are the barriers to states effectively dealing with these issues?
- How can states, such as the United States, cooperate with adversarial states (e.g., China, Russia, etc.) in an era of strategic competition to address non-traditional security issues?

Essential Preparation

- Borghard, Erica. "A Grand Strategy Based on Resilience." *War on the Rocks*, January 4, 2021.
- Wilén, Nina. "The Military in the Time of COVID-19: Versatile, Vulnerable, and Vindicating." *PRISM* 9, no. 2 (2021): 21-33.
- Apling, Scott C., et. al. "Pivoting the Joint Force: National Security Implications of Illegal, Unregulated, and Unreported Fishing." *Joint Force Quarterly* 47, 4th Quarter (2022): 93-101.
- McQuaid, Julia, et. al. "Transnational Challenges and U.S. National Security: Defining and Prioritizing Borderless Threats," *Center for Naval Analysis*, September 2017.
- U.S. National Intelligence Council. "National Intelligence Estimate, Climate Change and International Responses Increasing Challenges to US National Security Through 2040," Washington, DC: 2021.



FPA – 10

The Interagency Process

Focus

This session follows up on previous sessions' introductions of various analytical perspectives, particularly bureaucratic politics, by applying these perspectives to the interagency process. According to the Joint Staff's Guide for Interagency Doctrine, "the purpose of the interagency process is to advance the President's policy priorities and, more generally, to serve the national interest by ensuring all USG departments and agencies, and perspectives contribute to achieving these priorities, and participate in formulating and implementing policy." This session introduces the actors and institutions designed to facilitate interagency coordination at all levels of the U.S. government in formulating and implementing foreign policy.

Objectives

- Analyze the factors that drive the interagency process in coordinating, formulating, and executing policy.
- Understand the players and procedures—both formal and informal—that shape the interagency process.
- Examine the role of the National Security Council and the NSC staff in the interagency process.
- Apply course concepts to understand how the interagency process shaped the Clinton administration's decisions during the 1995–96 Taiwan Strait Crisis.

Session Guidance Questions

- What is the purpose of the interagency process? What tensions exist within the system?
- Who are the principal players in the interagency process? What is the role of the National Security Council and its various committees? What is the role of the NSC staff in fulfilling these responsibilities?
- Does interagency coordination and implementation only take place in Washington? What role do interagency country teams play in shaping regional and theater-level policy formulation?
- How did the interagency process shape the 1995–96 Taiwan Strait Crisis? What role, if any, did domestic politics in Washington, Beijing, and Taipei play during the crisis?

Essential Preparation

- Marcella, Gabriel. "National Security and the Interagency Process." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*, 239–260. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2014.
- Chollet, Derek, "The National Security Council: Is it Effective or Is it Broken?" In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, ed. Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John Cloud, 111–121. New York: NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Biden, Joseph R. "Memorandum on Renewing the National Security Council System." National Security Memorandum-2 (NSM-02), The White House, 4 February 2021.
- Jervis, Robert. "Why Intelligence and Policymakers Clash." *Political Science Quarterly* 125, 2 (2010):185–204.
- Gunness, Kristen, and Phillip C. Saunders. "Averting Escalation and Avoiding War: Lessons from the 1995–1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis." China Strategic Perspectives No. 17, Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, 2022. (READ 8–45 ONLY)



IS – 10

Causes of Conflict and Strategic Competition

Focus

This session focuses on the major sources of conflict in the international system that range from classic geopolitics to more non-traditional challenges that extend beyond state borders. The session wrestles with the issue of strategic over-reach and whether U.S. strategy can adequately address today's complex security environment. The 2022 National Security Strategy prioritizes "maintaining an enduring competitive edge over the PRC while constraining a still profoundly dangerous Russia." Accordingly, this session examines the challenges of strategic competition and great power rivalry from a variety of perspectives.

Objectives

- Understand the primary causes of conflict in the international system and how their differing origins and types lead to different approaches to mitigate the risk of conflict.
- Identify and analyze key areas of strategic competition and great power rivalry.
- Understand the influence of geopolitics on U.S. strategy.

Session Guidance Questions

- You examined the major theories of international relations in IS-2 and IS-3. How do those theories inform the readings for this session?
- Do imbalances in power relations among states create conflict?
- What have been the main features of U.S. strategy towards China and Russia? Has the strategy been successful? What changes are necessary going forward?
- Does the mindset of strategic competition assume that conflict is inevitable?
- How do developing countries view strategic competition between the United States and Russia and China?

Essential Preparation

- Amonson, Kyle. "Causes of War: A Theory Analysis." *Small Wars Journal*, 17 March 2018.
- Brands, Hal. "The Overstretched Superpower: Does America Have More Rivals Than It Can Handle?" *Foreign Affairs*, 18 January 2022.
- Scheinmann, Gabriel. "4 Ways U.S. Support for Ukraine Helps Defend Taiwan." *Foreign Policy*, 24 May 2023.
- Rao, Nirupama. "The Upside of Rivalry: India's Great-Power Opportunity." *Foreign Affairs* 102, no. 3 (May/June 2023): 17-23.
- Adamson, Fiona B. "The Changing Geography of Global Security." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, edited by Alexandra Gheciu and William C. Wohlforth. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. (READ 319-329.)



FPA – 11

Interagency Simulation

Focus

In this fictional scenario, it is May 24, 2024. James Walker, the President of the United States of America, is in the White House. He has recently learned that part of the island of Lorica—a Pacific possession of Venezuela that lies between the coast of California and Hawaii—has been leased by the People’s Republic of China for use as an air and naval base. He has asked the North Pacific Interagency Working Group, part of the National Security Council, to generate policy recommendations within hours. You are a representative of an Executive Branch agency on the NPIWG, tasked with considering the national security interests of the United States as well as your agency’s insights and priorities. After consulting the background materials on Lorica and recent updates, work with the interagency working group to supply the president with urgently needed policy advice.

Objectives

- Comprehend both the background of the Lorica issue and the current crisis.
- Understand your agency’s perspective and be prepared to present relevant concerns.
- Be prepared to engage with interagency interlocutors.

Session Guidance Questions

- How do agency representatives think about their bureaucratic interests in the context of the national interest?
- How do agency representatives interpret senior guidance, especially when faced with conflicting guidance?
- As a representative of your agency, which policy option do you recommend and why?

Essential Preparation

- Stigler, Andrew. “Student Guide – Interagency Simulation Exercise.” Naval War College reading, 2023.
- Instructions from National Security Council Senior Director (NWC video on Blackboard).
- Agency Guidance. (Specific to assigned role, video distributed by faculty).
- Background reading: “Lorica, a Gentle Giant.”
- Background reading: “U.S. Policy Regarding Lorica Since 1999.”
- Background reading: “Hypersonic Weapons: Overview, Country Programs, & Implications.”
- Background reading: “Map of Lorica.”
- Crisis reading: “President Xi Statement on China-Venezuela Cooperation.”
- Crisis reading: “House Votes to Condemn.”
- Crisis: “State Cable EMB Beijing.”
- Crisis reading: “Map of PRC Airbase Lorica.”



IS – 11

Competing Grand Strategies

Focus

Grand strategy can be defined as “a nation’s most important and enduring interests and its theory for how it will defend or advance them” (RAND). This session addresses the role of grand strategy in the contemporary international system. A nation’s choice of a particular grand strategy will have implications for its force posture, design, and its level of defense spending. This session specifically explores and defines the competing grand strategies currently being debated and proposed for the United States ranging from most activist to least activist. These grand strategies are based in the previously discussed different schools of international relations.

Objectives

- Analyze the relative position of the United States in the international system and the role grand strategy plays in securing interests.
- Identify and analyze the components of primacy, strategic restraint, liberal internationalism, selective engagement, offshore balancing and other approaches to include their underlying assumptions, key concepts, objectives, risks, and force requirements.
- Evaluate the utility of competing grand strategies (respectively) to advance and defend national interests.
- Understand the “democratic peace” theory and counterarguments and evaluate the place of democracy promotion in U.S. grand strategy.

Session Guidance Questions

- Which of the grand strategies – or combination of these – is most applicable to today’s international context and would be most effective for the United States in managing great power rivalry and for overcoming challenges of the 21st century? Do you favor strategies of retrenchment or engagement?
- Which theories and characterizations of the international security environment underpin each of these strategies?
- Most of the proposed strategies are primarily focused on states and great power politics, to what extent are they useful (or not) for addressing non-state and transnational challenges?

Essential Preparation

- Posen, Barry, and Andrew L Ross. 1996. “Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy.” *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996): 5–53.
- Mazarr, Michael. “The World Has Passed the Old Grand Strategies By.” *War On the Rocks*. 5 October 2016.
- Layton, Peter. “Rethinking Grand Strategy.” *Small Wars Journal*. 6 June 2018.
- Lathan, Andrew. “In Search of America’s Next Grand Strategy.” *The Hill*. 1 January 2023.
- Beebe, George. “Managed Competition: A U.S. Grand Strategy for a Multipolar World.” *Quincy Brief* No. 30. 1 September 2022.
- Ikenberry, G. John. “The Next Liberal Order: The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less.” *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (2020): 133-142.



FPA – 12

Congress & National Security

Focus

As lawmakers in a rule-of-law society, Congress plays a fundamental role in national security decision-making, although its influence tends to wax and wane with respect to the Executive Branch. How and why does Congress impact U.S. foreign and national security policy today, and how has its role changed over time? What powers, authorities, and influence does Congress wield, and in what issues and areas is Congress less involved and why? This session will delve into the practical aspects of legislating and its impacts and influence on U.S. national security policy.

Objectives

- Comprehend the lawmaking process, its relationship with policy, and the role of the Legislative Branch of government in U.S. foreign and national security policy decision-making.
- Examine how Congress' interest and involvement in defense issues affects policymaking.
- Understand Congressional perspectives on decisions involving national security and foreign policy.

Session Guidance Questions

- When does Congress get involved in matters of foreign policy and national security? When it does, what powers, tools, and authorities does Congress have to direct or influence policy?
- Where in Congress is power and influence located, how is it manifested and demonstrated, and how do these powers affect legislation?
- Why did passage of Military Justice Improvement and Increasing Prevention Act (MJIIPA) legislation take many years to pass into law, and how and why did the Executive Branch resist this change?

Essential Preparation

- Serafino, Nina M. and Eleni G. Ekmektsioglou. "Congress and National Security." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, ed. Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud, 151–182. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- The Debrief: "Legislative Affairs." U.S. Naval War College video, 2023.
- Sununu, The Honorable John E. (former Senator, R-NH). "Congress' Influence in Foreign Policy: For Better or Worse." Panel, The Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C., 17 October 2011. (WATCH 12:12–29:43)
- Donnelly, John M. "Gillibrand Calls New NDAA a Huge Milestone in Military Justice." *Roll Call*, 7 December 2022.
- Norris, LTC Peter. "Timeline of MJIIPA's history and passage." *Congress and Its Relationship with the Military Case Reader* (U.S. Naval War College, updated 2023).



IS – 12

China in the 21st Century

Focus

IS-12 examines in depth twenty-first century China, its growth and characteristics, and its evolving relationship with the United States. This session will consider the different facets of China's development and what the implications are for China itself, for the U.S.-PRC bilateral relationship, the Indo-Pacific region, and the international system.

Objectives

- Examine the present state of China: its economic growth, its military strength, its global standing, and implications for the United States.
- Grasp the overall picture of China's economic engagement with the world.
- Assess China's possible range and flexibility of national security objectives.
- Evaluate the ongoing debate over how the United States should engage with China, drawing on various international relations theories and their assumptions.

Session Guidance Questions

- How has China changed in this nascent millennium? What have been the implications of such changes for China's power and standing in the international system, as well as its relationship with the United States?
- What does China want? "A world safe for autocracy?" A world in which it has displaced the United States as the most powerful country? Mere hegemony in the Asia-Pacific? What evidence would you want to see to attempt to determine China's intentions? What do you think the relationship between ambitions and capabilities will be in China?
- What is the nature of China's economic engagement with the world? How does the Belt and Road Initiative fit or not fit in with China's other international economic activities?
- What can IR theories tell us about China's rise, America's reaction, and the two countries' bilateral relationship?

Essential Preparation

- Zweig, David. "China's Political Economy." In *Politics in China: An Introduction*, 3rd ed., edited by William A. Joseph. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. (READ 293-307 and 310-14.)
- Wong, Audrye. "China's Economic Statecraft under Xi Jinping." *The Brookings Institution*. 22 January 2019.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "A World Safe for Autocracy: China's Rise and the Future of Global Politics." *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 4 (July/August 2019): 92-108.
- Wang Jisi. "The Plot against China? How Beijing Sees the New Washington Consensus." *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 4 (July/August 2021): 48-52, 54.
- Shirk, Susan L. *Overreach: How China Derailed Its Peaceful Rise*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023. (READ 207-40 and 369-79.)



FPA – 13

The Judiciary and National Security

Focus

This session explores the U.S. judiciary, the third co-equal branch of the U.S. government, as it relates to national security. The Supreme Court adjudicates constitutional questions surrounding foreign policy and national security, many of which involve the role of the military. The courts have been asked to weigh in on both disputes between the executive and legislative branches and the more general tension between maintaining security and safeguarding individual liberties. Importantly, both decisions and non-decisions by the judiciary have consequences on the scope of executive and legislative power, and the role of the military and national security establishment in executing U.S. foreign policy. In the absence of judicial opinions, the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel can shape policy through its written opinions.

Objectives

- Discuss the role of the judiciary as a key player in adjudicating foreign policy decisions.
- Understand the role of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel in providing legal advice to the executive branch.
- Analyze judicial deference to the military.

Session Guidance Questions

- What is the role of the judiciary relative to the executive and legislative branches in foreign policy decision-making? How do judicial rulings (or lack of rulings) shape foreign policy?
- How does the Office of Legal Counsel shape foreign policy? How do its opinions relate to judicial decisions and legal precedent?
- When does the judiciary defer to the military? Does it accord similar deference to other parts of the executive branch?

Essential Preparation

- Breyer, Stephen. "Silence: Cicero and His 'Political Questions' Counterpart." In *The Court and the World: American Law and the New Global Realities*, 15–24. New York: Vintage Books, 2016.
- Case Reader, selected case summaries from oyez.org
- Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel. "Memorandum for Attorneys of the Office Re: Best Practices for OLC Legal Advice and Written Opinions," 16 July 2010.
- Barbash, Fred. "Justice Department opinions take on the force of law — but are not, in fact, the law." *The Washington Post*, 31 May 2019.
- Liptak, Adam. "Supreme Court Rules for Navy in Sonar Case." *New York Times*, 12 Nov 2008.



IS – 13

National Security Strategy

Focus

Congress mandates the Executive Branch submit several strategy documents that serve many purposes. They are designed to create internal coherence on foreign and defense policy within the Executive Branch and provide a basis for Congress to fund defense priorities. The President's National Security Strategy (NSS) outlines the administration's strategic vision and approximate grand strategy, detailing major security concerns and how the administration plans to use the instruments of national power to address them. Reconsider the course's earlier discussions on power, interests, challenges, and strategic approaches.

Objectives

- Comprehend the purpose of national strategic guidance documents and how current strategies define U.S. security concerns and efforts to address them.
- Examine the coordination among the ends, ways, and means of the NSS.
- Analyze how well the NSS lays out key national priorities.
- Evaluate how well the NSS serves modern defense planning needs.

Session Guidance Questions

- What different purposes do national strategy documents serve? How do they function as a strategic communications tool for various domestic and international audiences? How well does the executive branch follow the strategic guidance laid out in these documents? What utility do they provide to Congress?
- What are national interests and why are they important? How does the NSS define the primary (vital) national interests of the United States and what concepts does it include to address them? How well does the NSS capture what we know of this administration's strategic vision?
- Some argue the NSS has failed to map out strategy and became no more than a rhetorical exercise. Does the NSS serve any useful purpose? How does the unclassified nature of the NSS impact its thoroughness and effectiveness? Should the NSS be abolished?
- How well does United States articulate its grand strategy in the NSS? Are the guiding strategic documents effective in spelling out the long-term competition challenges facing the United States? How effective are the U.S. ends, ways, and means as expressed in the NSS as compared to China's discussed in the previous class?

Essential Preparation

- U.S. President. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: White House, 2022.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "It's Time to Get Honest About the Biden Doctrine," *New York Times*, 12 Nov. 2021.
- Kennan, George F. "The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare," 30 April 1948.
- Chin, John J., Kiron Skinner, and Clay Yoo. "Understanding National Security Strategies Through Time." *Texas National Security Review* 6, no. 4 (2023).
- Smarter Strategies for the Twenty-First Century – Interview with H.R. McMaster, *Orbis* 65, no.2 (2021): 207-213.



FPA – 14

Political Parties and Polarization

Focus

The modern two-party system, combined with separated powers across institutions, has important consequences for American foreign and national security policy. This session explores whether recent trends in divided government, partisan polarization, and factional realignment within political parties are reshaping fundamental debates over the future of U.S. grand strategy and foreign policy. It also examines incentives to politicize the military, and the potential consequences for U.S. civil-military relations.

Objectives

- Analyze the influence of the modern two-party system over American foreign and national security policy.
- Understand how rules, norms, procedures, and customs conferring authority on majority and minority parties influence Congress's role in funding, overseeing, and making American foreign and defense policy.
- Discuss the consequences of polarization and the extent to which realigning factions within political parties are shaping debates about U.S. foreign policy.
- Discuss the potential causes and consequences of military politicization.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are modern American political parties, and how do they shape and constrain national security decision-making?
- What is political polarization? Is it a new phenomenon? What challenges does it pose for foreign policy?
- What counts as "politicizing" the military? Who drives politicization, and what are its possible consequences?

Essential Preparation

- Wolbrecht, Christina. "Permeable Parties: Groups and the Organization of the American Party System." In *More than Red and Blue: Political Parties and American Democracy*, edited by APSA Presidential Task Force on Political Parties, 52–64. July 2023.
- Schultz, Kenneth, "Perils of Polarization for U.S. Foreign Policy." *Washington Quarterly*, 40:4 (2017), 7–28.
- Myrick, Rachel. "America is Back – But for How Long? Political Polarization and the End of U.S. Credibility." *Foreign Affairs*, 14 June 2021.
- Tama, Jordan. "The Surprising Bipartisanship of U.S. Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, 6 July 2023.
- Brooks, Risa. "The Right Wing's Loyalty Test for the U.S. Military." *Foreign Affairs*, 22 November 2022.



IS - 14

Defense Strategy and Force Planning

Focus

The National Security, Defense, and Military Strategies provide strategic guidance for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) who uses this guidance to execute his six primary functions identified in Section 153 of Title 10, U.S. Code. The Joint Strategic Planning System (JSPS) is the primary method by which the CJCS fulfills these responsibilities. This lesson focuses on the NDS and NMS, as well as on two subcomponents of the Joint Strategic Planning System (JSPS) that are specifically involved in force planning and capabilities requirements development: Joint Force Development and Design (JFDD) and the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System (JCIDS), as well as the role of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) in the requirements development process.

Objectives

- Identify and analyze major directions of current U.S. defense strategic direction.
- Understand the general process through which strategic guidance provided in the NSS, NDS, and NMS is used to inform and drive the JFDD process.
- Understand the mission of the JROC and the general process through which joint requirements and capabilities are identified and developed using the JCIDS.

Session Guidance Questions

- How will the joint force of the next twenty years differ from the joint force of the previous twenty years?
- The Brands and Montgomery article discusses the DoD's shift from a two-war strategic planning standard to one-war standard. What are the main arguments for and against this shift?
- How does JFDD integrate with the JCIDS process? Why are joint concepts important? What are the three JCIDS process lanes and when are they used? What is the role of the JROC?
- USMC Force Design 2030 represents an effort to apply force design and capabilities development processes. What is your assessment of FD 2030?

Essential Preparation

- U.S. Department of Defense. *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: Secretary of Defense, 2022. (READ III-IV, 1-23.)
- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America: Strategic Discipline*. Washington, DC: CJCS, 2022.
- Milley, Mark A. "Strategic Inflection Point: The Most Historically Significant and Fundamental Change in the Character of War is Happening Now – While the Future is Clouded in Mist and Uncertainty." *Joint Force Quarterly* 110 (3rd Quarter 2023): 6-15.
- Brands, Hal and Evan Braden Montgomery. "One War is Not Enough: Strategy and Force Planning for Great Power Competition." *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 2 (Spring 2020): 81-92.
- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Implementing Joint Force Development and Design*. CJCS Instruction 3030.01A. Washington, DC: CJCS, 3 October 2022. (READ A1-A8.)



IS - 14

Defense Strategy and Force Planning

- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Charter of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council and Implementation of the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System*. CJCS Instruction 5123.011. Washington, DC: CJCS, 30 October 2021. (READ A1-A7.)
- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Manual for the Operation of the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System*. JCIDS Manual. Washington, DC: Joint Staff J-8, 30 October 2021. (READ A1-A4.)

CASE STUDY READINGS

- U.S. Marine Corps. *Force Design 2030*. Washington, DC: Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, 2020.
- U.S. Marine Corps. *Force Design 2030 Annual Update*. Washington, DC: Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, 2021. (OPTIONAL)
- U.S. Marine Corps. *Force Design 2030 Annual Update*. Washington, DC: Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, 2022. (OPTIONAL)
- U.S. Marine Corps. *Force Design 2030 Annual Update*. Washington, DC: Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, 2023.
- U.S. Marine Corps. *A Concept for Stand-In Forces*. Washington, DC: Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, 2021. (READ the Forward by General Berger and 1-5.)



FPA – 15

Media & Public Opinion

Focus

Mass media and public opinion are important influences on the policymaking process, but they can also influence each other and be influenced by policy elites. The relationship among these entities can be contentious: How much do (and should) elected leaders follow the opinions of those they represent? How should the relationship between the military and the media be characterized? How does the fragmentation of news and the rise of social media affect the spread of information and misinformation to the public? In this session you will explore some of these debates and consider the roles of the media and public opinion as an influence on the policymaking process

Objectives

- Comprehend the role of the media in national and theater security decision processes.
- Discuss the impact of media coverage and disinformation/misinformation on national security policy.
- Analyze the role of public opinion in democratic policymaking and civil-military relations.

Session Guidance Questions

- Do the U.S. military and American news media outlets have an adversarial relationship?
- How do fragmentation of news sources, social media, and disinformation affect foreign policymaking? What new challenge for national security might “truth decay” pose?
- How do senior leaders use the media to advance policy and political goals?
- Why is the U.S. military so trusted vs. other institutions? What are the implications of that trust?

Essential Preparation

- Porch, Douglas. “No Bad Stories: The American Media-Military Relationship.” *Naval War College Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 85–107.
- Weisberg, Jacob. “Bad News: Can Democracy Survive If the Media Fail?” *Foreign Affairs*, 12 August 2019.
- Williams, Heather J. and Caitlin McCulloch. “Truth Decay and National Security: Intersections, Insights, and Questions for Future Research.” Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2023.
- Margulies, Max, and Jessica Blankshain. “Specific Sources of Trust in Generals: Individual-Level Trust in the U.S. Military.” *Daedalus* (Cambridge, Mass.) 151, no. 4 (2022): 254–75.

Recommended Resources

- Smeltz, Dina, et. al. “Pivot to Europe: US Public Opinion in a Time of War.” Chicago: Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2022
- Sanders, Linley. “Where Americans get their news and who they trust for information.” YouGov.com, 2022.
- Keeter, Scott. “Public Opinion Polling Basics.” Philadelphia PA: Pew Research Center, n.d.



IS – 15

Maritime Strategy

Focus

The global maritime commons -- oceans and littorals -- provide everything from convenient transportation routes to primary food sources to billion-dollar tourism and recreational industries to underwater hiding places for nuclear arsenals. This session will consider the current maritime security environment, including traditional military threats the U.S. Navy might confront, as well as a broader range of challenges to "good order at sea". Students should think about strategies to respond to those challenges, at the level of U.S. defense policy, theater strategies and plans, and the interests and capabilities of other maritime nations.

Objectives

- Analyze principal traditional and non-traditional maritime security challenges.
- Analyze U.S. maritime strategy and examine its suitability to the maritime security environment.
- Assess future and emerging challenges in the maritime realm.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the principal maritime interests of the United States? What are some current challenges facing maritime strategists? How are those challenges different from those confronting maritime strategists five or ten years ago? How does the U.S. maritime strategy nest with the NSS, NDS, and NMS?
- What organizations and entities have a "piece of the maritime interest pie?"
- As the challenges of the 21st century become more defined, senior maritime leaders emphasize the need to cooperate and integrate their capabilities and operations in order to deal with revisionist powers and rising near peer powers. Can such preparation by committee truly succeed? How seriously would you expect U.S. allies and potential enemies to view this proposal?

Essential Preparation

- Hattendorf, John B. "What is a Maritime Strategy?" *Soundings*, no. 1 (October 2013): 1-10.
- U.S. Coast Guard, U.S. Marine Corps, and U.S. Navy. *Advantage at Sea: Prevailing with Integrated All-Domain Naval Power*. Washington, DC: Multiple Headquarters, 2020.
- O'Rourke, Ronald. *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities—Background and Issues for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service. 15 May 2023 (READ 1-10 and 41-53)
- Dougherty, Christopher. "Gradually And Then Suddenly: Explaining the Navy's Strategic Bankruptcy." *War on the Rocks*, 30 June 2021.
- U.S. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. *Report to Congress on the Annual Long-Range Plan for Construction of Naval Vessels for Fiscal Year 2023*. Washington, DC: CNO, April 2022. (READ A4-A8.)



FPA – 16

Think Tanks, Interest Groups & Lobbying

Focus

In addition to creating the framework for institutions of government, the U.S. Constitution's guarantees of individual rights of speech, assembly, and petition have enabled the emergence of an array of non-governmental organizations that influence foreign and national security policy. This session examines how the concerns and ideas promoted by actors such as think tanks, interest groups, lobbyists, and other non-governmental organizations engage with law- and policymakers in organized attempts to influence U.S. legislation and policymaking.

Objectives

- Identify the missions, roles, cultures, processes, and other organizational characteristics of think tanks, interest groups, lobbyists, and other groups interested in influencing policy and legislative decisions in the defense and national security realms.
- Comprehend the potential influence of think tanks, interest groups, lobbyists, and other non-state actors in U.S. policymaking. Consider ways these institutions may be changing and distinctions between domestic and foreign influence seekers.
- Understand and assess distinctions in types of power and influence and their impact on policy decisions.

Session Guidance Questions

- Non-governmental organizations tend to be less hierarchical and more horizontally distributed than government agencies. Why, and what implications are there for how non-governmental organizations function, particularly when engaging government counterparts?
- What is a think tank, and what different types of think tanks exist? How do think tanks achieve influence in policymaking? Why do policymakers draw on think tank expertise, and how can one judge or measure think tank outputs?
- Why are interest groups formed? What mechanisms do they use to express their policy interests, expertise and recommended policy changes? What makes some interest groups more influential than others?
- How and to what extent can think tanks, interest groups and lobbyists influence policy or legislative decision-making processes? How and why do foreign governments seek to influence U.S. foreign policy?

Essential Preparation

- Cloud, John A. and Nikolas Gvosdev. "Deploying Influence and Expertise: Think Tanks, Interest Groups and Lobbyists in the Theater Security Enterprise." In *Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise*, 97–123. Newport, RI: National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College, 2018.
- Abelson, Donald E. "Old World, New World: The Evolution and Influence of Foreign Affairs Think Tanks." *International Affairs* 90, no. 1 (2014): 125–142.
- Tidwell, Alan. "Differing Approaches to Congressional Outreach: Comparing Australia and New Zealand." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 72, no. 5 (2018): 403–417.
- Drezner, Daniel, "The Ideas Industry," Video: Talks at Google (7-37 minutes).



IS – 16

Global Integration and Combatant Commands

Focus

This session provides an overview of the Unified Command Plan, the combatant commands, and their role in developing theater strategy. As JP 1-0 makes clear, “Joint force decision making with a transregional, all-domain, and multifunctional context may require the integration of joint forces with a global perspective.” The concept of global integration allows students to consider the Department of Defense’s approach to address transregional challenges in multiple domains within the contemporary security environment. One Department of Defense (DoD) process that exemplifies the challenges presented today is Global Force Management (GFM). Combatant command requirements exceed force provider capabilities and capacities. Understanding GFM is key to identifying global risk to warfighting readiness and assessments that support building a more responsive and lethal force.

Objectives

- Understand the origins, roles, and responsibilities of combatant commands in the Unified Command Plan.
- Understand how combatant commands develop theater strategy and their contributions to concept development and identifying required capabilities for the Joint Force.
- Understand the importance of Global Integration and its impact on the combatant commands as they address challenges in the oceanic regions.
- Comprehend the GFM processes (directed readiness, assignment, allocation, apportionment, and assessment), stakeholders, importance to strategic guidance and policies.

Session Guidance Questions

- Why did the United States create geographic combatant commands? Is the current structure still effective?
- What are the most effective ways for CCDRs to work together and what is their relationship with the Joint Staff?
- How important is theater strategy? How does the combatant command affect DoD capability requirements and global force management?
- How would you apply risk analysis to current operations, campaigns, and future potential conflicts, knowing there are Service readiness issues, finite Joint force structure, and modernization timeline implications?

Essential Preparation

- U.S. Central Command. *Theater Strategy: People, Partners, and Innovation*. MacDill Air Force Base, FL: Headquarters USCENTCOM, 2023. (Faculty may substitute any of their preferred CCMD posture statement)
- Conway, Tim. *Information Paper, Subject: Global Force Management*. Suffolk, VA: Office of the J-35, 2023.
- Dunford, Joseph F. “The Character of War and Strategic Landscape Have Changed.” *Joint Force Quarterly* 89, 2018.
- Feickert, Andrew. *The Unified Command Plan and Combatant Commands: Background and Issues for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2013. (SCAN 1-10, READ 52-58.)
- Lee, Caitlin. “The U.S. Military’s Force-Management Tug-of-War,” *War on the Rocks*, 23 Mar 2022.
- Reveron, Derek S, James L Cook, and Ross M Coffey. 2022. “Competing Regionally: Developing Theater Strategy.” *Joint Force Quarterly* 104, 2022.
- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Planning*. Joint Publication (JP) 5-0. Washington, DC: CJCS, 1 Dec 2020. (SCAN Appendix D.)
- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Planning and Execution Overview and Policy Framework*. CJCS Guide 3130. Washington, DC: CJCS, 12 Apr 2023. (SCAN Enclosure A.)
- U.S. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Risk Analysis Methodology*. CJCS Manual 3105.01A. Washington, DC: CJCS, 12 Oct 2021. (READ Enclosures A, B, and C.)



FPA – 17

Defense Budget, Acquisitions, and Innovation

Focus

IS-14 examined the fundamental linkages between strategic guidance and long-term force design. This session builds upon that foundation by examining the friction and challenges that emerge when these force design strategies intersect with the complex reality of the defense budgeting process and the myriad of influences on force design policy decisions. Specifically, this session will explore the defense budget's complex organizational processes, the tensions between executive branch functions and congressional oversight, and the critical importance of innovation in defense planning. This session will illuminate the numerous challenges associated with the current defense budgeting process, known as the Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution (PPBE) system, the nature of the military industrial complex, and their impact on foreign policy in an era of great power competition.

Objectives

- Discuss the current executive and legislative processes that drive the defense budget.
- Examine the challenges that the budget process poses to acquisitions and long-term force design.
- Consider the critical areas of innovation that are driving geo-strategic competition and the structural barriers to gain a competitive advantage in the international system.
- Analyze potential budget-reform efforts and policy options available to senior decision-makers.

Session Guidance Questions

- In what ways do the defense budget and acquisition processes influence national security policy?
- What specific challenges does the current budgeting system pose to defense innovation?
- How does congressional oversight affect defense strategy and force design?
- What possible solutions are available to mitigate and overcome current barriers within U.S. defense acquisition processes?

Essential Preparation

- Brose, Christian. "Bureaucracy Does its Thing." In *The Kill Chain: Defending America in the Future of High Tech Warfare*, 206–224. New York: Hachette Books, 2020
- O'Hanlon, Michael E. "Defense Budgeting and Resource Allocation." In *Defense 101: Understanding the Military of Today and Tomorrow*. Ithaca [New York]: Cornell University Press, 2021. (READ Chapter Introduction, "The Big Picture: Broad Definitions and Processes", "Breakdowns of the US Department of Defense Budget", "The Acquisitions Budget", and "Conclusion: Defense Budgeting and Grand Strategy" ONLY)
- Commission on Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution Reform. *Interim Report*. 2023. (READ Sections III–V ONLY)
- Sapien, Joaquin. "The Inside Story of How the Navy Spent Billions on the "Little Crappy Ship." *ProPublica*, 7 September 2023.
- Lipton, Eric. "Faced With Evolving Threats, U.S. Navy Struggles to Change." *The New York Times*, 4 September 2023.



International Security Sub-course

The Regional Approach Syllabus Roadmap

Course Approach

TSDM is focused at the theater-strategic level where students intensively study one region of the world and analyze how U.S. government foreign policy decisions impact theater security.

Each TSDM seminar will concentrate on a specific geographic region based on a maritime basin model. The three regions are labeled: Atlantic Ocean region, Indian Ocean region, and Pacific Ocean region.

Students assigned to a region will follow the lesson plan outlined below. Students will receive lessons in this block in what is referred to as the 2 + 2 + 4 framework. First, you will have lessons on adjacent maritime basins and the last four lessons will be a deep dive into your assigned geographic region.



Atlantic Ocean region

- IS-17 Pacific Ocean Region Foundations
- IS-18 Pacific Ocean Region Trends and Challenges
- IS-19 Indian Ocean Region Foundations
- IS-20 Indian Ocean Region Trends and Challenges
- IS-21 Foundations of the Atlantic Ocean Community
- IS-22 Atlantic Ocean Region Security Dynamics
- IS-23 Atlantic Ocean Region Socio-Economic Trends
- IS-24 Atlantic Ocean Region Future Challenges



Indian Ocean region

- IS-17 Atlantic Ocean Region Foundations
- IS-18 Atlantic Ocean Region Trends and Challenges
- IS-19 Pacific Ocean Region Foundations
- IS-20 Pacific Ocean Region Trends and Challenges
- IS-21 Foundations of the Indian Ocean Community
- IS-22 Indian Ocean Region Security Dynamics
- IS-23 Indian Ocean Region Socio-Economic Trends
- IS-24 Indian Ocean Region Future Challenges



Pacific Ocean region

- IS-17 Indian Ocean Region Foundations
- IS-18 Indian Ocean Region Trends and Challenges
- IS-19 Atlantic Ocean Region Foundations
- IS-20 Atlantic Ocean Region Trends and Challenges
- IS-21 Foundations of the Pacific Ocean Community
- IS-22 Pacific Ocean Region Security Dynamics
- IS-23 Pacific Ocean Region Socio-Economic Trends
- IS-24 Pacific Ocean Region Future Challenges

**Pictures of oceans courtesy of New World Encyclopedia (NWE). The New World Encyclopedia is a free online encyclopedia intended for use by teachers and students. <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/>*



Focus

The Pacific Ocean region encompasses the largest body of water on the globe. It features over 37 countries with a combined population in excess of 2.9 billion. It is a center for global commerce, with 9 of the 18 largest economies in the world. It is a conduit for global trade and investment. It is also a region fraught with military tensions, including rising nuclear weapons capabilities, and persistent antagonism over various territorial and sovereignty claims. It is the home of many of America's key alliances, including with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand, among others. It also features a number of intergovernmental organizations that play an increasing role in security matters.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are some key interdependencies linking the various countries in this region?
- What are the sources of military competition or insecurity in this transoceanic region?
- What are the key elements and objectives of America's Indo-Pacific strategy?
- Does the United States' non-proliferation stance vis-à-vis North Korea work? If so, what successes have been achieved? If not, what is a better alternative?
- What is the significance of growing geopolitical competition involving Pacific Island Countries?
- Is there a role for regional organizations in trans-Pacific security? Or should the United States stay focused on its hub-and-spokes alliance model?

Essential Preparation

- Heine, Jorge, Cynthia J. Arnson, and Christine Zaino. *Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century*. Policy File. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2014): 9-30.
- U.S. President. *Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States*. Washington, DC: White House, 2022.
- Cho, Hyun-Binn, and Ariel Petrovics. "North Korea's Strategically Ambiguous Nuclear Posture," *The Washington Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (2022): 39-58.
- Yu Lei and Sophia Sui. "China-Pacific Island Countries Strategic Partnership: China's Strategy to Reshape the Regional Order." *East Asia* 39, no. 1 (March 2022): 81-96.
- Sarkar, Mrityika Guha. "China and Quad 2.0: Between Response and Regional Construct." *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the Maritime Foundation of India* 16, no. 1 (2020): 110-30.



Focus

The trans-Atlantic relationship is enduring and important for U.S. security because it encompasses most of America's treaty allies and because of the dense web of economic, political, and informational ties that stretch across the Atlantic. As Ambassador Nick Burns notes, "Europe is our largest trade partner. Europe is the largest investor in the American economy. Europe contains the greatest number of American allies in the world—treaty allies through the NATO—so Europe is of vital importance to the United States." When Latin America and West Africa are added, the trans-Atlantic basin becomes both the critical nexus for securing American geopolitical and geo-economic interests as well as facilitating the projection of American power around the world.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are NATO's top security priorities? How do these differ from those of countries elsewhere in the Atlantic region? How do these differ from those of countries in other regions?
- In what ways are there important strategic linkages across continents in the Atlantic? What interest does the USA have in Latin America? Or in Africa? What interest does Europe have in these continents? What do countries in Latin America and Africa want from North America and Europe?
- How is America's relationship to the different parts of the Atlantic changing over time?
- What are the important issues for the leaders of countries in the different continents in the Atlantic Ocean region?

Essential Preparation

- Mazarr, Michael J. "Why America Still Needs Europe," *Foreign Affairs*, 17 April 2023.
- NATO 2022 Strategic Concept (Adopted by heads of state and government at the NATO Summit in Madrid, 29 June 2022).
- Brizzi, Matteo. "Shaping a pan-Atlantic community: an opportunity for the European Union," *CeSPI*, 14 March 2022.
- Ashby, Paul. "U.S. National Security in the Western Hemisphere." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, edited by Derek Reveron, Nikolas Gvosdev, and John Cloud. Oxford University Press (2018).
- Sany, Joseph. "To Counter Russia's Aggression, Invest in Africa," *USIP*, 6 July 2022.
- Ramani, Samuel. "Who Benefits from Niger's Coup?" *Foreign Policy*, 2 August 2023.



Focus

The Indian Ocean region is critical to global trade, security, and geopolitics, tying together East Africa, the Greater Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania. Some 2.7 billion people live within the Indian Ocean region that connects the resource-rich eastern coast of Africa and the Middle East to Asia's labor markets and manufacturing industries. Increasingly, India has become of greater strategic interest to the United States in the great power competition context relative to countering China. There are several key middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, Iran, and South Africa) present, and the region is also increasingly the subject of U.S., Chinese, European, and Russian interest.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- Given the nature of the transnational challenges you have examined in earlier classes, how vital is the Indian Ocean region?
- How does the Indian Ocean region factor into strategic competition among the United States, Russia, and China?
- How does China attempt to compete with India and the West in the region? How does China's push for both maritime and land routes affect the region?
- Why has the United States traditionally viewed this area primarily through a subregional lens? Why are states like India attempting to conceptualize the region through security and partnership?
- How does the Indian Ocean region act as a keystone connecting the Pacific and Atlantic regions? What are the risks of thinking of the Indian Ocean region as a subunit of the larger Pacific region?

Essential Preparation

- Baruah, Darshana M., Nitya Labh, and Jessica Greely. "Mapping the Indian Ocean Region." *Carnegie Endowment for Peace*. 15 June 2023.
- Graham, Jeffrey D. "Building an Enduring U.S.-India Partnership to Secure a Free, Open, and Prosperous Indo-Pacific Region." *Joint Forces Quarterly*, 4th Quarter (October 2022): 23-38.
- Baruah, Darshana M. "Surrounding the Indian Ocean: PRC Influence in the Indian Ocean." *Carnegie Endowment for Peace, Congressional Testimony*. 18 April 2023.
- Blank, Stephen. "Russia's Efforts to Play in the Indian Ocean Basin." *Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy*. 17 June 2021.



FPA – 18

Creating the U.S. Space Force

Focus

In the 2020 National Defense Authorization Act, a new U.S. military service was created for only the second time since the founding days of the country. In this session, we apply previous lessons on organizational process and bureaucratic politics and the roles of Congress and the president in national security policymaking to understand why the option of a new service was chosen, how Congressional interests and oversight shaped the new Space Force, and the likely bureaucratic and political implications of a separate organization responsible for the space domain.

Objectives

- Discuss the strategic and organizational reasons for creating the U.S. Space Force (USSF).
- Identify the role and interests of Congress and other stakeholders in legislating the Space Force.
- Assess strengths and weaknesses of USSF how they reflect the political process that created it.

Session Guidance Questions

- Why might space have been "neglected" bureaucratically before Space Force was created?
- What factors in the security environment and in the domestic policy environment led to Space Force? Would there be a Space Force if Donald Trump had not been President?
- How did Congress shape the Space Force? What issues interested the House and Senate?
- What organizational and political challenges do you see for USSF? Have space problems been fixed?
- What challenges does the U.S. face as it increasingly relies on private actors to provide capabilities?

Essential Preparation

- Chaplain, Christina. "Defense Space Acquisitions: Too Early to Determine If Recent Changes Will Resolve Persistent Fragmentation in Management and Oversight." Washington DC: Government Accountability Office, 2016.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies. "Commanding Space: The Story Behind the Space Force." Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies. 11 April 2019.
- Burbach, David. "Creating the U.S. Space Force – Case Study." Newport, RI: National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College, 2023.
- Farley, Robert. "Space Force: Ahead of Its Time, or Dreadfully Premature?" *Policy Analysis* no. 904. Cato Institute, Washington, D.C., 1 December 2020.
- Farrow, Ronan. "Elon Musk's Shadow Rule: How the U.S. Government Came to Rely on The Tech Billionaire and is Now Struggling to Rein Him In." *New Yorker*, 21 August 2023. (READ until paragraph that begins "One summer evening in the 1980's..." ONLY)

Recommended Resources

- Bingen, Kari, et. al. U.S. Space Force Primer. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies. 22 December 2022.
- U.S. Space Force. Space Capstone Publication: Spacepower, Doctrine for Space Forces. Washington DC: Headquarters U.S. Space Force. June 2020.



Focus

The purpose of this second Pacific Ocean regional session is to examine some contemporary socio-economic issues as well as to assess certain future security challenges. On the contemporary side, the idea of security has evolved from traditional hard power concerns to a growing appreciation for other non-traditional issues such as climate change, freedom from violence, demographics, and food and water security among many others. On the future security side, this session highlights concerns for the impact of U.S.-China competition on Southeast Asia and the dangers of nuclear proliferation.

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests and how they impact U.S. national interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the demographic challenges facing China and others? What impact will these challenges have on economics and security? How have gender roles been part of the issue?
- How is climate change affecting the security and geopolitics of the region?
- What are China's goals in the South China Sea and how should the United States respond?
- How are countries in Southeast Asia managing great power competition and how should this influence the U.S. approach to the region?
- What challenges do expanding nuclear arsenals in China and North Korea present to security and non-proliferation interests in East Asia? How should the United States respond?

Essential Preparation

- Sikorsky, Erin. "Great-Power Competition and Climate Security in the Indo-Pacific," In *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific*. Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute (2022): 78-83.
- Minzer, Carl, "China's Doomed Fight Against Demographic Decline." *Foreign Affairs*, 3 May 2022.
- Huong Le Thu, "Southeast Asia in Great-Power Competition: Between Asserting Agency and Muddling Through," Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills (eds.), *Navigating Tumultuous Times in the Indo-Pacific*, Strategic Asia 2021-22, National Bureau of Asian Research, 11 January 2022. (READ 160-185.)
- Poling, Gregory, "Beijing's Upper Hand in the South China Sea." *Foreign Affairs*, 18 August 2022.
- Romei, Sayuri. "Watching Ukraine, South Korea and Japan eye nuclear weapons. Here's what the U.S. should do." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 20 July 2023.



Atlantic Ocean Region Trends and Challenges

Focus

The Atlantic Ocean region involves some of the United States' closest political, economic, security, and cultural relationships, but also a huge diversity of economic and social models. This session will help students understand main trends shaping regional and global interests over the next decade, including some of the challenges facing the NATO community.

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests and how they impact U.S. national interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- Should the United States pursue economic re-globalization, de-globalization, or something in-between? What are the advantages and disadvantages to each approach?
- Can international institutions help the United States pursue its economic and security interests in a context of changing economic patterns, climate change, and technological advancement?
- What do the two-level games look like for U.S. policy on issues like migration, agriculture, mining, technology, and climate/environmental issues?
- Does Europe continue to matter to U.S. national security?
- What are the interests of African countries? Why might these countries become more strategically important in the future, and how could the United States approach them strategically?

Essential Preparation

- Mazarr, Michael J. "Why America Still Needs Europe." *Foreign Affairs*, 17 April 2023.
- Spektor, Matias. "In Defense of the Fence Sitters." *Foreign Affairs*, 18 April 2023.
- Goldstone, Jack A. and John F. May. "The Global Economy's Future Depends on Africa." *Foreign Affairs*, 18 May 2023.
- Hamilton, Daniel, and Joseph Quinlan. 2023. "Decoupling, Derisking and Diversifying." In *The Transatlantic Economy*. Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins SAIS (2023): 30-41.
- Podesta, John. "The Climate Crisis, Migration, and Refugees." Washington, DC: Brookings Institute (2019): 1-8.



Focus

The Indian Oceanic region is a nexus for several major security concerns—great power competition, nuclear proliferation, maritime security challenges, and climate change. Its economic activity and trading patterns are vital to the stability of the global economy, while challenges emanating from this region pose problems for the security and economic prosperity of other parts of the world.

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests and how they impact U.S. national interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- How will the future of the Indian Ocean region be impacted by the China-India geopolitical competition?
- How do maritime challenges provide a basis for common action in defining an Indian Ocean region?
- What tools of U.S. power can be used to set the conditions for the strategic situation in this region to conform to its interests and goals?
- Can the United States develop an effective Indian Ocean focused regional strategy?

Essential Preparation

- McLain, Don. “Between the Elephant and the Dragon: Examining the Sino-Indian Competition in the Indian Ocean.” *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 17, no. 2 (2021): 235–254.
- Trivedi, Atman M., Katherine Hadda, and Akhil Bery. “US-India Economic Integration: Towards an Agenda for Growing Manufacturing and Resilient Supply Chains.” *Atlantic Council*, April 2022.
- “Challenges and Solutions for Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean.” *Stable Seas Report*. 5 May 2021.
- Aswani, RS. “Non-Traditional maritime security threats in the Indian Ocean Region: Policy alternatives.” *Journal of Public Affairs* 22, no. 2 (2020).
- Rubin, Alissa. “A Climate Warning from the Cradle of Civilization.” *New York Times*. 29 July 2023.



FPA – 19

Using Diplomacy

Focus

Diplomacy is the lifeblood of security, handling many thousands of international issues on a daily basis. The conflicts and wars that are avoided through diplomacy do not make headlines, while wars themselves certainly do. And while armistices and peace agreements are events of note, the countless daily diplomatic interactions that strengthen relationships and fortify deterrence tend to pass without remark. In this session we will identify and analyze the key players, processes, and dynamics involved in using diplomacy as an instrument of power.

Objectives

- Understand the nature and conduct of diplomacy.
- Explore the various actors involved in using diplomacy, and how they might approach diplomacy differently.
- Analyze the potential advantages of diplomatic interaction, as well as the challenges and obstacles that can thwart diplomatic initiatives.

Session Guidance Questions

- How does the process for planning and conducting diplomacy compare to the process for planning and conducting a military operation? How are these different tools/resources, relative to one another?
- How do different parts of the U.S. government view diplomacy differently?
- How do sub-national and non-governmental actors influence the conduct of diplomacy?
- How and when do Congress and the U.S. public weigh in on the conduct of diplomacy?

Essential Preparation

- Robert Hutchings, "American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War in Europe." in Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 148-172.
- "The Debrief: Perspectives on Diplomacy." U.S. Naval War College video.
- William J. Burns. "Age of Terror: The Inversion of Force and Diplomacy." In *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal*, 147–199. New York: Random House, 2019.
- Murray, Shoon and Anthony Quainton. "Combatant Commanders, Ambassadorial Authority, and the Conduct of Diplomacy." In *Mission Creep: The Militarization of Foreign Policy?* Edited by Gordon Adams and Shoon Murray, 166–191. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2014.
- Bednar, Jenna and Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar. "Federalism and Foreign Policy: The Role of States." *Council on Foreign Relations*, 10 Nov 2022. (WATCH 0:00–20:55 ONLY)
- Lebovic, James H., and Elizabeth N. Saunders. "The Diplomatic Core: The Determinants of High-Level US Diplomatic Visits, 1946–2010." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2016): 107–123.



Focus

The Indian Ocean region is critical to global trade, security, and geopolitics, tying together East Africa, the Greater Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania. Some 2.7 billion people live within the Indian Ocean region that connects the resource-rich eastern coast of Africa and the Middle East to Asia's labor markets and manufacturing industries. Increasingly, India has become of greater strategic interest to the United States in the great power competition context relative to countering China. There are several key middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, Iran, and South Africa) present, and the region is also increasingly the subject of U.S., Chinese, European, and Russian interest.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- Given the nature of the transnational challenges you have previously examined, how do these play out in the Indian Ocean region?
- How does the Indian Ocean region factor into strategic competition among the United States, Russia, and China?
- How does China attempt to compete with India and the West in the region? How does China push for both maritime and land routes through the region?
- Why has the United States traditionally viewed this area primarily through a subregional lens? Why are states like India attempting to conceptualize the region through security and partnership?
- How does the Indian Ocean region act as a keystone connecting the Pacific and Atlantic regions? What are the risks of thinking of the Indian Ocean region as a subunit of the larger Pacific region?

Essential Preparation

- Baruah, Darshana M., Nitya Labh, and Jessica Greely. "Mapping the Indian Ocean Region." *Carnegie Endowment for Peace*. 15 June 2023.
- Graham, Jeffrey D. "Building an Enduring U.S.-India Partnership to Secure a Free, Open, and Prosperous Indo-Pacific Region." *Joint Forces Quarterly*, 4th Quarter (October 2022): 23-38.
- Baruah, Darshana M. "Surrounding the Indian Ocean: PRC Influence in the Indian Ocean." *Carnegie Endowment for Peace, Congressional Testimony*. 18 April 2023.
- Blank, Stephen. "Russia's Efforts to Play in the Indian Ocean Basin." *Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy*. 17 June 2021.



Focus

The Pacific Ocean region encompasses the largest body of water on the globe. It features over 37 countries with a combined population in excess of 2.9 billion. It is a center for global commerce, with 9 of the 18 largest economies in the world. It is a conduit for global trade and investment. It is also a region fraught with military tensions, including rising nuclear weapons capabilities, and persistent antagonism over various territorial and sovereignty claims. It is the home of many of America's key alliances, including with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Thailand, among others. It also features a number of intergovernmental organizations that play an increasing role in security matters.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are some key interdependencies linking the various countries in this region?
- What are the sources of military competition or insecurity in this ocean region?
- What are the key elements and objectives of America's Indo-Pacific strategy?
- Does the United States' non-proliferation stance vis-à-vis North Korea work? If so, what successes have been achieved? If not, what is a better alternative?
- What is the significance of growing geopolitical competition involving Pacific Island Countries?
- Is there a role for regional organizations in trans-Pacific security? Or should the United States stay focused on its hub-and-spokes alliance model?

Essential Preparation

- Heine, Jorge, Cynthia J. Arnson, and Christine Zaino. *Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century*. Policy File. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2014): 9-30.
- U.S. President. *Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States*. Washington, DC: White House, 2022.
- Cho, Hyun-Binn, and Ariel Petrovics. "North Korea's Strategically Ambiguous Nuclear Posture," *The Washington Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (2022): 39-58.
- Yu Lei and Sophia Sui. "China-Pacific Island Countries Strategic Partnership: China's Strategy to Reshape the Regional Order." *East Asia* 39, no. 1 (March 2022): 81-96.
- Sarkar, Mrityika Guha. "China and Quad 2.0: Between Response and Regional Construct." *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the Maritime Foundation of India* 16, no. 1 (2020): 110-30.



Atlantic Ocean Region Foundations

Focus

The trans-Atlantic relationship is enduring and important for U.S. security because it encompasses most of America's treaty allies and because of the dense web of economic, political and informational ties that stretch across the Atlantic. As Ambassador Nick Burns notes, "Europe is our largest trade partner. Europe is the largest investor in the American economy. Europe contains the greatest number of American allies in the world—treaty allies through NATO—so Europe is of vital importance to the United States." When Latin America and West Africa are added, the trans-Atlantic basin becomes both the critical nexus for securing American geopolitical and geo-economic interests as well as facilitating the projection of American power around the world.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are NATO's top security priorities? How do these differ from those of countries elsewhere in the Atlantic region? How do these differ from those of countries in other oceanic regions?
- In what ways are there important strategic linkages across continents in the Atlantic? What interest does the United States have in Latin America? Or in Africa? What interest does Europe have in these continents? What do countries in Latin America and Africa want from North America and Europe?
- How is America's relationship to the different parts of the Atlantic changing over time?
- What are the important issues for the leaders of countries in the different continents in the Atlantic Ocean region?

Essential Preparation

- Mazarr, Michael J. "Why America Still Needs Europe" *Foreign Affairs*, 17 April 2023.
- NATO 2022 Strategic Concept (Adopted by heads of state and government at the NATO Summit in Madrid, 29 June 2022).
- Brizzi, Matteo. "Shaping a pan-Atlantic community: an opportunity for the European Union," *CeSPI*, 14 March 2022.
- Ashby, Paul. "U.S. National Security in the Western Hemisphere." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, edited by Derek Reveron, Nikolas Gvosdev, and John Cloud. Oxford University Press (2018).
- Sany, Joseph. "To Counter Russia's Aggression, Invest in Africa," *USIP*, 6 July 2022.
- Ramani, Samuel. "Who Benefits from Niger's Coup?" *Foreign Policy*, 2 August 2023.



FPA – 20

Using Information

Focus

In this session we will identify and analyze the key players, processes, and dynamics involved in using the information instrument of power. We will focus particularly on concepts of strategic narrative, public diplomacy, the collection and processing of intelligence, and how emerging tech and private sector actors have affected the strategic use of information. This session builds on your understanding of the executive branch and the domestic political system and encourages forward-looking application of FPA course concepts.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of strategic narratives and how “shaping the narrative” is a form of power.
- Define public diplomacy and analyze who conducts it and how.
- Evaluate how emerging tech and non-government actors can shape the intelligence process.
- Assess the United States government’s use of information through a case study.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the fora for U.S. national security decision-makers to coordinate on strategic messaging? What obstacles does such coordination face?
- What are the challenges and opportunities for the U.S. government to use information in our networked world? Both as intelligence and as messaging or narrative?
- Does the U.S. government’s use of information differ from that of authoritarian governments? How? Why?

Essential Preparation

- Simpson, Emile. “Strategic Narrative.” In *War from The Ground Up: Twenty First Century Combat as Politics*, 179–206. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- USC Center on Public Diplomacy. “What is Public Diplomacy.”
- Lecheler, Sophie, and Jana Laura Egelhofer. “Disinformation, Misinformation, and Fake News: Understanding the Supply Side.” In *Knowledge Resistance in High-Choice Information Environments*, edited by Jesper Strömbäck, Åsa Wikforss, Kathrin Glüer, Torun Lindholm and Henrik Oscarsson, 69–87. New York: Routledge, 2022.
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. *Behind the Scenes of the President’s Daily Brief*, posted 26 July 2023.
- Zegart, Amy. “Open Secrets: Ukraine and the Next Intelligence Revolution.” *Foreign Affairs*, 20 September 2022.
- Marrin, Stephen. “Why Strategic Intelligence Analysis Has Limited Influence on American Foreign Policy.” *Intelligence and National Security* 32, no. 6 (2017): 725–42.



Focus

The trans-Indian oceanic region is a nexus for several major security concerns—great power competition, nuclear proliferation, maritime security challenges, and climate change. Its economic activity and trading patterns are vital to the stability of the global economy, while challenges emanating from this region pose problems for the security and economic prosperity of other parts of the world.

Objectives

- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests.
- Assess future transnational, climatic, and maritime security challenges and possibilities for creating more Indian Ocean-based regional arrangements.
- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region.

Session Guidance Questions

- How will the future of the Indian Ocean region be impacted by the China-India geopolitical competition?
- How do maritime challenges provide a basis for common action in defining an Indian Oceanic region?
- What tools of U.S. power can be used to set the conditions for the strategic situation in this region to conform to its interests and goals?
- Can the United States develop an effective Indian Ocean focused regional strategy?

Essential Preparation

- McLain, Don. “Between the Elephant and the Dragon: Examining the Sino-Indian Competition in the Indian Ocean.” *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17, no. 2 (2021): 235–254.
- Trivedi, Atman M., Katherine Hadda, and Akhil Bery. “US-India Economic Integration: Towards an Agenda for Growing Manufacturing and Resilient Supply Chains.” *Atlantic Council*, April 2022.
- “Challenges and Solutions for Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean.” *Stable Seas Report*. 5 May 2021.
- Aswani, RS. “Non-Traditional maritime security threats in the Indian Ocean Region: Policy alternatives.” *Journal of Public Affairs* 22, no. 2 (2020).
- Rubin, Alissa. “A Climate Warning from the Cradle of Civilization.” *New York Times*. 29 July 2023.



Focus

The purpose of this second Pacific Ocean regional session is to examine some contemporary socio-economic issues as well as to assess certain future security challenges. On the contemporary side, the idea of security has evolved from traditional hard power concerns to a growing appreciation for other non-traditional issues such as climate change, freedom from violence, demographics, and food and water security among many others. On the future security side, this session highlights concerns for the impact of U.S.-China competition on Southeast Asia and the dangers of nuclear proliferation.

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests and how they impact U.S. national interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the demographic challenges facing China and others? What impact will these challenges have on economics and security? How have gender roles been part of the issue?
- How is climate change affecting the security and geopolitics of the region?
- What are China's goals in the South China Sea and how should the United States respond?
- How are countries in Southeast Asia managing Great Power Competition and how should this influence the U.S. approach to the region?
- What challenges do expanding nuclear arsenals in China and North Korea present to security and non-proliferation interests in East Asia? How should the United States respond?

Essential Preparation

- Sikorsky, Erin. "Great-Power Competition and Climate Security in the Indo-Pacific," In *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific*. Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute (2022): 78-83.
- Minzer, Carl, "China's Doomed Fight Against Demographic Decline." *Foreign Affairs*, 3 May 2022.
- Huong Le Thu, "Southeast Asia in Great-Power Competition: Between Asserting Agency and Muddling Through," Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills (eds.), *Navigating Tumultuous Times in the Indo-Pacific*, Strategic Asia 2021-22, National Bureau of Asian Research, 11 January 2022. (READ 160-185.)
- Poling, Gregory, "Beijing's Upper Hand in the South China Sea." *Foreign Affairs*, 18 August 2022.
- Romei, Sayuri. "Watching Ukraine, South Korea and Japan eye nuclear weapons. Here's what the U.S. should do." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 20 July 2023.



Focus

The Atlantic region involves some of the United States' closest political, economic, security, and cultural relationships, but also a huge diversity of economic and social models. This session will help students understand main trends shaping regional and global interests over the next decade, including some of the challenges facing the NATO community.

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests and how they impact U.S. national interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- Should the United States pursue economic re-globalization, de-globalization, or something in-between? What are the pluses and minuses to each approach?
- Can international institutions help the United States pursue its economic and security interests in a context of changing economic patterns, climate change, and technological advancement?
- What do the two-level games look like for U.S. policy on issues like migration, agriculture, mining, technology, and climate/environmental issues?
- Does Europe continue to matter to U.S. national security?
- What are the interests of Latin America and African countries? Why might they become more strategically important in the future, and how could the United States approach them strategically?

Essential Preparation

- Mazarr, Michael J. "Why America Still Needs Europe" *Foreign Affairs*, 17 April 2023.
- Spektor, Matias. "In Defense of the Fence Sitters" *Foreign Affairs*, 18 April 2023.
- Hamilton, Daniel, and Joseph Quinlan. "Decoupling, Derisking and Diversifying." In *The Transatlantic Economy*. Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins SAIS (2023): 30-41.
- Podesta, John. "The Climate Crisis, Migration, and Refugees." Washington, DC: Brookings Institute (2019): 1-8.
- Purdy, Caitlin, and Rodrigo Castillo. 2022. "The Future of Mining in Latin America: Critical Minerals" Washington, DC: Brookings Institute (2022): 4-23.



FPA – 21

Using Military Force

Focus

This session discusses the authorities, powers, and influences that underpin a decision to use military force. The U.S. Congress has not invoked its constitutional power to formally declare war since the Second World War, yet U.S. forces have engaged in hundreds of military operations and combat situations since then, while U.S. leaders have threatened to use military force in many more instances. The readings discuss a wide range of tools that the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government have available when deciding to use military force (or not), providing case studies of how these decisions have been made in the past.

Objectives

- Comprehend the tools available to executive and legislative branches when deciding to use military force.
- Understand what powers and authorities the president has to use—or threaten to use—military force and the role of Congress in these decisions.
- Analyze how the U.S. Constitution, foreign policy process, strategy, and other factors affect contemporary decisions to use military force.

Session Guidance Questions

- What range of powers and authorities are available to the U.S. president in deciding to use military force? How have these powers and authorities changed—or been interpreted differently—over time and why?
- Relating back to FPA and IS sessions on the Constitution, Cuban Missile Crisis, Congress, Diplomacy, Deterrence, and more, what role has Congress played (or not) in use of force decisions and why?
- How does the War Powers Resolution impact presidential use of force decisions today? What other constraints exist against using military force?
- Presidents have at times declared a “red line” as a warning to U.S. adversaries. What is the nature of a red line, and how does it affect decisions to use military force? What role do the president and broader executive branch play in declaring a red line, and what, if any, role does Congress play?

Essential Preparation

- Elsea, Jennifer K. “Defense Primer: Legal Authorities for the Use of Military Force.” *In Focus*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Updated 14 December 2022.
- Waxman, Matthew C. “The Power to Threaten War.” *The Yale Law Journal* 123, no. 6 (2014): 1626-1691. (READ 1635–1653 and 1658–1662 ONLY)
- Chollet, Derek. “Obama’s Red Line Revisited.” *Politico Magazine*, 19 July 2016.
- Ackerman, Bruce and Oona Hathaway. “Limited War and the Constitution: Iraq and the Crisis of Presidential Legality.” *Michigan Law Review* 109 no. 4 (2011): 448–476.



Focus

The trans-Atlantic relationship is enduring and important for U.S. security because it encompasses most of America's treaty allies and because of the dense web of economic, political and informational ties that stretch across the Atlantic. When Latin America and West Africa are added, the trans-Atlantic region becomes both the critical nexus for securing American geopolitical and geo-economic interests as well as facilitating the projection of American power around the world.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- The “trans-Atlantic” community initially started as a formulation to describe relations between Europe and North America. Can the concept be widened to encompass West Africa and Latin America?
- How does the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) build a security community between North America and Europe? How does NATO prioritize security challenges from Russia, China, the Middle East, and Africa?
- How does the institutional set of relationships that define the Atlantic community bolster the U.S. position in the world?

Essential Preparation

- The White House. “FACT SHEET: 32 Countries Launch the Partnership for Atlantic Cooperation.” Washington, DC: White House, 18 September 2023.
- Brizzi, Matteo. “Shaping a pan-Atlantic community: an opportunity for the European Union,” *CeSPI*, 14 March 2022.
- Mattox, Gale A. “The Transatlantic Security Landscape in Europe,” *Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security* (2018).
- NATO 2022 Strategic Concept (Adopted by heads of state and government at the NATO Summit in Madrid, 29 June 2022).
- The Strategic Compass of the European Union (Adopted 31 March 2022).
- Smith-Windsor, Brooke A. “NATO and the South Atlantic: Perspectives from the Global North,” *International Security: A European-South American Dialogue* (2014).



Foundations of the Indian Ocean Community

Focus

The Indian Ocean region is critical to global trade, security, and geopolitics, tying together East Africa, the Greater Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania. Some 2.7 billion people live within the Indian Ocean region that connects the resource-rich eastern coast of Africa and the Middle East to Asia's labor markets and manufacturing industries. Increasingly, India has become of greater strategic interest to the United States in the great power competition context relative to countering China. There are several key middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, Iran, and South Africa) present, and the region is also increasingly the subject of U.S., Chinese, European, and Russian interest.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- Given the nature of the transnational challenges you have examined in earlier classes, how vital is the Indian Ocean region?
- How does the Indian Ocean region factor into strategic competition among the United States, Russia, and China? Should the United States be worried over Indian democracy being replaced by Hindu nationalism/fascism?
- How does China attempt to compete with India and the West in the region? How does China push for both maritime and land routes through the region?
- Why has the United States traditionally viewed this area primarily through a subregional lens? Why are states like India attempting to conceptualize a regional view of security and partnership?
- How does the region act as a keystone connecting the Pacific and Atlantic regions? What are the risks of thinking of the Indian Ocean region as a subunit of the larger Pacific Region?

Essential Preparation

- Baruah, Darshana M., Nitya Labh, and Jessica Greely. "Mapping the Indian Ocean Region." *Carnegie Endowment for Peace*. 15 June 2023.
- Graham, Jeffrey D. "Building an Enduring U.S.-India Partnership to Secure a Free, Open, and Prosperous Indo-Pacific Region." *Joint Forces Quarterly*, 4th Quarter (October 2022): 23-38.
- Baruah, Darshana M. "Surrounding the Indian Ocean: PRC Influence in the Indian Ocean." *Carnegie Endowment for Peace, Congressional Testimony*. 18 April 2023.
- Blank, Stephen. "Russia's Efforts to Play in the Indian Ocean Basin." *Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy*. 17 June 2021.



Focus

The Pacific Ocean region encompasses the largest body of water on the globe. It features over 37 countries with a combined population in excess of 2.9 billion. It is a center for global commerce, with nine of the 18 largest economies in the world. It is a conduit for global trade and investment. It is also a region fraught with military tensions, including rising nuclear weapons capabilities, and persistent antagonism over various territorial and sovereignty claims. It is the home of many of America's key alliances, including with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Thailand.

Objectives

- Understand the importance of the region to U.S. national security.
- Identify the challenges of great power competition in this region.
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions.
- Understand the importance and origins of the U.S. treaty system within the region.
- Understand regional political dynamics and the scope and limits of interdependencies.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are some key interdependencies linking the various countries in this region?
- What are some key alliances in this part of the world and how did they form?
- What are the sources of military competition or insecurity in this oceanic region?
- What is the Biden Administration's key overarching strategy for the Indo-Pacific region?
- What are some key security challenges in Latin America and how do they affect the larger trans-Pacific region?

Essential Preparation

- Heine, Jorge, Cynthia J. Arnson, and Christine Zaino. *Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century*. Policy File. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2014): 9-30.
- Cha, Victor D. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia." *International Security* 34, no. 3 (2009): 158-196.
- Matsuda, Takuya. "Japan's Emerging Security Strategy." *Washington Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (2023): 85-97.
- Leonard, Mark. "China is Ready for a World of Disorder-America is Not." *Foreign Affairs* (2023): 1-16.
- U.S. President. *Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States*. Washington, DC: White House, 2022.
- Richardson, Laura J. (General). Commander, United States Southern Command. Statement before the 118th Congress. House Armed Services Committee, 8 March 2023. (READ 2-11.)



FPA – 22

Using Economic Statecraft

Focus

Economic policy is a critical component of foreign policy, as discussed previously in International Security. Using the tools of economic statecraft is a complex, interdisciplinary effort involving executive and legislative branches of government, a variety of monetary and financial institutions with global reach, and the private sector. This session examines the agents of foreign policy economic power and the range of foreign policy tools available, including coercive tools such as quotas, tariffs, sanctions, and export controls, along with positive incentives such as trade, security assistance, and economic development.

Objectives

- Identify and differentiate the multiple actors involved in economic statecraft.
- Distinguish the primary tools of economic statecraft and analyze them in both coercive and friendly scenarios.
- Explore the role of the interagency in using economic tools to advance foreign policy goals.
- Consider the challenges and trade-offs the United States faces when confronted with the dilemma of protecting national security while also maintaining economic and technological advantages.

Session Guidance Questions

- What is the purpose of economic statecraft, which actors and processes are involved, and are the obstacles and limitations?
- What tradeoffs do policymakers consider when using economic tools to advance national security goals?
- How does the United States use economic “carrots” such as trade, loans, and economic assistance?
- How does the two-level games framework help us understand recent use of economic tools, from cooperation with emerging markets to sanctions against Russia?

Essential Preparation

- Cloud, John A. and Gvosdev, Nikolas K. “How U.S. Economic Policymaking is Distinct from its National Security Counterpart.” In *A Policy Analysis Reader*. Newport, RI: National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College, 2018. [Revised 2023]
- Rosenberg, Elizabeth, Peter Harrell, Paula J. Dobriansky and Adam Szubin. “America’s Use of Coercive Economic Statecraft: A Report from Select Members of CNAS Task Force on the Future of U.S. Coercive Economic Statecraft.” Center for a New American Security, December 2020.
- Chivvis, Christopher and Kapstein, Ethan B. “U.S. Strategy and Economic Statecraft: Understanding the Tradeoffs.” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 28 April 2022.
- Knapper, Marc E. “Building Resilient Supply Chains: Enhancing Cooperation with India, Vietnam, and Other Emerging Markets.” Center for Strategic and International Studies, 19 July 2022. (WATCH 4:15–19:00).
- Saravalle, Edoardo. “Why Congress Should Stay Out of U.S. Sanctions Policy on Russia.” *Just Security*, 21 March 2022.
- Waldman, Benjamin I. and Elizabeth Goitein. “The Russia Sanctions – How They Work and What Congress Needs to Know.” *Just Security*, 31 March 2022.



Focus

While fundamental, Atlantic Ocean regional security encompasses more than just the relationship between North America and Europe. Linkages such as those between NATO partners are crucial, but it's also important to understand enduring and new connections between Latin America and the European Union, how Russia is growing its influence across the Atlantic basin, and why developments such as the war in Ukraine can affect peoples in the Middle East and Africa.

Objectives

- Understand the North-South linkages in the Atlantic Ocean regional security.
- Understand the role of the Western hemisphere and Africa in securing the Atlantic basin.
- Examine the impact of the Russian “arc of steel” strategy from the Arctic to the Mediterranean.
- Assess the difficulties in forging an overarching “Atlantic” strategy from the Arctic to the South Atlantic.

Session Guidance Questions

- How do NATO and the EU cooperate to further security in the Atlantic Ocean region?
- What are the principal U.S. security considerations in the western hemisphere? To what extent does the trans-Atlantic relationship help in alleviating these concerns? Can Europe play a greater role in the region?
- How does Africa fit into overall U.S. national security concerns? Does an Atlantic Ocean neighborhood policy that integrates Africa into the overall trans-Atlantic framework alleviate those concerns?
- What is the Russian conception of its “arc of steel” from the Arctic to the Baltic to the Black and Mediterranean seas? How does the Russian concept of the “Atlantic regional direction” in its maritime strategy intersect with the Western view of the Atlantic Ocean community? How does this connect back to EU and NATO understandings of security?
- How do Russian actions in Ukraine and the Middle East create security issues in Europe & northern Africa?

Essential Preparation

- Shea, Jamie, Piret Pernik, Dorthe Bach Nyemann, Juliette Bird, Vincenzo Coppola, and Lucie Beraud-Sudreau. *EU-NATO Cooperation: A Secure Vision for Europe, Friends of Europe*, 3 June 2019. (READ the Introduction, Cyber Security, Burden-Sharing, and Counter-Terrorism chapters.)
- The Americas, Bello. “Latin America and Europe Have Much to Gain from Closer Ties.” *The Economist* 25 (July 2019).
- Sany, Joseph. “To Counter Russia’s Aggression, Invest in Africa,” *USIP*, 6 July 2022.
- Borck, Tobias and Jack Senogles. “Russia’s War on Ukraine: Implications for the Middle East and North Africa,” *RUSI*, 10 March 2022.
- Parnemo, Liv Karin. “Russia’s Naval Development – Grand Ambitions and Tactical Pragmatism.” *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 32, no. 1 (2019): 41-69.
- Ashby, Paul. “U.S. National Security in the Western Hemisphere.” In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, edited by Derek Reveron, Nikolas Gvosdev, and John Cloud. Oxford University Press (2018).
- Pham, Peter J. “Africa Isn’t an Island: An Emerging Continent and the Geopolitics of the 21st Century.” *Orbis* 6, no. 3 (2021): 420-431.



Focus

The Indian Ocean region is defined not only by the global competition among the great powers but also by a series of regionally-based rivalries in the Middle East and in South Asia., which in turn intersect with great power competition and connects them to regional allies and partners. These interconnected security challenges make the Indian Ocean region perhaps the most dynamic in terms of future challenges, given the importance of this area to the global economy and security balance.

Objectives

- Understand the dynamics of the India-China-Pakistan rivalry and how it manifests itself in regional affairs.
- Analyze the impact of the Middle East being more closely drawn into trans-Indian connections.
- Assess the impact of China's growing influence in the region.
- Assess the effectiveness of U.S. strategy in response to security challenges in the region.

Session Guidance Questions

- Why does China seek to play a greater role in this region? How do key regional powers assess the Chinese role? How does this create opportunities for the United States?
- How does the increased Chinese role in the greater Middle East and perceptions of the U.S. withdrawal affect regional security dynamics?
- How do regional rivalries impact strategic competition? Do they mitigate or exacerbate regional tensions and divisions?
- How does India hedge between Russia and China, on one hand, and its United States, European, and Asian partners on the other? How does hedging impact regional competition?

Essential Preparation

- Madan, Tanvi. "Major Power Rivalry in South Asia." *Council on Foreign Relations* (October 2021): 3-32.
- Bloomfield, Alan. "The India-China Bilateral Relationship: a 'Serious and Enduring Rivalry.'" *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17, no. 1 (2021): 5–23.
- Fantappie, Maria and Nasr, Vali. "A New Order in the Middle East? Iran and Saudi Arabia's Reproachment Could Transform the Region." *Foreign Affairs*, 22 March 2023.
- Parsi, Trita and Aljabri, Khalid. "How China Became a Peacemaker in the Middle East: Washington's Missteps Paved the Way for Beijing's Saudi-Iranian Deal." *Foreign Affairs*, 15 March 2023.
- Castleberry-Hernandez, Asha. "The US Response to China's Strategic Competition in the Middle East and North Africa." *Orbis* 67, no. 1 (2023): 16-20.



Focus

Having covered the basics of the Pacific Ocean region in IS-21, IS-22 explores specific regional dynamics that play a major role in U.S. policy considerations for the Pacific Ocean region. In particular, we will consider the Japan-South Korea bilateral relationship, North Korea's nuclear posture, China's growing influence and presence in Oceania, and both longstanding and emerging regional institutions.

Objectives

- Understand key regional and subregional political issues in the Pacific Ocean region.
- Examine issues across the trans-Pacific and how they impact U.S. foreign policy and military posture.
- Identify how the region's dynamics are changing, particularly in terms of regional institutions.

Session Guidance Questions

- Japan and South Korea are arguably the United States' two most important allies in East Asia. What role, if any, should Washington play in improving Seoul-Tokyo relations? What are the prospects for Japan and South Korea transcending the U.S. hub-and-spokes alliance model and becoming genuine, willing partners without U.S. pressure to do so?
- Does the United States' non-proliferation stance vis-à-vis North Korea work? If so, what successes have been achieved? If not, what is a better alternative?
- How do the various Pacific Island countries factor into Chinese foreign policy (and vice versa)? What are their perspectives on and what roles could they play in U.S.-PRC strategic competition?
- How does India view 1) its role in and 2) the role of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue? How does the United States view 1) India's role in and 2) the role of the Quad?
- Is there a role for regional organizations in trans-Pacific security? Or should the United States stay focused on its hub-and-spokes alliance model?

Essential Preparation

- Easley, Leif-Eric. "Stabilizing Japan-Korea Relations: Restraining Nationalism, Appraising Beijing, Reassuring Washington." *The Pacific Review*. (2023).
- Cho, Hyun-Binn, and Ariel Petrovics. "North Korea's Strategically Ambiguous Nuclear Posture." *The Washington Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (2022): 39-58.
- Yu Lei and Sophia Sui. "China-Pacific Island Countries Strategic Partnership: China's Strategy to Reshape the Regional Order." *East Asia* 39, no. 1 (March 2022): 81-96.
- Guha Sarkar, Mrityika. "China and Quad 2.0: Between Response and Regional Construct." *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the Maritime Foundation of India* 16, no. 1 (2020): 110-30.



FPA – 23

Future Foreign Policy Challenges: The Taiwan Question

Focus

This session exercises students' policy analysis skills as applied to a future-oriented national security decision-making challenge. The objective of this session is to determine analytically what actors, factors, dynamics, powers, and influences in the policymaking ecosystem are likely to affect a future policy decision, providing insights into how U.S. policy might be decided in such a circumstance. Having a detailed understanding of the U.S. foreign policymaking apparatus and dynamics will provide students with strategic foresight essential to the military and national security professional.

Objectives

- Comprehend and analyze the range of policy actors, factors, dynamics, and influences that could affect U.S. policy regarding a critical national security concern.
- Apply FPA concepts and tools to determine the art of the possible in a hypothetical future-oriented policymaking situation.

Session Guidance Questions

- The fictional (but realistic) scenario involves a surprise invasion by the People's Republic of China (PRC) of Taiwan-administered islands (Quemoy and Matsu) that lie just offshore from the PRC mainland. Faculty will provide additional details on this scenario prior to or during class (no additional research is needed). What, if anything, would the U.S. government be likely to do in response?
- The required readings provide insights into how U.S., PRC, and Taiwanese officials reacted to past crises, particularly related to the three Taiwan Straits Crises (1954–55, 1958, and 1995–6). How did myriad domestic and international dynamics and pressures affect policymakers? How has Beijing perceived and responded to past crises involving the United States?
- Students will also find earlier session readings relevant, particularly the FPA-10 readings on the 1995–96 Taiwan Straits Crisis and IS material on Indo-Pacific regional matters and current U.S. strategies. Finally, sessions on China in the 21st Century and Asia- and China-focused sessions from the Strategy and Policy (or Strategy and War) course should also prove useful context.

Essential Preparation

- U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian. "The Taiwan Straits Crises: 1954–55 and 1958." In *Milestones: 1953–60*. Washington, DC: Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.
- Mann, Jim. "Crisis Over Taiwan," In *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*, 315–348. First edition, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1999.
- Wu, Xinbo. "Managing Crisis and Sustaining Peace Between China and the United States." Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace (2008.) (READ 7–10; 23–37 ONLY)
- "Introduction." In *US-Taiwan Relations in a New Era: Responding to a More Assertive China*. Independent Task Force Report No. 81 (New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relation, June 2023)
- Chien, Amy Chiang, John Liu and Paul Mozur. "Fight or Surrender: Taiwan's Generational Divide on China's Threats." *The New York Times*, 5 August 2022.



Focus

The Atlantic Ocean region involves some of United States' closest political, economic, and cultural relationships, but also a huge diversity of economic and social models. This session will help students understand main trends shaping regional and global interests over the next decade.

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Analyze how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests and how they impact U.S. national interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- Should the United States pursue economic re-globalization, de-globalization, or something in-between? What are the advantages and disadvantages to each approach?
- Can international institutions help the United States pursue its economic and security interests in a context of changing economic patterns, climate change, and technological advancement?
- What do the two-level games look like for U.S. policy on issues like migration, agriculture, mining, technology, and climate/environmental issues?

Essential Preparation

- Hamilton, Daniel, and Joseph Quinlan. "Decoupling, Derisking and Diversifying." In *The Transatlantic Economy*. Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins SAIS (2023): 30-41.
- Podesta, John. "The Climate Crisis, Migration, and Refugees." Washington, DC: Brookings Institute (2019): 1-8.
- "OCP Agriculture Africa Report." *Oxford Business Group* (2021). (READ slides 16-22, 26-27).
- Adesina, Akinwumi A. "Africa's agriculture potential can contribute to end world hunger." *The Africa Report*, 25 Jan 2023.
- Purdy, Caitlin, and Rodrigo Castillo. 2022. "The Future of Mining in Latin America: Critical Minerals" Washington, DC: Brookings Institute (2022): 4-23.

**Focus**

The Indian Ocean region is a crucible for several major security concerns—great power competition, nuclear proliferation, terrorism and extremism, and climate change. How does the distribution of state and non-state capacity address efforts to keep this part of the world stable and further U.S. interests?

Objectives

- Understand the socio-economic factors driving strategic trends in this region and across subregions.
- Understand the risks of interstate rivalry, nuclear proliferation, and terrorism in this region and effects on stability and U.S. interests.
- Identify main demographic, economic, transnational, maritime security, and environmental trends shaping domestic and international interests in the region and understand how to create a strategic estimate that includes opportunities for creating more regional foreign policy arrangements.
- Assess mechanisms for strategic stability in this region.

Session Guidance Questions

- What tools of U.S. power can be used to set the conditions for the strategic situation in this region to conform to U.S. interests and goals?
- How do maritime challenges provide a basis for common action in defining an Indian Ocean region?
- What are the dangers that extremist organizations and terrorist groups pose to the stability of this region?
- What are the dangers posed by the expansion of nuclear forces in this region?
- How does this region serve as a connector for grand strategic events in the world?

Essential Preparation

- Blank, Jonah. “Regional Responses to U.S.-China Competition in the Indo-Pacific: India.” *Rand Corporation*. (2021): 24-36.
- Trivedi, Atman M., Katherine Hadda, and Akhil Bery. “US-India Economic Integration: Towards an Agenda for Growing Manufacturing and Resilient Supply Chains.” *Atlantic Council*, April 2022.
- Mohammed, Ahmed Anwer and Ravichandran Moorthy. “Saudi-Iran Rivalry in the Middle East: Implication to National Security.” *e-Bangji: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 16, no. 1 (2019): 1–13.
- Aswani, RS. “Non-Traditional maritime security threats in the Indian Ocean Region: Policy alternatives.” *Journal of Public Affairs* 22, no. 2 (2020).
- Khan, Furqan. “China or the US: Pakistan’s Choice.” *The Diplomat* (2023).

**Focus**

The meaning of security has often been confined to traditional, hard power issues. Yet for many, security has entailed a much broader definition to include freedom from violence, gender equality, access to food and water, health, and stability among many others. This session will examine some of the chief socio-economic trends and challenges in the region along with potential strategies for reducing their impact security.

Objectives

- Examine and assess the chief socio-economic trends and challenges in the region.
- Understand and evaluate the role of demographics in the region and its security.
- Examine the main economic and trade links between the Asia-Pacific and Latin America.

Session Guidance Questions

- What are the chief economic links between Asia and Latin America? What role does China play in these economic relationships?
- What are the demographic challenges facing China and other countries? What impact will these have on economics and security? How have gender roles been part of the issue?
- How are countries in Southeast Asia managing Great Power Competition and how should this influence the U.S. approach to the region?

Essential Preparation

- Asian Trade Centre, “Latin America: A Key Stakeholder in Asia Pacific Trade,” 27 January 2022.
- Roy, Diana. “China’s Growing Influence in Latin America,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, 15 June 2023.
- Minzer, Carl, “China’s Doomed Fight Against Demographic Decline,” *Foreign Affairs*, 3 May 2022.
- Huong Le Thu, “Southeast Asia in Great-Power Competition: Between Asserting Agency and Muddling Through,” Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills (eds.), *Navigating Tumultuous Times in the Indo-Pacific*, Strategic Asia 2021-22, National Bureau of Asian Research, 11 January 2022. (READ 160-185.)
- Poling, Gregory, “Beijing’s Upper Hand in the South China Sea,” *Foreign Affairs*, 18 August 2022.



FPA – 24

Afghanistan Withdrawal

Focus

This session will allow students to demonstrate comprehension of the material presented in the Foreign Policy Analysis sub-course in preparation for the final exam. Students will use course concepts and materials, as well as the case study information provided, to analyze the Biden Administration's April 2021 decision to withdraw all forces from Afghanistan by September 11, 2021.

Objectives

- Demonstrate the ability to synthesize FPA concepts and theories presented throughout the course.
- Demonstrate the ability to assess and evaluate which influences and actors were the most critical in the case study provided.

Session Guidance Questions

- What were the most important factors that led to the April decision to withdraw all forces and, what factors influenced the decision to stay the course as conditions on the ground deteriorated?
- Can you apply and distinguish between the analytical perspectives in this case study analysis?
- What were the national interests at stake? What options were available/considered?
- What were the major organizations involved and what were their interests? Who won and who "lost?"
- What was the role of Congress? The Intelligence Community? Did civil-military Relations, public opinion, the media, or other factors play a role?
- Your instructor will provide additional guidance on how your seminar will discuss the case in class.

Essential Preparation

- McVay, Daniel, Theo Milonopoulos, and Andrew Stigler. "Departure Time: The American Exit from Afghanistan." U.S. Naval War College, January 2023.
- The Doha Agreement. "Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan." Signed in Doha, Qatar, 29 February 2020.
- Biden, Joseph. "Excerpts from four White House statements." April 2021–August 2021.
- Sanger, David, E. "Biden's Decision Prioritizes Nation-Building at Home, Not in Kabul." *The New York Times*, 14 April 2021.
- Cooper, Helene, Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger. "Debating Exit, Biden Rejected Generals' Views." *The New York Times*, 18 April 2021.
- Gordon, Michael, Gordon Lubold, Vivian Salama and Jessica Donati. "Inside Biden's Afghanistan Withdrawal Plan: Warnings, Doubts but Little Change." *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 September 2021.



Atlantic Ocean Region Future Challenges

Focus

The NATO Strategic Concept identifies three core tasks: deterrence, crisis prevention, and cooperative security. This session will look at some of the challenges facing the Atlantic Ocean region, especially the challenge posed by Russia to the region's security. It also examines the interests of countries in the Atlantic Ocean region more broadly, and how these may have an impact in the future.

Objectives

- Understand the role NATO plays in Atlantic Ocean region security.
- Analyze how the alliance can adapt to transnational challenges and enhance the security of its members.
- Examine the scope and depth of the Russian challenge to the security of the Atlantic Ocean region.
- Understand the interests of Latin American and African countries and how they impact U.S. interests.

Session Guidance Questions

- What benefits does the United States derive from the Atlantic alliance?
- Can an alliance set up to cope with a conventional military threat from a great power also contribute to non-traditional security challenges facing its members? How do natural threats and transnational challenges erode the security of the entire Atlantic Ocean region?
- How does the Russian challenge manifest itself in the Atlantic Ocean region? What are Russian strategic objectives?
- What are the interests and priorities of leaders of Latin American and African countries? How are they different from those of the United States or Europe? Why might these countries become more strategically important in the future?

Essential Preparation

- Mazarr, Michael J. "Why America Still Needs Europe" *Foreign Affairs*, April 17, 2023.
- Garcia Rico, Lucia. "NATO and Climate Change: A Climatized Perspective on Security," *Harvard Belfer Center*, 18 August 2022. (READ 1-12, 25-40).
- Herd, Graeme P. "Chapter 1: Understanding Russia's Global Reach." In *Russia's Global Reach: A Security and Statecraft Assessment*. ed. Graeme P. Herd. Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (2021).
- Spektor, Matias. "In Defense of the Fence Sitters" *Foreign Affairs*, 18 April 2023.
- Goldstone, Jack A. and John F. May. "The Global Economy's Future Depends on Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, 18 May 2023.



Indian Ocean Region Future Challenges

Focus

Of the three main ocean regions, the Indian Ocean region has the least institutional consolidation and many possibilities for instability. It contains several nuclear and geopolitical rivalries; its trading patterns are vital to the stability of the global economy; and challenges emanating from this region pose problems for the security and stability of other parts of the world.

Objectives

- Analyze the future of India-China competition.
- Examine how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests.
- Assess future transnational, climatic, and maritime challenges and possibilities for creating more Indian Ocean-based regional arrangements.

Session Guidance Questions

- How will the future of the Indian Ocean region be impacted by the China-India geopolitical competition?
- How does Iran use its trans-Indian connections to hedge against U.S. pressure? How does the Saudi-Iran rivalry create larger security issues for the region?
- How might emerging transnational, environmental, and maritime threats pose challenges as well as opportunities for cooperation and economic integration in the region?
- Can the United States develop an effective Indian Ocean focused regional strategy?

Essential Preparation

- McLain, Don. "Between the Elephant and the Dragon: Examining the Sino-Indian Competition in the Indian Ocean." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17, no. 2 (2021): 235–254.
- Solhdoost, Mohsen. "Iran's Geo-Strategic Orientations Toward China and India." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17, no. 1 (2021): 60–77.
- Rubin, Alissa. "A Climate Warning from the Cradle of Civilization." *New York Times*. 29 July 2023.
- "Challenges and Solutions for Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean." *Stable Seas Report*. 5 May 2021.



Pacific Ocean Region Future Challenges

Focus

The Pacific Ocean region is the world's most dynamic, home to sixty percent of the world's population, nearly half of global GDP, and several of the world's largest militaries. It will experience significant future security challenges across a range of issues. Climate change threatens to create and exacerbate existing geopolitical and security challenges in the region in Oceania and intensifying geopolitical competition and heightened environmental concerns are creating new security challenges. Expanding nuclear capabilities, particularly in China and North Korea, may upend traditional models of regional deterrence and could threaten proliferation cascades, especially in Northeast Asia. Tensions across the Taiwan Strait present the most pressing flashpoint and potential for major power conflict. Managing these ongoing and future challenges will be key to ensuring peace, stability, and prosperity in the Pacific Ocean region.

Objectives

- Understand the risks/challenges climate change presents to security interests in the trans-Pacific region.
- Understand the geopolitical security interests in Oceania and evaluate U.S. and other states' strategies.
- Analyze how nuclear weapons may change the future of the Pacific Ocean region and evaluate how to best manage those changes.

Session Guidance Questions

- What risks and challenges does climate change present and how can regional states best predict, prevent, and mitigate those challenges?
- What are Chinese and American aims in Oceania and how has each state attempted to pursue those interests? What are the interests and aims of states in Oceania and how have regional states responded to intensifying U.S.-China competition?
- What challenges do expanding nuclear arsenals in China and North Korea present to security and non-proliferation interests in East Asia? How should the United States and regional actors respond?

Essential Preparation

- Sikorsky, Erin. "Great-Power Competition and Climate Security in the Indo-Pacific," In *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific*. Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute (2022): 78-83.
- Thomas, Michael. "Climate Change and Military Forces," In *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific*. Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute (2022): 72-77.
- Wesley, Michael. "Oceania: Cold War Versus the Blue Pacific," In *U.S.-China Competition for Global Influence*. Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills, Eds. Washington, DC: National Bureau of Asian Research (2020): 191-215.
- Sukin, Lauren, and Toby Dalton. "Reducing Nuclear Salience: How to Reassure Northeast Asian Allies." *The Washington Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2021): 143-58.
- Romei, Sayuri. "Watching Ukraine, South Korea and Japan eye nuclear weapons. Here's what the U.S. should do." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 20 July 2023.



TSDM – FX-01

Introduction, Seminar Organization, Product Development

Focus

The Final Exercise (FX) is the two-phase TSDM capstone event in which students actively apply concepts from the International Security and Foreign Policy Analysis sub-courses. Each seminar will play the role of a National Security Council Regional Working Group staffed by representatives from across the whole of the U.S. government.

Objectives

- Understand and apply TSDM course concepts.
- Phase One: Identify U.S. vital interests, conduct a strategic estimate of the assigned oceanic region, provide a regional strategy outline, and identify four capabilities required to accomplish or advance the strategic ends.
- Phase Two: Critically analyze the seminar's strategic proposal's suitability, effectiveness, and applicability following a regional reframing moment. The seminar will also consider three possible policy response options (provided) and determine which option is most likely to be selected and provide support and rationale for their choice.

Session Guidance

- In Phase One, each working group (seminar) must produce and present an executive-level presentation concerning their oceanic region for the NSC Regional Director (grading panel). This presentation must clearly identify U.S. interests in the region, provide a strategic estimate of the future security environment throughout the region over the next eight years, present a sub-headings level outline of a regional strategy that includes desired ends and ways, and a list of 4 capabilities (means) that will be necessary to accomplish or advance the strategic ends. This presentation must be finalized and reviewed with the seminar's consultant team by the end of FX-06. Slide presentations must be submitted to the FX Director NLT 1600 that day and no changes to the slides may be made after this due date.
- In Phase Two, (FX-07), the working groups will be presented with a "reframing moment" that will describe a significant event within their trans-oceanic region. The working group must critically assess the effectiveness and suitability of their strategic proposal considering the reframing moment. Utility, strengths and weaknesses, potential blind spots, and missing concepts or capabilities must all be considered in this critical analysis. It is said that no plan survives first contact with the enemy. Phase Two of the FX provides the seminar with the opportunity to assess how their plan survived and propose potential alterations or additions as desired. Additionally, the seminar will be provided three possible U.S. policy responses to the events of the reframing moment. The seminar is tasked with determining which policy response they believe is most likely to be selected, given various international, organizational, and individual factors influencing policy selection.
- The required working group product is a 30-minute brief covering the required elements of Phase One, followed by a no more than 10-minute brief of the results of the critical assessment of their strategic proposal following the reframing moment and their selected policy response. The grading panel will then engage in 30 minutes of Q&A. Each seminar shall designate at least three briefers, but all students are expected to participate in the Q&A. Slide templates will be provided to the seminars to help keep the focus on content.



TSDM – FX-01

Introduction, Seminar Organization, Product Development

- The teaching team will be available as consultants but will not lead the seminar's efforts. Seminars must do a rehearsal of their brief with their teaching team no later than the end of FX-06.
- Time and location of the final presentation and grading panel members will be provided by the FX Director during product development. Grading panels will consist of one member of the seminar's teaching team and two other NSA department faculty members. Grading panels may have guest members from various combatant commands. These guests may participate in the question-and-answer period but will not participate in the grading of presentations.
- The grading panel will evaluate the seminar's ability to clearly communicate their strategic proposal in oral and visual forms in accordance with the Final Exercise evaluation rubric provided in the FX-06 syllabus page and the Grading Criteria provided in the FX-08 syllabus page. Because the TSDM Final Exercise is designed as a team effort exercise, each seminar receives one grade that applies to all seminar members.

Essential Preparation

- None



TSDM – FX-02 through FX-05

Seminar Product Development

Focus

Throughout the course, students have learned concepts, skills, and substantive information about their trans-oceanic region and the world that will help the seminar produce a list of clearly defined regional U.S. interests, conduct a strategic assessment of their region in a global context over the next eight years, develop an outline of a theater strategy to manage threats, risks and pursue U.S. national interests, and identify needed capabilities to advance their strategy. Phase One of the final exercise is designed for the seminar to work collaboratively to develop these products.

Objectives

- Develop a 30-minute oral presentation with visuals that outlines U.S. vital national interests in an assigned oceanic region, provides the seminar's strategic estimate of that region, a regional strategy outline, and a list of 4 capabilities required to advance the strategy. The target audience is the National Security Council Regional Director.

Session Guidance

Required elements of Phase One presentation:

- **Clearly defined list of regional U.S. interests:**
 - The seminar should analyze existing national strategic priorities and present a list of U.S. national security interests in their assigned ocean region.
 - Once identified, the hierarchy of interests should form the foundation of a Golden Thread for the seminar's strategic proposal. What does the United States hope to accomplish? Why does the country need to accomplish these goals? All U.S. strategy must serve and be traceable to national interests, and the level of investment is directly tied to the level of importance of those interests.
- **Regional strategic estimate:** Produce a description of your region's significance to U.S. security and interests in a global context, relative to threats, risks, and opportunities.
 - Using existing strategic guidance on national priorities and preferences, evaluate the major trends in the seminar's region (including global context) over the near (0 to 2 year) and medium (3-8 year) term that may challenge the ability to advance and defend U.S. interests. Consider what is happening in terms of demographics, economics, politics, the environment, etc., both within the region and in that region's relationships with the rest of the world. A strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threat (SWOT) analysis may be useful.
 - Consider the U.S. military position in the region and relationships between the geographic combatant commands and with other U.S. government agencies working in the region. Where might the CCMD's interests and preferences align with those of other actors, and where there might be tension?
 - Consider both the likelihood and the severity of various potentially negative events/trends in the region.
- **Regional strategic outline:** Produce a sub-heading level outline of your strategic approach.



TSDM – FX-02 through FX-05

Seminar Product Development

- Having determined the trends the United States would need to influence to achieve its goals, the seminar must develop the outline of a strategic approach to the region within a global context.
- What is the seminar's vision or desired strategic end-states for the region in both the near and medium time period? Consider threats and opportunities in terms of likelihood and severity as well as urgency and order of occurrence.
- Describe and discuss concepts (Ways) required to achieve your seminar's strategic objectives. This is the sub-heading level discussion that goes beyond a catchy bumper sticker and gets into the concepts your seminar proposes to achieve the strategic goals. These concepts can be outside the scope of the DoD. If whole of government concepts are presented, the seminar should be prepared to discuss possible policy implications, actors, and processes used in the concept, as well as how geographic CCDRs and their staffs might effectively coordinate interagency organizations and possibly contribute within these concepts.
- Are there other actors the seminar thinks the United States will need to influence to arrive at their desired end-state? What forms of leverage might the United States have over these actors? How can the United States exert that leverage at the least cost and without violating important principles?
- Explain the challenges and risks in the proposed strategy and discuss risk mitigation initiatives.
- Consider alignment with national strategic direction from the NSS and NMS.
- **Prioritized list of four required capabilities.**
 - List four prioritized capabilities (Means) the seminar believes are required to carry out its regional strategic proposal (please refer to Capstone Lecture-1). Determine and defend the relative priority of your listed capabilities.
 - In the case of military or defense-centric capabilities, conceptualize these as capabilities across the DOTMLPF-P. They can be hardware, or doctrine, organization, skills, etc. Be sure to be prepared to discuss how the how the capability would be used in the field, and how it would help to achieve the desired strategic outcomes. Additionally, seminars should have a sound understanding of how their requirement would work through the capabilities development process and which Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System (JCIDS) lane it would fall into.
 - The seminar may list capabilities outside the scope of the DoD. If whole of government capabilities are presented, the seminar should be prepared to discuss possible policy implications, actors, and processes used to attain the required capability, as well as how a CCDR and staff might effectively coordinate across the whole of government to integrate these particular capabilities.

Essential Preparation

- Entirety of Foreign Policy Analysis and International Security curricula.



TSDM – FX-06

Seminar Phase One Presentation Review

Focus

No later than the end of this session, the seminar must have presented their Phase One presentation to their faculty consultant team for review and feedback. Additionally, the seminar must electronically submit their Phase One presentation slides to the FX Director no later than 1600 the day FX-06 is scheduled.

Objectives

- Conduct a rehearsal of the seminar's Phase One presentation and receive feedback from the faculty consultant team.
- Complete and submit the final version of Phase One slides to FX Director via email no later than 1600.
- Complete "FX Main Themes" questionnaire.

Session Guidance

- This session concludes the preparation phase of TSDM FX Phase One. The seminar should be prepared to present their strategic proposal briefing to their faculty consultant team in a format that closely resembles the final product that will be graded. Utilizing the presentation checklist included on the second page of this syllabus sheet, the consultant team will provide feedback on the seminar's presentation. Edits in response to this feedback may be incorporated by the seminar into their final presentation version.
- Seminars are encouraged to conduct their Phase One rehearsal with their consultant team **PRIOR** to FX-06 to allow time for incorporation of feedback points. However, the seminar **MUST** conduct a rehearsal with their consultant team no later than FX-06.
- By the end of this session, the seminar will complete their TSDM FX Phase One product development by making any desired changes to the presentation. After these final changes are made, and no later than 1600, the seminar must electronically submit their Phase One presentation slides to the FX Director and Deputy Director. Seminars are not allowed to make changes to their presentation slides after submitting their briefs to the FX Director. **The submitted slides must be the slides used during their graded evaluation.**

Electronically submit seminar Phase One presentations to:

FX Director: CDR Sean Mahoney, sean.mahoney@usnwc.edu

FX Deputy Director: Lt Col Dan McVay, daniel.mcvay@usnwc.edu

- The FX "Main Themes" questionnaire will be available at the conclusion FX-06. Each seminar will complete and submit an online questionnaire to catalogue the main themes of their FX products by FX-09. The questionnaire link will be delivered via Blackboard and e-mail.

Essential Preparation

- Entirety of Foreign Policy Analysis and International Security curricula.



TSDM – FX-06

Seminar Phase One Presentation Review



<u>PHASE ONE PRESENTATION REHEARSAL CHECKLIST</u>		
CONTENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meets FX requirements • Demonstrates clear understanding of TSDM course concepts • U.S. interests, strategic estimate, strategic outline, and four required capabilities aligned, consistent and mutually supporting • Innovative while aligning with existing U.S. strategic guidance • Seminar makes a strong case for feasibility 	
STRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material logically presented with an easily recognizable “Golden Thread” which ties the whole strategic proposal together from start to finish • Distinctly describes the four required elements • Key concepts evident • Strong concluding position 	
SUPPORT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Credibility of material • Assumptions validated • Relevance to theme • Verbal / Visual Presentation synergy 	
STYLE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persuasively presented • Professional, engaging • Pace, tempo, clarity of delivery • Audience engagement • Though a slide template is provided, seminar must still ensure slides are not overcrowded and graphs, tables or images are appropriately sized for audience legibility 	
MISC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Completed within allotted time limit (30 min) • Responds well to questions • Managed discussion • Seminar participated in Q&A 	



TSDM – FX-07

FX Phase Two: The Reframing Moment

Focus

In this session, seminars will be provided a “reframing moment” scenario that will describe a significant event within their transoceanic region. The seminar must conduct a critical analysis of their Phase One strategic proposal and consider three distinct and plausible policy recommendations that address the events of the reframing moment. The seminar must determine which one of these recommendations is most likely to be chosen, given various international, organizational, and individual factors that influence policy selection.

Objectives

- Critically analyze and assess Phase One strategic proposal in light of a major regional national security event.
- Analyze three possible policy response options (provided) and determine which option is most likely to be selected, given various international, organizational, and individual factors.

Session Guidance

- This session provides the seminar an opportunity to put their strategic proposal to the test during a fictional major national security event within a transoceanic region.
- To demonstrate the practical feasibility and utility of the proposed strategy, seminars will be presented with a regional “reframing moment” that describes a specific set of events within the seminar’s oceanic region.
- The objective of FX Phase Two is to test the seminar’s ability to apply and critically assess their own strategic proposal. Throughout the semester, seminars have been asked to critically analyze grand strategy and foreign policy case studies; now the seminar must turn that critical light upon their own ideas. The seminar will critically analyze and assess how their strategic proposal meets the challenge described in the reframing moment and determine potential areas of weakness or blind spots, as well as areas where their proposed strategy is well suited to meet the challenge. Seminars are encouraged to be very thorough in their critical analysis and seek to determine areas where they could strengthen the effectiveness of their strategy considering the events of the reframing moment. Likewise, if the seminar determines that their strategic proposal effectively mitigates the effects of the reframing moment, those findings should be highlighted as well.
- In addition to critical analysis, the reframing moment requires the seminar to conduct policy analysis against a specific set of circumstances. In addition to a description of the events of the reframing moment, the seminar will be provided with three distinct and plausible U.S. policy response options. The seminar is tasked with analyzing these three options and determining which policy response they believe is most likely to be selected, given various international, organizational, and individual factors that influence policy making and selection.
- The seminar must prepare a short set of slides (3-5) to present the results of their critical analysis and present the policy response option they believe is most likely to be pursued, along with justification. These slides will be presented after the 30-minute phase one presentation, and prior to the question-and-answer period. The seminar is allotted 15 minutes to present its Phase Two presentation. As with the Phase One



TSDM – FX-07

FX Phase Two: The Reframing Moment

presentation, phase two slides must be submitted to the FX Director and Deputy no later than 1600 the day FX-07 is scheduled on the calendar.

Electronically submit seminar Phase Two presentations to:

FX Director: CDR Sean Mahoney, sean.mahoney@usnwc.edu

FX Deputy Director: Lt Col Dan McVay, daniel.mcvay@usnwc.edu

Essential Preparation

- Entirety of Foreign Policy Analysis and International Security curricula.



TSDM – FX-08

Seminar Presentation Grading

Focus

Seminars will present their presentations (Phase One and Two, consecutively) to a grading panel composed of one member of their own teaching team and two other NSA faculty members. Each grader will award an individual score and the three values will be averaged for a final seminar grade. In addition to the three faculty members, panels may have guest members from various combatant commands. These guest members will participate in the question-and-answer period but will have no input on the grading process or deliberation.

Objectives

- Effectively deliver a 30-minute presentation of the seminar’s Phase One strategic proposal which must include: U.S. interests in the region, regional strategic estimate, regional strategic outline, and four capabilities required to advance their strategy.
- Effectively deliver a no more than 15-minute brief of the seminar’s Phase Two critical analysis and identify and explain which policy response option they believe is most likely to be selected in light of the events of the reframing moment.
- Effectively respond to questions asked by the faculty panel over the course of 30 minutes.

Presentation Grading Rubric

Performance Area	Work of very high quality; clearly above the average graduate level.	Expected performance of the average graduate student.	Below the average performance expected for graduate work.	Well below the average performance expected for graduate work. This is unsatisfactory work.
Phase One: Strategic Proposal (30 Minutes Allowed)				
National Interests	<p>Presentation clearly identifies U.S. national interests within their ocean region.</p> <p>National interests are prioritized, and entire strategic proposal is consistently and logically anchored to these interests in accordance with their priority level.</p>	<p>Presentation clearly identifies U.S. national interests within their ocean region.</p> <p>National interests are prioritized, but strategic proposal has loose and inconsistent connections to the interests and prioritization.</p>	<p>Presentation identifies some U.S. national interests within their ocean region.</p> <p>National interests are NOT prioritized.</p>	<p>Presentation does not identify U.S. national interests within their ocean region.</p>
Regional Strategic Estimate	<p>Acknowledging time limitations, the presentation provides a comprehensive overview of the ocean regional security environment including military, economic, political, and social, and environmental issues. Estimate is presented in near (0-2 year) and mid-term (3-8 year) timelines.</p> <p>U.S. strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in the ocean region are clearly identified.</p> <p>The likelihood and severity of threats and challenges is considered and communicated.</p> <p>Regional impact to U.S. global strategy and possible seams and challenges to interagency and whole of government efforts are considered and communicated.</p>	<p>The presentation provides a broad overview of the ocean regional security environment including military, economic and political issues. Estimate is presented in near (0-2 year) and mid-term (3-8 year) timelines.</p> <p>U.S. strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in the ocean region are clearly identified.</p> <p>Regional impact to U.S. global strategy is considered and communicated.</p>	<p>The presentation provides a partial overview of the ocean regional security environment but fails to examine key areas of emphasis contained in the National Security Strategy.</p> <p>Strategic estimate focuses only on military challenges within the region.</p> <p>U.S. strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats are NOT identified.</p> <p>Regional impact to U.S. global strategy is NOT considered.</p>	<p>The presentation fails to provide an overview of the ocean regional security environment or fails to communicate how identified trends or concerns directly impact U.S. national security interests.</p>



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Seminar Presentation Grading

Regional Strategy Outline	<p>The seminar clearly presents desired regional conditions for both near (0-2 year) and medium (3-8 year) time frames. Desired conditions consider the likelihood and severity of threats and challenges identified in strategic estimate.</p> <p>Heading-level detail is provided through concise descriptions of desired conditions within the region.</p> <p>Sub-heading level detail is provided through concepts (ways) that comprehensively describe activities, required resources, actors, processes, and policy implications necessary to accomplish strategic heading-level objectives. Risk to each concept is presented and mitigation is discussed.</p> <p>Methods by which regional geographic CCDR staffs might effectively coordinate and contribute to whole of government concepts are presented.</p> <p>Strategy closely aligns with existing U.S. strategic guidance.</p>	<p>The seminar presents desired regional conditions for both near (0-2 year) and medium (3-8 year) time frames. Desired conditions consider the likelihood and severity of threats and challenges identified in strategic estimate.</p> <p>Heading-level detail is provided through effective descriptions of desired conditions within the region.</p> <p>Sub-heading level detail is provided through concepts (ways) that describe some activities, required resources, actors, processes, and policy implications necessary to accomplish strategic heading-level objectives. Risk to each concept is presented but mitigation is NOT discussed.</p> <p>Methods by which regional geographic CCDR staffs might effectively coordinate and contribute to whole of government concepts are presented.</p> <p>Strategy aligns with existing U.S. strategic guidance.</p>	<p>The seminar presents desired regional conditions but fails to break conditions into near and medium range timelines. Desired conditions are idealistic and do not consider likelihood and severity of threats and challenges.</p> <p>Heading-level detail is provided through vague bullet titles that do not effectively convey strategic objectives.</p> <p>Sub-heading level detail is provided through concepts (ways) that describe activities, required resources and actors, but fail to consider process or policy implications. Risk to each concept is NOT presented.</p> <p>Regional geographic CCDR staffs are identified, but no effective consideration to integration is considered or presented.</p> <p>Strategy does not align with existing U.S. strategic guidance.</p>	<p>The seminar presents desired conditions that are well outside the 8-year horizon, are idealistic, and do not consider likelihood and severity of threats and challenges.</p> <p>Heading-level detail is provided through ineffective one-word titles.</p> <p>Sub-heading level detail is NOT presented or is presented in a single phrase without amplifying details in narration.</p> <p>Geographic CCDR staffs are not identified.</p> <p>Strategy drastically departs from existing U.S. strategic guidance.</p>
Required Capabilities	<p>The seminar presents four capabilities (Means) required to carry out its regional strategy. Capabilities are presented in a defensible prioritized order with clear, logical connections to elements of strategic proposal.</p> <p>DoD-centric capabilities are conceptualized across the DOTMLPF-P with descriptions of how the capability would be employed in the field and how the capabilities would progress through the JCIDS process lanes.</p> <p>Whole of government capabilities are presented with consideration of actors and processes used to attain the capability, as well as whether regional CCDR staff is required to effectively coordinate across the interagency to integrate the capability in the region.</p>	<p>The seminar presents four capabilities (Means) required to carry out its regional strategy. Capabilities are presented in a defensible prioritized order with clear, logical connections to elements of strategic proposal.</p> <p>Seminar communicates how capabilities would be employed in the field but does not consider or present how capabilities would be acquired (no mention of actors or processes necessary to realize required capabilities.)</p>	<p>The seminar presents four capabilities (Means) required to carry out its regional strategy. Capabilities are NOT presented in a defensible prioritized order and are NOT clearly tied to elements of their strategic proposal.</p>	<p>The seminar fails to present four distinct capabilities or fails to connect all four capabilities to their strategic proposal.</p>



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Seminar Presentation Grading

Effective Organization, Timing, and Delivery	<p>Presentation has a clearly identifiable Golden Thread (logical connective theme) that consistently ties all elements together and ensures cohesion between interests, strategic estimate, desired conditions, strategy, and required capabilities. Helps ensure audience retention and impact.</p> <p>Verbal transitions between elements and speakers are smooth and efficient.</p> <p>A minimum total of 3 different speakers are utilized (2 in Phase One, 1 in Two)</p> <p>Presenters speak clearly with minimal verbal pauses and minimize distracting movement or body language.</p> <p>The brief is completed within allotted 30 minutes.</p>	<p>Presentation is organized in a clear, logical, and effective manner.</p> <p>An overarching theme or title is presented but is NOT effectively used throughout the presentation to provide a cohesive Golden Thread. The audience is left guessing about the main take away from the strategic proposal or is confused about how the different elements support the Golden Thread.</p> <p>A minimum total of 3 different speakers are utilized (2 in Phase One, 1 in Phase Two)</p> <p>One or more native English-speaking presenters struggle with verbal pauses or are ineffective in their delivery of narration.</p> <p>The brief is completed in no more than 31 minutes.</p>	<p>The presentation is organized in a logical manner (A-B-C-D), but no overall theme is developed or presented, and some elements are disconnected from one another.</p> <p>Fewer than 3 different speakers are utilized (2 in Phase One and 1 in Phase Two)</p> <p>Presenters do not demonstrate evidence they have rehearsed their script or effectively prepared for their speaking role.</p> <p>The brief takes more than 31 minutes to complete.</p>	<p>The presentation is not organized in a logical manner and separate elements are not clearly identifiable.</p> <p>The brief takes more than 32 minutes to complete.</p>
Effective Style and Format	<p>Slides use the provided template.</p> <p>Written portions are free from grammatical or spelling errors.</p> <p>All tables, graphs, or images are sized to allow the audience to read and understand the content.</p> <p>Slides are not overcrowded and make use of white space to allow for effective visual communication in concert with spoken narration.</p>	<p>Slides use the provided template.</p> <p>Written portions contain minor grammatical or spelling errors.</p> <p>Most tables, graphs, or images are sized to allow the audience to read and understand the content.</p> <p>Some slides are overcrowded and would benefit from additional white space.</p>	<p>Slides do not use the provided template.</p> <p>Written portions contain significant grammatical or spelling errors.</p> <p>Tables, graphs, or images are too small to be read by the audience.</p>	<p>Slides are a disaster and completely detract from the seminar's attempt to communicate their strategic proposal.</p>



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Seminar Presentation Grading

Phase Two: Critical Analysis and Policy Response Analysis (15 Minutes Allowed)				
Critical Analysis	<p>The seminar applies a thorough and effective process of critical analysis against their strategic proposal.</p> <p>A methodology is developed or utilized to ensure a wholistic examination of all elements of their strategic proposal.</p> <p>Strengths AND weaknesses are clearly and evenly identified and discussed as appropriate.</p> <p>Blind spots are considered and presented.</p> <p>Possible opportunities are identified in relation to strengths, while possible mitigation efforts against weakness are presented.</p>	<p>The seminar applies a process of critical analysis against their strategic proposal.</p> <p>One or more elements of the strategic proposal are omitted from critical analysis.</p> <p>Strengths OR weaknesses are excessively highlighted at the cost or neglect of the other category.</p> <p>Possible opportunities are identified in relation to strengths, while possible mitigation efforts against weakness are presented.</p> <p>Blind spots are NOT considered or discussed.</p>	<p>The seminar provides a shallow analysis of their strategic proposal considering the events of the reframing moment.</p> <p>Simplistic conclusions are drawn such as “we got it all right”, or “we should probably scrap the whole thing and start over.”</p>	<p>The seminar does not conduct a critical analysis of their strategic proposal or demonstrates the inability to apply critical analysis techniques learned and applied in the course curriculum (specifically FPA case study analysis) against their own strategic proposal.</p>
Policy Response Analysis	<p>The seminar selects the one policy option they believe is most likely to be selected by the administration.</p> <p>International, organizational, AND individual factors are considered and used to explain why a policy option was selected as the most likely choice. Second-level factor analysis and evidence is provided to justify choice.</p> <p>The same factors are used to explain why the other two policy options were NOT selected as the most likely choice.</p>	<p>The seminar selects the one policy option they believe is most likely to be selected by the administration.</p> <p>International, organizational, OR individual factors are considered and used to explain why a policy option was selected.</p> <p>Minimal justification for non-selection of policy options is provided.</p>	<p>The seminar selects the one policy option they believe is most likely to be selected by the administration.</p> <p>Minimal justification for selection is provided.</p> <p>No justification for non-selection is provided.</p>	<p>The seminar selects the one policy option they believe is most likely to be selected by the administration.</p> <p>No justification for selection or non-selection is provided.</p>
Effective Organization and Timing	<p>The brief is completed within the allotted 15 minutes.</p> <p>Both Phase Two elements are provided sufficient time for all desired points to be made.</p>	<p>The brief is completed in no more than 16 minutes.</p> <p>Poor time management results in one of the two Phase Two elements being cut short or insufficiently presented due to lack of time.</p>	<p>Brief takes more than 16 minutes to complete.</p>	<p>Brief takes more than 17 minutes to complete.</p>
Effective Style and Format	<p>Slides use the provided template.</p> <p>Written portions are free from grammatical or spelling errors.</p> <p>All tables, graphs, or images are sized to allow the audience to read and understand the content.</p> <p>Slides are not overcrowded and make use of white space to allow for effective visual communication in concert with spoken narration.</p>	<p>Slides use the provided template.</p> <p>Written portions contain minor grammatical or spelling errors.</p> <p>Most tables, graphs, or images are sized to allow the audience to read and understand the content.</p> <p>Some slides are overcrowded and would benefit from additional white space.</p>	<p>Slides do not use the provided template.</p> <p>Written portions contain significant grammatical or spelling errors.</p> <p>Tables, graphs, or images are too small to be read by the audience.</p>	<p>Slides are a disaster and completely detract from the seminar’s attempt to communicate their strategic proposal.</p>



TSDM – FX-08

Seminar Presentation Grading

Question and Answers (30 Minutes)				
Question and Answer Execution	<p>Seminar members effectively answer all questions in a clear and concise manner. The seminar employs a question fielding strategy that makes efficient use of time and seminar member knowledge.</p> <p>The seminar avoids piling on to one question, allowing one to three members to contribute to the answer, while leaving ample time for additional questions from the panel.</p> <p>The seminar ensures participation of all members in either the presentation speaking roles or the question-and-answer period.</p>	<p>Seminar members effectively answer all questions in a clear and concise manner.</p> <p>The seminar allows 4 or more people to provide an answer to a single question to demonstrate participation. This strategy may reduce the panel's number of questions asked and should not be utilized.</p> <p>One or two seminar members fail to participate in either the presentation speaking roles or the question-and-answer period.</p>	<p>Seminar members do not answer one or two of the panel's questions in a satisfactory manner and demonstrate significant gaps in knowledge of key TSDM course concepts.</p> <p>More than two seminar members do not participate in either presentation speaking roles or the question-and-answer period.</p>	<p>Seminar members fail to answer 50 percent of the panel's questions in an effective manner and demonstrate a lack of knowledge and understanding of TSDM course concepts.</p>

Essential Preparation

- Entirety of Foreign Policy Analysis and International Security curricula.



TSDM – FX-09

Course Conclusion

Focus

This optional final session is designed to give students and teaching teams the opportunity to wrap-up the Final Exercise and TSDM course in-person after seminars complete the presentation competition.

Objectives

- Reflect on TSDM course concepts and learning objectives.
- Discuss Final Exercise presentation and grading panel feedback.
- Ensure Final Exercise “Main Themes” questionnaire has been completed.

Session Guidance

- Seminars will coordinate with their faculty teaching team regarding the conduct, time, and location of TSDM FX-09. Seminars must have completed their Final Exercise presentation and received their grade and feedback from the grading panel prior to conducting FX-09.

Essential Preparation

- None