



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 2022 to February 2023





THEATER SECURITY DECISION MAKING COURSE INTRODUCTION

Focus

The National Security Affairs (NSA) department educates students in contemporary national security studies. This eight-credit hour course provides a broad interdisciplinary foundation by studying international security, regional studies, and foreign policy analysis so that students can navigate the national security system more effectively. The curriculum combines academic rigor with policy relevance to meet the needs of the Navy and the intent of the Joint Professional Military Education system.

Theater Security Decision Making (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. Through TSDM, students develop the ability to assess a regional security environment, develop theater military strategy, and identify capability gaps to advance and defend national interests.

OBJECTIVES

- Define national security and the influences that lead to foreign policy decisions
- Identify how great power competition manifests in each region of the world
- Understand the course structure, assignments, and expectations

Guidance

- What are the key features of the national and international landscape that impact theater security?
- What is a pressing national security issue in your assigned region and the key drivers that affect how the U.S. government addresses this issue? Consider both international and domestic factors.
- What does strategic competition look like through a regional context?

Essential Readings (112 Pages)

- 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), Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 13-76)
- Reveron, Derek S. Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the US Military, (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2016) Chapter 4.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K, "The regional Dimension to U.S. National Security." Foreign Policy Research Institute, July 20, 2022.
- Ali Wyne (2022) Great-Power Competition Isn't a Foreign Policy, The Washington Quarterly, 45:2, 7-21.
- Biden, Joseph R. The White House, National Security Memorandum, Memorandum on Reviewing the National Security Council System, Feb 04, 2021





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- Reveron, Derek S. Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the US Military, (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2016) Chapter 4. [Accessed via Leganto]
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K, "The regional Dimension to U.S. National Security." Foreign Policy Research Institute, July 20, 2022.
- Ali Wyne (2022) Great-Power Competition Isn't a Foreign Policy, The Washington Quarterly, 45:2, 7-21. [Accessed via Leganto.
- Biden, Joseph R. The White House, National Security Memorandum, Memorandum on Reviewing the National Security Council System, Feb 04, 2021]





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 01

THE PERSPECTIVES OF ANALYSIS

Focus

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) examines various theories to explain how the U.S. government makes decisions and provides an overview of the international, domestic, and bureaucratic forces that shape national security policy. This session lays out themes that will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sessions and explores ways in which the study of decision-making can be a valuable way to analyze foreign policy actions at the national level. These decisions often deal with issues such as going to war, negotiating a ceasefire, imposing sanctions, entering an alliance, or signing a treaty.

OBJECTIVES

- Familiarize students with terms of art and examples of some of the more prevalent foreign policy analysis models
- Distinguish, through examples and discussion, the various lenses through which foreign policy decisions and actions can be interpreted
- Set the stage for more in-depth examination of theories and frameworks in following sessions

Guidance

- The textbook chapter note 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? What is meant by the term “levels of analysis?”
- We shall be looking at the terms “two-level games” and “levels of analysis” in greater depth. For now, what do you see as the basic concepts behind these terms? In broad terms, how might they explain how international and domestic political systems interact to influence policy-making?
- Decision-makers inevitably must act with incomplete information. Foreign policy analysts face similar informational challenges. What information would be especially important in a foreign policy context, and what data are easiest to come by, harder to come by, and nearly impossible to come by? What tools and methods can analysts use to understand foreign policy actions and their consequences?
- Foreign policy analysts are never likely to have all the information they would want. At the same time analysts should never simply guess. At times they must infer and/or extrapolate. What do you see as the difference in these terms?

Essential Readings (52 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain, and David A. Cooper, "Foreign Policy Analysis," Chapter 2 in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 14-51.
- 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.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 01 AMERICA IN THE WORLD TODAY

Focus

This session introduces the sub-course and sets the scene for International Security. We will introduce the fundamental questions that must be answered if we are to think about U.S. foreign policy and national security in a logically coherent and consistent manner. Simply, 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? We will grapple with these questions throughout the sub-course, and we begin in IS-1.

OBJECTIVES

- To understand the historical evolution of U.S. national interests, foreign policy, and its place in the international system
- To grasp the fundamental questions—not necessarily the answers—that an informed observer must know when analyzing U.S. foreign policy and national security
- To comprehend the kaleidoscope of interests that U.S. foreign policy must juggle
- To analyze how the U.S. national security establishment assigns priorities to issues and regions

Guidance

- What are U.S. national interests? Who decides what they are? How are they prioritized? What justifies a particular interest's re-prioritization, addition, or elimination?
- What is the relationship between the U.S. national interests (the ends), the policies the United States pursues to achieve the national interests (the ways), and the tools that the United States uses to execute those policies (the means)?
- What are the five traditions of American state craft as outlined by Zoellick? How do they help set the parameters for the International Security sub-course? How did they explain linkage with the Foreign Policy Analysis sub-course?
- How has America's role in the international system changed throughout the country's history? What explains these changes? To what extent are the changes due to domestic factors and to what extent are they due to the international environment?
- How does the U.S. national security establishment define regional priorities for U.S. foreign policy? How has geopolitics driven our priorities? How do concepts like Anne-Marie Slaughter's "chessboard" or the "web" help in this process?

Essential Readings (70 Pages and 15min Video)

- Zoellick, Robert B. 2020. America in the World: A History of U.S. Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. New York: Grand Central Publishing, 443-472.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "The Chessboard and the Web," The MacMillan Report, Yale University 2015 – YouTube.
- Reveron, Derek S., and Nikolas K Gvosdev. 2018. "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 University Press, 35-52.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. "The Regional Dimension of U.S. Foreign Policy," Foreign Policy Research Institute, Electronic Article, 2022.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "Global Complexity: Intersection of Chessboard and Web Trends." Notes Internacionales, 2016.
- Lissner, Rebecca and Mira Rapp-Hooper. "An Open World: How America Can Win the Contest for Twenty-First-Century Order." Ambassador's Brief, Electronic Article, 2020.
- Mead, Walter Russell. 2001. Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World First edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 12-29.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 02

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Focus

For thirteen days in October 1962, the United States and the Soviet Union moved inexorably to the very brink of nuclear war. At the center of the conflict were Cuba-based Soviet missiles that could deliver nuclear payloads to most of the United States. In a haze of uncertainty, tensions, and a maelstrom of often conflicting advice, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. President John F. Kennedy sought to achieve their respective geostrategic and political objectives while avoiding war. Long presented as a model of presidential decision-making, a study of the crisis provides a much more complicated and nuanced understanding of how U.S. leaders dealt with the crisis and how narrowly nuclear war was averted. FPA presents this as the first in a series of case studies that will require an increasingly sophisticated understanding of analytical tools, critical thinking, and the ability to clearly provide explanatory power in dealing with U.S. foreign policy decision-making.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify the various actors and factors in the Cuban Missile Crisis that impacted U.S. decision-making in October 1962
- Examine how different perspectives of decision-making can be used to provide a more complete understanding of forces active in foreign policy decision-making
- Assess how such an understanding might be useful in determining probable outcomes of on-going national security decisions

Guidance

- How can various FPA frameworks help us to understand the actions taken by the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cuban Missile Crisis?

Essential Readings (63 Pages)

- 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, 256-279.
- Allison, Graham, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," The American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, No. 3, 1969, 689-718.
- Allison, Graham, "Putin's Doomsday Threat: How to Prevent a Repeat of the Cuban Missile Crisis in Ukraine," Foreign Affairs, April 5, 2022.

Recommended Resources

- Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A First Cut," Chapter 2 in Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. New York: Longman Press, 1999, 109-120.
- Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Second Cut," Chapter 4 in Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. New York: Longman Press, 1999. 217-236.
- Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Third Cut," Chapter 6 in Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. New York: Longman Press, 1999. 329-347.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 02

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: CONSTITUENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Focus

This session will focus on the basics of the present-day international system. Building on the history of the United States' engagement with the world from IS-1, this session will examine what is commonly called the liberal international order, created after World War II, and led by the United States. We will consider what goes into the making of an order, how it is maintained and spread, and how it can be weakened and destroyed. The session will also consider the important role that geography plays in shaping state perceptions and behaviors, placing special emphasis on the maritime environment and the role of sea power. Finally, this session will look prospectively and consider how the international system may change in the coming decades.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify the fundamental components of the international system: its major actors (especially states), characteristics, functions, and challenges
- Gain an understanding of sea power's place in the international system and its fundamental role undergirding many of the basic characteristics of the international system
- Think critically about how the present international system may be or is evolving, what possible futures such changes portend, and how the United States ought to think about adjusting to such changes, including shifts in the global and regional balances of power

Guidance

- What is the "international system?" What is the role of states and international governmental organizations (IGOs) in creating and sustaining this system? What role does international law play? How do non-state actors influence developments?
- What is the role of the United States in the international order that it helped create and has largely led? Should the United States' role change and, if so, why?
- How does sea power fit into the international system and its workings? What twenty-first century challenges are encountered at sea? What challenges does sea power help mitigate?
- Evaluate the forward-looking assessments of the world. Do you agree with these predictions? What do you think is exaggerated, underappreciated, or completely overlooked?

Essential Readings (65 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas (ed), Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise, Chapter 7 "The Regional and International Context for Theater Security," 125-151.
- Kundnani, Hans. "What is the Liberal International Order?" German Marshall Fund, Electronic Article, 2017.
- National Intelligence Council. 2021. Global Trends: A More Contested World. [All seminars read 1-16, 30, 42, 54, 66-68, 78, 90] [In addition - Trans-Atlantic Ocean Region: 122-31, Trans-Indian Ocean Region: 128-33 and 136-37, and Trans-Pacific Ocean Region: 122-123, 126-127, and 134-139].
- Till, Geoffrey. 2018. Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-First Century. 4th ed. Vol. 61. Milton: Routledge, 24-31.

Recommended Resources

- Till, Geoffrey. 2018. Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-First Century. 4th ed. Vol. 61. Milton: Routledge, 1-24.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 03

THE UNITARY STATE PERSPECTIVE

Focus

In this session we will take our first in-depth look at one of the lenses we will use to better understand foreign policy. The unitary state perspective focuses on the state as a whole, operating as a cohesive entity. This perspective draws attention to states as unitary actors who make decisions through a process of weighing the costs and benefits of different options in the pursuit of national interests. This perspective assumes that all options are weighted, and the state is acting as a rational actor that will choose the best (optimized) policy based on its national interests. This is an idealized view of how we want government to work and in reality, we know that people, organizations, and external influences will impact policy (those factors will be discussed in future classes). Assuming that states act as rational unitary actors allows analysts to explain and predict a wide range of foreign policy actions. As a result, this perspective is widely used.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend how states can be analyzed as unitary actors who make foreign policy decisions through a process of optimization
- Identify the strengths and limitations of the unitary state perspective
- Apply the unitary state perspective to a case study to better understand U.S. foreign policy

Guidance

- What does it mean to think of a state as a unitary actor?
- What sorts of disagreements and divisions does this perspective assume away?
- What is "rational" decision-making, in a social science context? What would it mean for a state to make rational foreign policy decisions? What factors would we expect to influence these decisions?
- How does the unitary state perspective help us understand the U.S. One China Policy over the last 40 years? Can we apply the perspective to the PRC and Taiwan and their policies?
- Richard Bush, in his interview about Taiwan, states, "They are stuck with relying on the US" What does he mean?

Essential Readings (58 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Unitary State Perspective," Chapter 3 in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 52-87.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Annex: Case Studies," in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 378-382.
- Lawrence, Susan and Caitlin Campbell, "Taiwan: Political and Security Issues", Congressional Research Service, July 25, 2022.
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, "U.S. Relations with Taiwan," U.S. Dept of State, May 28, 2022.
- Bush, Richard, "U.S. 'One-China Policy' and the Future of U.S.-Taiwan Relations," interview by India Soranson Way, Asia Experts Forum, October 8, 2021.
- Haass, Richard and David Sacks, "The Growing Danger of U.S. Ambiguity on Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs*, December 13, 2021.

Recommended Resources

- Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A First Cut," Chapter 2 in *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman Press, 1999, 109-120.
- Bush, Richard C. "A One-China Policy Primer." Center for East Asia Policy Studies. March 2017. 8-24.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 03

EXPLAINING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORIES AND THEIR ASSUMPTIONS

Focus

Having considered the evolution of America's role in the world in IS-1 and the basics of the international system in IS-2, 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 the oft-related institutionalism), and Wendtian constructivism. The session will also consider the English School and feminism, two schools that are not dominant in the United States, but that make distinctive contributions 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

Guidance

- How helpful are IR theories for understanding and explaining international relations? Are any more convincing than the others? What would the various theories have to say about, say, China's rise, or Russia's invasion of Ukraine, or U.S. foreign policy?
- In IS-1, you were introduced to Anne-Marie Slaughter's concepts of "web and chessboard." If the chessboard is a synonym for geopolitics, does a chessboard approach tend to align with realism? Does the web's focus on institutions and connectivity lend itself to liberal or constructivist approaches?
- In introducing trans-oceanic regions in IS-1, you read Michael Green's characterization of the concept as a fusion of Mahan's geopolitics (grounded in realism) and 21st constructivist thinking. Now that you have been introduced to these theories, how do you assess Green's comment?
- The Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda revisits the utility of threat and force within the international system by stressing the importance of dialogue, a rights-based focus, and a conception of "human security." How does this agenda derive from different IR theories?

Essential Readings (47 Pages)

- McGlinchey, Stephen, and Dana Gold. "International Relations Theory." E-International Relations, January 9, 2017. (The paragraphs on Marxism, post-colonialism, and post-structuralism are optional).
- Nye, Joseph S. 2008. "International Relations: The Relevance of Theory to Practice." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Whitworth, Sandra. 2008. "Feminism." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford University Press.
- Neumann, Iver B, and Ole Jacob Sending. 2018. "Expertise and Practice: The Evolving Relationship Between the Study and Practice of Security." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, edited by Alexandra Gheciu and William C Wohlforth. Oxford University Press.

Recommended Resources

- Norwich University maintains an online primer of "key theories of international relations" which may be useful.
- Col. Miguel Cruz, Capt. John Brabazon, Col. DeDe Halfhill and Col. Scott Ritzel, "Between Theory and Practice: The Utility of International Relations Theory to the Military Practitioner," Wild Blue Yonder Online Journal, February 3, 2020. (Connects IR theory learned in the classroom to "real world" applications)





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 04

TWO-LEVEL GAMES: SOURCES OF INFLUENCE

Focus

In this session we move beyond the black box of the unitary state to explore how a state's foreign policy is influenced by both domestic and international actors. To do so, we introduce the concept of "two-level games." First introduced by political scientist Robert Putnam, this paradigm integrates explanations across the levels of analysis, examines the linkages between international (Putnam's Level 1) and domestic (Putnam's Level 2) politics, and addresses foreign policy-making. We will use a case study to understand how these dynamics play out.

OBJECTIVES

- Examine "two-level games" as a foreign policy decision-making framework
- Consider the importance of other countries' foreign policy decision-making processes
- Apply the two-level games framework to a case study to evaluate a U.S. foreign policy decision

Guidance

- What is the "two-level games" framework? How does it help to explain how international and domestic political systems interact to influence policy-making?
- Why is it important to understand the motivations and domestic political systems of other countries when conducting foreign policy analysis? How can we adapt foreign policy analysis tools for use outside the U.S. context?
- Goldstein and Shriver state in their conclusion, "Action by Congress, particularly in foreign affairs, is most frequently restrictive rather than directive" (171). How does this case demonstrate that?
- In what areas of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) was Congress able to exert more power, and why?
- How did Congressional fear of "an imperial presidency" play out in the debates and amendments to the TRA?

Essential Readings (59 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Domestic Politics," Chapter 9 in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 284-296 ONLY.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Other Countries," Chapter 10 in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 334-345, 360-367 ONLY.
- Goldstein, Steven M. and Randall Schriver. "An Uncertain Relationship: The United States, Taiwan, and the Taiwan Relations Act," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 165 (2001), 147-172.

Recommended Resources

- Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization*, Vol 42, No. 3 (1988), 427-440.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 04

CAUSES OF CONFLICT AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

Focus

This session focuses on common and major causes of conflict in the international system, starting with Kenneth N. Waltz's three "images" as a basic typology for the purported causes of conflict in human history (whether it be the personality flaws of individual leaders, the regime type of particular countries, or the (supposedly) anarchic nature of the international system.) While the FPA sub-course will focus more on the first two images, this session will look at concepts of compellence and deterrence, the use of coercion in international affairs, the influence of geopolitics, and proclivities of states to balance or bandwagon. In particular, the sources of "great power competition" and whether this increases the risk of conflict.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the primary causes of conflict in the international system, as well as how these causes' differing origins and types lead to different solutions for mitigating the risk of conflict
- Assess different theories of deterrence and compellence and how coercion theory explains interstate behavior
- Understand the influence of geopolitics on U.S. strategists
- Comprehend the basics of great-power politics and drivers for balancing or bandwagoning

Guidance

- In IS-3, you examined the major theories of international relations. How do those theories inform the readings in this session? Do imbalances in power relationships among states create conflicts? Can institutions mitigate sources of conflict? How do geographical and technological factors mitigate or exacerbate sources of conflict? To what extent do beliefs and worldviews of decision makers set the stage? The references to Robert Jervis in the readings will also connect with the cognitive perspective you will discuss in FPA.
- Copeland provides a number of theoretical explanations for conflict, including power transition theory and the bargaining model of war. How do these theories differ, and what do those differences imply for peace-seeking solutions?
- This lesson draws on the work of Thomas Schelling, whose concepts about deterrence, compellence, and coercive bargaining help define the core national security tasks (and will be revisited in IS-10, Deterrence Theory). How does seeking to deter (or compel) a state, or to avoid being deterred (or compelled) drive a country's actions? How does this connect with wanting to balance (or bandwagon)?
- What is the balance of power? In what circumstances is it an accurate description and a desired policy objective?
- How does geography create national security imperatives for the U.S.?
- If the chessboard reflects traditional geography, how does the web redefine the U.S. geostrategic outlook?

Essential Readings (81 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain, and David A. Cooper. 2019. *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Review the discussion of Waltz, 24-25.)
- Chao, Brian C. and Hyun-Binn Cho. 2022. "Security in the Asia-Pacific and Signaling at Sea." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 22 (3): 1-29.
- Copeland, Dale. 2018. "Systemic Theory and the Future of Great Power War and Peace." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, edited by Alexandra Gheciu and William C Wohlforth. Oxford University Press.
- Wu, Zhengyu. 2018. "Classical Geopolitics, Realism and the Balance of Power Theory." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41 (6): 789–815.
- Gray, Colin S. "Nicholas John Spykman, the balance of power, and international order." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, no. 6 (2015): 873-897.
- Adamson, Fiona B. 2018. "The Changing Geography of Global Security." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, edited by Alexandra Gheciu and William C Wohlforth. Oxford University Press. (Read section 22.3-Blurring of Zones of War and Peace and 22.4-New Geographies of Power Beyond the State.)

Recommended Resources

- Rhodes, Andrew. "Thinking in Space: The Role of Geography in National Security Decision-Making," *Texas National Security Review* 2:4 (August 2019).
- Scholvin, Sören. *Geopolitics: An Overview of Concepts and Empirical Examples from International Relations*. FIIA Working Paper 91 (April 2016).





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 05

U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM AND FOREIGN POLICY

Focus

The previous session introduced the idea that it is important to consider the ways in which the domestic political systems (DPS) of countries constrain foreign policy and influence individual decision makers. In this session we begin our deep dive into the specifics of the American system. This session is designed to provide a broad overview to the U.S. constitutional system and to explore why understanding the Constitution and the domestic political system (DPS) matters for foreign policy analysis. The DPS consists not only of the branches of government, and their sub-organizations, but also encompasses the legal structure and societal elements that can influence policy. No single part of the U.S. government has sole responsibility for U.S. national security, or can execute security policy in an effective manner without the cooperation and consent of other components.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the formal institutions that comprise the U.S. government and their relationship to the U.S. Constitution
- Analyze the ways in which the constitutional system constrains and enables U.S. foreign policy
- Apply your understanding of the constitutional system to a case study to better understand U.S. foreign policy decision-making

Guidance

- What are the responsibilities and powers of the branches of American government, as defined in the U.S. Constitution? How do the principles established in this document affect the national security decision making process?
- How has the Constitution been interpreted to facilitate the modern national security system of the United States? How do these constitutional principles affect the organizations in which you serve?
- What constitutional issues were at stake during the Iran-Contra affair?

Essential Readings (84 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Domestic Politics," Chapter 9 in Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 296-312 ONLY.
- "A Very Slim Reed: From the Phrases of the Constitution to the Theater Security Enterprise" in Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise, 25-51.
- Koh, Harold H. "Recognizing the Pattern of History," Chapter 2 in The National Security Constitution, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990, 38-64.
- Hicks, D. Bruce "Presidential Foreign Policy Prerogative after the Iran-Contra Affair: A Review Essay" Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1996) 962-977.

Recommended Resources

- The Constitution of the United States of America, National Archives.
- Understanding the Iran-Contra Affairs, Brown University.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 05

ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALS

Focus

Military power and influence in the international system are derived from a country's economic base. As Robert Gilpin and Kenneth Waltz have noted, differences in economic growth rates are often the driving force of international politics. Much of a country's national security agenda is fundamentally connected to the procurement of wealth and ensuring access to key resources.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the basic structure of the international economic system
- Examine the importance of markets, currencies, supply chains and multinational corporations
- Analyze the processes of economic globalization and capital allocation
- Understand how commodities, goods and services are traded

Guidance

- What are the economic underpinnings of national security? How do those economic structures (the methods of procuring goods and services, the financial institutions for raising capital, the networks used for trade, etc.) create national security challenges and opportunities?
- Why have countries and companies promoted the development of a global transnational trading and financial system? Why do companies prefer working through an integrated, value-added supply chain?
- Why has the dollar emerged as a global reserve currency? How are key commodities traded? Why do foreign exchange transactions matter to the functioning of trade and investment?
- How is a critical piece of technology like the iPhone manufactured? What raw materials are required? How does the iPhone supply chain help determine regions and areas of importance for U.S. national security?

Essential Readings (61 Pages)

- Schilde, Kaija E, Norrin M Ripsman, and Rosella Cappella Zielinski. 2018. "The Political Economy of Security." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, edited by Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud. Oxford University Press.
- Lund, Susan, James Manyika, Jonathan Woetzel, Jacques Bughin, Mekala Krishnan, Jeongmin Seong and Mac Muir, "Globalization in transition: The future of trade and value chains—Executive Summary," McKinsey Global Institute, January 16, 2019.
- Pettis, Michael. "Changing the Top Global Currency Means Changing the Patterns of Global Trade," Carnegie Endowment, April 12, 2022.

Short explanatory pieces:

- Jackson, Anna-Louise, "A Basic Guide to FOREX Trading," *Forbes*, July 18, 2022.
- Rodeck, David and Benjamin Curry, "A Basic Guide to Commodities," *Forbes*, March 7, 2022.

Case study:

- Pitron, Guillaume. "The Geopolitics of the Rare-Metals Race," *Washington Quarterly*, 45:1 (2022), 135-150.
- WATCH: Petrova, Magdalena. "We traced what it takes to make an iPhone, from its initial design to the components and raw materials needed to make it a reality," *CNBC*, December 14, 2018. Inside an Apple iPhone: Where parts and materials come from (cnbc.com)

Recommended Resources

- The International Monetary Fund offers a primer which may be of use for those who need more background in economic concepts. *Back to Basics: Economic Concepts Explained* (IMF, 2017)





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 06

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

Focus

Civil-military relations is the study of the relationships among the military, the civilian government, and the civilian population. In Foreign Policy Analysis, we are particularly concerned with how interactions between civilian policymakers and military officers influence policy formation and implementation, as well as how the public's perception of the military might affect the viability of various policy options. This session provides an opportunity to reflect on the status of U.S. civil-military relations today, as well as how the actions of military officers, politicians, civil servants, and citizens shape these key relationships.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the relationships among the U.S. military, American society at large, and the nation's civilian leadership
- Define civilian control of the military and why it is important in a democratic society
- Analyze the factors that affect American senior military and civilian leadership's perspectives on force planning and the use of force

Guidance

- How does the military fit into the U.S. constitutional system?
- What does it mean for civilians to control the military? Is military professionalism sufficient to ensure civilian control, or are "external" control methods also necessary?
- What role does military advice play in policy-making? What are the sources of civil-military friction in policy-making?
- Do members of the military view themselves as superior to civilian society? Is it a problem if they do? What policy or other changes might alter this perception?
- What are the key challenges for contemporary U.S. civil-military relations?

Essential Readings (85 Pages)

- Blankshain, Jessica, "A Primer on US Civil–Military Relations for National Security Practitioners." Wild Blue Yonder, Air University, July 6, 2020.
- Davidson, Janine, "Civil-Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue." Political Science Quarterly, 43:1 (March 2013), 129-145.
- Brooks, Risa and Sharan Grewal. "'Twice the Citizen': How Military Attitudes of Superiority Undermine Civilian Control in the United States." Journal of Conflict Resolution, 55: 4-5 (2022), 623-650. Read 623-633, 644-646.
- Brooks, Risa, Jim Golby and Heidi Urban, "Crisis of Command: America's Broken Civil-Military Relationship Imperils National Security," Foreign Affairs (May/June 2021).
- Schake, Kori, Peter D. Feaver, Risa Brooks, Jim Golby, and Heidi Urban "Masters and Commanders: Are Civil-Military Relations in Crisis?" Foreign Affairs (September/October 2021).

Recommended Resources

- Cohn, Lindsay. "NWC Talks: Civil-Military Relations," YouTube video, 19:01, March 24, 2020.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 06

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Focus

The state and future direction of the international economy is a crucial element of the security environment. As the last session discussed, national economies provide the resources that can be converted into national security capabilities. A country's economic priorities and interests are shaped by its wealth, its distribution of wealth, and its participation in international trade. Different states and leaders have different ideas about how national and global economies should be structured. In this session we cover classic economic theory, as well as a discussion of how the United States uses its economic strength as leverage in security matters and how other countries, in turn, respond to the use of economic measures by the United States.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify the advantages and disadvantages of global trade and considerations that drive state decision-making with respect to international trade policy
- Comprehend the major economic trends shaping the global economy and the relative economic power of different nations
- Analyze how global economic competition can both strengthen as well as damage relations among global economic actors

Guidance

- In the last session, we focused on the business and economic factors driving globalization, the creation of globalized, value-added supply chains, and greater interdependence among countries. How do these factors create possible national security vulnerabilities?
- Can the liberal, rules-based international order function if major countries have significant differences in their economic systems? Do countries operate under conditions of free-market capitalism face disadvantages from state capitalist systems or countries with more government intervention in economic matters?
- The German term *wandel durch handel* (change through trade) is based on an assessment that economic interdependence creates conditions for political integration and peaceful resolution of disputes. Can such interdependence also be weaponized in order to gain advantage?
- How effective is the ability of the United States and its key allies to use economic pressure (sanctions) to deprive countries from access to their markets, the ability to purchase key goods and services, to raise capital from their financial markets and even to use their currencies in order to force other countries to change policies?
- Should the United States undertake a deliberate effort to “decouple” its economy (and those of its allies) from competitors like China and Russia? Should the U.S. government take steps to encourage companies to reorient supply chains towards close allies and partners?

Essential Readings (103 Pages)

- Cohn, Lindsay P. 2022 (revised). “Introduction to Political Economy Parts I & II: Comparative & International” U.S. Naval War College.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L Newman. “Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion.” *International security* 44:1 (2019): 42–79.
- Kahn, Robert B., and Jennifer M Harris. 2018. “Understanding and Improving U.S. Financial Sanctions.” In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, edited by Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud. Oxford University Press.
- Jain, Ash and Matthew Kroenig, with Marianne Schneider-Petsinger. “A Democratic Trade Partnership: Ally Shoring to Counter Coercion and Secure Supply Chains.” *Atlantic Council*, 2022. (Read Executive Summary 2-6, Strategic Context 7-14 and Core Elements of DTEP 17-21.)
- Case Study: Korenok, Oleg, Swapnil Singh and Stan Veuger, “Russian Sanctions Are Working but Slowly,” *Foreign Policy*, July 18, 2022.

Recommended Resources

- Mulder, Nicholas. *The Sanctions Weapon* (IMF, June 2022). The International Monetary Fund offers an overview of the impact of recent sanctions on international trade, for those who need more background.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 07

POLITICAL PARTIES, THINK TANKS, INTEREST GROUPS AND THEIR IMPACT ON FOREIGN POLICY

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 organizations that influence foreign policy. This session examines how the concerns and ideas promoted by non-governmental actors like political parties, lobbyists, think tanks, and interest groups engage with lawmakers and influence foreign policy outcomes. Students examine how these organizations operate overseas as transnational actors in their own right are able to shape outcomes at home and abroad. Finally, the session explores whether realigning factions within political parties are shaping fundamental debates over the future of U.S. grand strategy and the consequences of polarization for U.S. foreign policy.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify the missions and roles of interest groups, political parties, lobbyists, and think tanks in influencing policy and legislative decisions in the defense and national security realms
- Analyze the potential influence of lobbyists, think tanks, political parties, and other non-state actors in the formation of foreign policy. Consider ways this may be changing
- Evaluate the benefits and drawbacks of domestic U.S. actors and non-U.S. foreign entities in shaping U.S. foreign policy through these organizations
- Discuss the consequences of polarization and the extent to which realigning factions within political parties are shaping debates about U.S. foreign policy

Guidance

- Why are interest groups formed? What mechanisms do they use to express their policy preferences, and to what extent do they influence policy or legislative decision-making processes?
- What makes some interest groups more influential than others? Which interest groups are likely to be most relevant in influencing foreign and defense policy, generally and specifically related to your theater?
- What are the arguments, if any, for including lobbyists in the legislative process?
- How do foreign policy-oriented think tanks compete for space in the realm of ideas, and how can they influence U.S. policymakers?
- What role do political parties play in shaping U.S. foreign policy? Is it still true that "politics stops at the water's edge"?
- How do recent trends toward polarization influence U.S. foreign policy? Are there still areas of bipartisan consensus? What are potential consequences of polarization for the formulation and execution of U.S. national security policy?

Essential Readings (63 Pages)

- Cloud, John A. and Nikolas Gvosdev, "Deploying Influence and Expertise: Think Tanks, Interest Groups and Lobbyists in the Theater Security Enterprise," Chapter 6 in *Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise*, 97-118.
- Drezner, Daniel, "The Ideas Industry," Video: Talks at Google (7-37 minutes).
- Pevehouse, John C.W. and Felicity Vabulas, "Nudging the Needle: Foreign Lobbies and U.S. Human Rights Ratings," *International Studies Quarterly* 63: 1 (2019): 85-98.
- Ashford, Emma, and Trevor Thrall, "The Battle Inside the Political Parties for the Future of U.S. Foreign Policy," *War on the Rocks*, December 12, 2018.
- Orbán, Victor, "Address to the Conservative Political Action Conference," August 4, 2022.
- Schultz, Kenneth A, "Perils of Polarization for U.S. Foreign Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, 40:4 (2017), 7-28.

Recommended Resources

- Myrick, Rachel, "America is Back – But for How Long? Political Polarization and the End of U.S. Credibility," *Foreign Affairs*, June 14, 2021.
- Lowe, David, "Idea to Reality: NED at 30," *National Endowment for Democracy*, Accessed 2 September 2022.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 07

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 analyzes why powerful actors in the international system need grand strategies. This session also explores and defines the five competing grand strategies that range from most activist (primacy, liberal internationalism, selective engagement) to least activist (offshore balancing and strategic restraint). Most of these grand strategies are based in the realism school of international relations, while at least one (liberal internationalism) is based in the liberal (and possibly other) school(s) of international relations. A nation’s choice of a particular grand strategy will have implications for its force posture, design and its level of defense spending.

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 and offshore balancing 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

Guidance

- Why do major powers need a grand strategy? Which of the grand strategies – or combination of these – is most applicable to today’s global configuration of power and for overcoming challenges of the 21st century?
- Which grand strategy do you believe would be most effective for the United States in managing great power rivalry?
- How do hegemonic shock waves affect domestic reforms and changes? In what ways have the 9/11 attacks and recent great power conflicts, especially Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in 2022, manifested hegemonic shocks?
- What is the logic of America’s promotion of democracy abroad? Is there such a thing as “democratic peace”?

Essential Readings (106 Pages)

- Posen, Barry, and Andrew L Ross. 1996. “Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy.” *International Security* 21 (3): 5–53.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2016. “The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy.” *Foreign Affairs* 95 (4): 70–83.
- Gunitsky, Seva. 2014. “From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century.” *International Organization* 68 (3): 561–97.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 1999. “Why Export Democracy?” *The Wilson Quarterly* (Washington) 23 (2): pp. 56–65.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 08

MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION

Focus

Mass media and public opinion are important influences on the policy-making process and theater security, but they can also influence each other and be influenced by policy elites. The relationship among institutions can be contentious: how much should elected officials follow the opinions of those they represent? How would you characterize the relationship between the military and the media? 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 role of the media as an influence on the policy-making process.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the role the media plays in both the formal and informal national security process
- Discuss the impact of media coverage on both the formulation and the implementation of theater strategy
- Assess the role of public opinion in democratic policy-making and civil-military relations, and identify the influences can affect it

Guidance

- How does the political fragmentation of news sources and the rise of social media as a main information source for Americans affect foreign policy making? What new challenge for national security might it pose?
- How would you characterize the relationship between the U.S. military and American news media outlets?
- How do senior leaders use the media to advance policy and political goals? How does the media influence their decisions? Does "the media" constitute an interest group with an independent agenda?
- How does public opinion constrain foreign policy decision-making? How responsive should national security leaders be to public opinion? Does the U.S. military need to care about its public image?
- What do Baum & Potter mean by the "elasticity of reality", and how is that relevant in making national security policy? Can you think of recent examples where public perception of 'facts' diverges from reality?
- Why is the U.S. military so trusted compared to other public institutions? What are the implications of that trust -- are there potential downsides (for the military or for the nation)?

Essential Readings (71 Pages)

- Abramson, Jill, *Merchants of Truth: The Business of News and the Fight for Facts* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2019), Prologue and Conclusion, 1-12, 423-430.
- Porch, Douglas, "NO BAD STORIES: The American Media-Military Relationship," *Naval War College Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 85-107.
- Baum, Matthew A. and Philip B. K. Potter. "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media," *The Journal of Politics* (2019).
- Marguiles, Max and Jessica Blankshain "Specific Sources of Trust in Generals: Individual-Level Trust in the US Military," *Daedalus* (November 2022).

Recommended Resources

- Burbach, David, "NWC Talks: Trust in the Military." YouTube video, 19:38, Sept. 20, 2019.
- Smeltz, Dina, Ivo Daalder, et al, "Foreign Policy for the Middle Class - What America Thinks [Results of the 2021 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion on Foreign Affairs]", Chicago Council on Global Affairs (2021).
- Barrett, Paul, Justin Hendrix and Grant Sims, "How tech platforms fuel U.S. political polarization," Brookings Institution (2021).
- Harding, Luke, "Ukraine fears western support will fade as media loses interest in the war", *The Guardian* (2021).





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 08

STRATEGIC COMPETITION AND THE RISE OF CHINA

Focus

China's rise is the most significant geopolitical development of the 21st century. It is the world's largest and most powerful non-democratic country, with the world's largest population, second largest economy, and global economic, social, and political influence. It is also a country confronting significant challenges, including demographic decline, economic slowdown, and regional instability. The state of the U.S.-China relationship has important implications for everything from global health and nuclear proliferation to economic growth and the threat of major war. As US-China relations have deteriorated in recent years, observers have hotly debated how U.S. strategy toward China should look. This session introduces key elements of Chinese domestic politics, China's rise and future trajectory, the U.S.-China relationship, and American strategy toward China.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify and analyze key areas of potential cooperation, competition, and conflict between China and the United States
- Evaluate competing U.S. strategies toward China and produce recommendations for U.S. strategy
- Describe and evaluate key dimensions of national power and compare China and the United States along those dimensions
- Analyze shifts in both the balance of power and in Chinese domestic politics and assess their implications for the U.S.-China relationship

Guidance

- How does Xi Jinping differ from previous Chinese leaders and how has China's governance changed during his tenure? What are the potential implications of these changes for Chinese domestic politics, Chinese foreign policy, and US-China relations?
- Is China a rising or declining power? How do China and the United States compare along key elements of national power? What are the major risks, opportunities, and threats that stem from the rise of China, both for China, the United States, and the region?
- How do Chinese observers view the US-China relationship? What do they consider key areas of conflict and how do they view U.S. policy? How, if at all, should this influence U.S. policy towards China?
- What have been the main features of U.S. strategy toward China? Has that strategy been successful? What should U.S. strategy toward China be going forward?
- How do different lenses of analysis help us make sense of China's foreign policy and the U.S.-China relationship? How might different theories imply different policy options? How likely is conflict and how can it be avoided?

Essential Readings (91 Pages)

- Brands, Hal and Michael Beckley. "China Is a Declining Power—and That's the Problem." *Foreign Policy*, 24 September 2021.
- Economy, Elizabeth. "China's New Revolution: The Reign of Xi Jinping." *Foreign Affairs*, 67:3 (2018), 60-74.
- Ikenberry, G. John, et al., "A Rival of America's Making? The Debate Over Washington's China Strategy." *Foreign Affairs*, 101: 2 (March/April 2022), 172-188.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "A World Safe for Autocracy? China's Rise and the Future of Global Politics." *Foreign Affairs*, 98: 4 (July/August 2010), 92-102.
- Wang, Jisi. "The Plot Against China? How Beijing Sees the New Washington Consensus." *Foreign Affairs*, 100:4 (July/August 2021), 48-57.

Recommended Resources

- Department of Defense, "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China, 2021."
- State Council Information Office, China's National Defense in the New Era, 2019.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security*, 30:2 (2005), 7-45.
- U.S.-China Security Perceptions Survey: Findings and Implications (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013).





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 09

INTERVENTION IN BEIRUT, 1982-83

Focus

The Reagan administration's decision to deploy Marines in response to the growing violence in Lebanon in the early 1980s is an example of decision-making in a highly complex international environment. This decision was profoundly affected by domestic U.S. factors, front-line military and diplomatic organizations, Congress, as well as the interpersonal dynamic that shaped the first term of the Reagan presidency. This case, which has enduring relevance in the study of foreign policy analysis and helps illustrate how the concepts used in this sub-course highlight the spectrum of influences at work in President Reagan's decision-making process. Case studies such as this offer the opportunity to appreciate the full breadth of the policy environment and gain a better understanding of how and why decisions are made.

OBJECTIVES

- Analyze and explain a complex national security case
- Analyze the domestic and international influences on both senior policy makers and as well as national security organizations in the assessment and prioritization of national security threats and challenges
- Apply foreign policy analysis tools and theories to a major foreign policy decision

Guidance

- Based on the information in the case study and the video, what were the international and domestic factors that influenced the President's initial decision to deploy Marines in Lebanon to facilitate the withdrawal of Palestinian fighters from Beirut?
- How did the deliberations and arguments change in the debate over returning the Marines to Beirut in the wake of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila? How accurately did decision makers in Washington perceive the influences -- both domestic and international -- that ultimately had an impact in determining the success of their policy?
- National security professionals must consider political, social, military, and economic factors when advising their military and civilian superiors. Which are the necessary and relevant factors when making strategic and operational recommendations.

Essential Readings (28 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., "Case Study: Lebanon Revisited," Chapter 10 in Navigating the Theater Security Enterprise. Newport, RI: Naval War College, 2017, 219-246.
- Frontline, "Retreat from Beirut," 1985 Season, Episode 7, February 26, 1985, 55:58.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 09 TRANSNATIONAL CHALLENGES

Focus

Transnational and non-traditional security issues are key challenges for states. They may be defined as “nonmilitary threats that cross borders and either threaten the political and social integrity of a nation or the health of that nation’s inhabitants.” Some transnational threats have dwarfed military threats in impact: the 1918 Influenza pandemic killed between 50-100 million people, COVID-19 has killed 6.4 million people and caused 18.2 million excess deaths. Others, like terrorism, have resulted in far fewer deaths yet have shifted the direction of U.S. national security policy for almost two decades. Some threats, like piracy, have long received military attention while others, like climate change, loom on the horizon with potentially existential impact. All of these threats share two common features: they do not involve state actors as the primary actors and the nature of the threats crosses borders. As such they are challenging for notions of security that are built around assumptions of sovereignty and which emphasize military force as the primary tool to produce security.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify and analyze future security challenges in the international system
- Identify and examine the differences in scope and impact between threats emanating from state actors versus non-state actors
- Analyze the concept of human security and the role it plays in the international system

Guidance

- How are transnational challenges likely to shape the future security environment? How do they interact with state threats? What transnational threats are most important?
- How does climate change impact American national security? What are the direct and indirect security ramifications from climate change? What responses are possible?
- How can the lessons observed from COVID-19 be applied to other transnational and non-traditional security issues? How can they be mis-applied?

Essential Readings (68 Pages and 25min Video)

- McQuaid, Julia, Pamela G. Faber, and Zack Gold. 2017. "Transnational Challenges and U.S. National Security: Defining and Prioritizing Borderless Threats."
- National Intelligence Council. "National Intelligence Estimate: Climate Change and International Responses Increasing Challenges to US National Security Through 2040," October 21, 2021
- Hendrix, Cullen. "Climate Change as an Unconventional Security Risk." War on the Rocks, October 23, 2020
- Bacon, Tricia and Jason Warner. "Twenty Years After 9/11: The Threat in Africa—The New Epicenter of Global Jihadi Terror." CTC Sentinel, September 2021, Vol 14, Issue 7.
- Kaldor, Mary. 2011. "Human Security in Complex Operations." Prism (Washington, D.C.) 2 (2): pp. 3–14.
- "Gender Dimensions of Countering Violent Extremism in Africa," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, September 22, 2021 <https://africacenter.org/programs/gender-countering-violent-extremism-africa-2021/> [watch from 11min mark to 36min mark; 25min total].

Recommended Resources

- Reveron, Derek S. ""You can't have national security without human security." Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, Jul 29, 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RXCzjinVXM8> [7min video].





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 10

THE PRESIDENT AND THE COGNITIVE DIMENSION

Focus

Article II of the U.S. Constitution designates the president as commander in chief of the armed forces and confers significant executive power to the office. This session explores the question of how modern presidents shape the national security decision-making process. The increasing complexity of foreign policy requires that a president process advice and information from a wide variety of sources. Personality and cognitive disposition are important characteristics that form the basis of the president's world view and decision-making style; these attributes play a key role in shaping a president's national security decisions. Presidents bring to the office a wide range of human characteristics including biases, intuition, previous experiences, and other factors. The cognitive perspective examines the way people, and in particular presidents, think, process information, and make decisions within the framework of their constitutionally conferred executive power.

OBJECTIVES

- Analyze the constitutional powers vested in the executive and identify the tools available in shaping and implementing foreign policy
- Examine how an individual decision-maker can be affected by their experiences, expertise, biases, heuristics, emotions, belief systems, and operational codes
- Identify the role of risk and uncertainty in cognitive processes that impact decision-making in policymaking

Guidance

- What Constitutional powers are reserved for the president? What powers are not explicitly directed and how has executive authority developed and evolved over time?
- Chapter 4 in the textbook discusses presidential scholar Fred Greenstein's argument that personal qualities are especially important in understanding how presidents perform, and describes many behavioral differences among administrations. How might their approaches have impacted their ability to accomplish national security objectives?
- How have presidents shaped or utilized their administrations to help them make decisions? The president's inner circle has unique access to the president. How do presidents organize and integrate advisors into policy decisions? What are common trends, what are the outliers?
- Presidents bring a wide variety of experiences and influences with them into the office. How do those shape their foreign policy agendas and their decision making?
- What cognitive paradigms (reflexes, habits, intuition, synthesis, leadership traits) have presidents relied upon in the past?

Essential Readings (66 Pages)

- Brattebo, Douglas M. and Tom Lansford, "Chapter 5: The Presidency and Decision Making," *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, ed. Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John Cloud, (New York: NY: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Dickerson, John, "What if the Problem Isn't the President it's the Presidency?" *The Atlantic* 321, no. 4 (2018).
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Cognitive Perspective," Chapter 4 in *Decision Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 88-124.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Annex: Case Studies, Case No. 5: Military Strike against Syria (2017)," in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 406-410.

Recommended Resources

- Knott, Stephen, "NWC Talks: Presidential Power and National Security." YouTube video, 17:15, May 1, 2019.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 10

DETERRENCE: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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. Part of the larger concept of coercive diplomacy, deterrence has a long history as a strategy used by people and governments to manage and prevent conflict. Though the use of deterrence has been around for millennia, deterrence as a formal theory was developed largely after World War II in response to nuclear weapons as an effort to better understand these weapons and their effects. However, deterrence theory has important implications for strategy in both the conventional and nuclear domains. 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 a 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

- Examine 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

Guidance

- 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 important distinctions in the different types of deterrence?
- What are the challenges for states to "extend" deterrence to protect allies? How would you assess U.S. efforts at extended deterrence?
- How do early deterrence concepts hold up in today's evolving international security environment? What are the challenges posed by multi-polar deterrence with more and increasingly capable nuclear weapon states?
- Do traditional concepts of deterrence apply to the domains of space and cyberspace? If not, why not, and how does deterrence theory need to adjust to account for these two domains?
- What is the best approach to deter a Chinese invasion of Taiwan -- denial or punishment? Is deterrence the correct strategy to address this security challenge?

Essential Readings (54 Pages)

- Biddle, Tami Davis, "Coercion Theory: A Basic Introduction for Practitioners," Texas National Security Review 3:2 (Spring 2020), 94-109.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 1966. Arms and Influence. Edited by Harvard University. Center for International Affairs. New Haven: Yale University Press, 35-52.
- Manzo, Vincent, "Deterrence and Escalation in Cross-domain Operations: Where do Space and Cyberspace Fit?" Strategic Forum, No. 272, National Defense University, December 2011.
- McKinney, Jared M. and Peter Harris, "Broken Nest: Deterring China from Invading Taiwan," Parameters, 51:4 (2021), 23-36.

Recommended Resources

- Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." World Politics 30 (2): 167-214.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 1963. The Strategy of Conflict. New York: Oxford University Press, Ch8, 187-203.
- Achen, Christopher H, and Duncan Snidal. 1989. "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies." World Politics 41 (2): 143-69.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Janice Gross Stein. 1989. "Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter." World Politics 41 (2): 208-224.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 11

THE NSC, WHITE HOUSE, AND PALACE POLITICS

Focus

In this session we will look at the inner workings of the White House through the Palace Politics perspective. The course of policymaking can rapidly change due to the wide variety of top-level officials involved, informal relationships, internal rivalries, and palace intrigue. The wide variety of advisors that surround the president could be an expert in their field, have a close personal tie, or they could also be a career official. This perspective helps us see these influencers, who behind closed doors dramatically shape policy. Understanding how these individuals relate, gain access, and interact with the president can help us understand the ultimate policy or decision that results. As part of the inner working of the White House, we will also look closely at the National Security Council (NSC) which was created to help presidents develop better policies and make better national security decisions. We will look at how it was created, how it is generally organized, how it has changed with each president, and how it helps the president make better, more well-informed policies and decisions.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend how palace politics can cause policy to intersect with or diverge from the unitary state perspective's "national interest" as agency leaders, White House staff, and other members of the President's inner circle jockey to gain the president's ear
- Understand the organization of the national security establishment
- Identify changes in the structure and operation of the national security establishment

Guidance

- Why is this perspective termed "palace politics" and what does this mean? What examples stand out from the readings to illustrate the palace politics approach?
- How does this approach differ from perspectives we have previously discussed?
- How has the NSC changed over time and what has led to these changes? What issues should the NSC primarily address? How does the NSC facilitate interagency interaction and what challenges may be brought about by the NSC?
- Compare and contrast the different individuals selected to serve as National Security Advisors. Were there common themes across administrations?

Essential Readings (88 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nicholas, Jessica Blankshain and David Cooper, "Palace Politics Perspective," Chapter 7 in Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 192-237.
- Chollet, Derek, "The National Security Council: Is it Effective or Is it Broken?" Chapter 6 in The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security, ed. Derek S. Reviron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John Cloud, New York: NY: Oxford University Press, 2018, 111-121.
- Schake, Kori, "The National Security Process," Chapter 7 in The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security, ed. Derek S. Reviron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John Cloud, New York: NY: Oxford University Press, 2018, 123-132.
- Thrush, Glenn and Reid J. Epstein, "Why Obama picked Rice," Politico, June 6, 2013.
- Wright, Austin and Jeremy Herb, "Trump's new warrior-scholar," Politico, February 20, 2017.
- Lima, Christiano and Mathew Nussbaum, "John Bolton to replace H.R. McMaster as national security advisor," Politico, March 22, 2018.
- Bertrand, Natasha, "The inexorable rise of Jake Sullivan," Politico, November 27, 2021.
- Samuels, David, "The Storyteller and the President," New York Times Magazine, May 8, 2016.

Recommended Resources

- Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Third Cut," Chapter 6 in Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. New York: Longman Press, 1999, 329-347.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 11

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DETERRENCE

Focus

The United States was the first nation 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. This was a paradox: nuclear weapons were unlikely to be used, but their destructive power demanded continual thinking and planning about their role in protecting American national security. 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 has 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 US nuclear force and the plans for modernization
- Analyze the impact of Russia's nuclear saber rattling and Chinese nuclear modernization on deterrence
- Understand and evaluate the concept of integrated deterrence

Guidance

- How large do you think the U.S. strategic nuclear force should be? Should the size, composition, and capability of certain parts of the force be adjusted?
- What are the arguments for and against U.S. nuclear modernization and what is your assessment? Can the United States afford all of the modernization plans to strategic nuclear forces that are currently on the table? If not, what should the priorities be?
- What are the implications for norms and security should Russia decide to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine? How should the US 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 US respond?
- What is the meaning of "integrated deterrence"? How is it different from earlier conceptions of deterrence and is it useful? How might new or emerging technologies alter deterrence stability?

Essential Readings (81 Pages)

- Woolf, Amy F. "U.S. Strategic Nuclear Forces: Background, Developments, and Issues." Congressional Research Service, 14 December 2021, pp. 1-9.
- Hersman, Rebecca K.C. and Joseph Rodgers, "Nuclear Modernization under Competing Pressures," Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 2021, pp. 1-6.
- Schlosser, Eric. "What If Russia Uses Nuclear Weapons in Ukraine?" The Atlantic, 20 June 2022.
- Brown, Gerald C., "Understanding the Risks and Realities of China's Nuclear Forces," Arms Control Today, vol. 51, no. 5 (2021).
- Logan, David C. 2022. "The Nuclear Balance Is What States Make of It." International Security 46 (4): pp. 172–215.

Recommended Resources

- Department of Defense, "Nuclear Deterrence: America's Foundation and Backstop for National Defense," April 6, 2020.
- Juul, Peter, "The Trouble with 'Integrated Deterrence'," The Liberal Patriot, March 30, 2022.
- Lieber, Keir A, and Daryl G Press. 2017. "The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence." International Security 41 (4): pp. 9–49.
- Bell, Mark S., and Nicholas L. Miller. 2015. "Questioning the Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Conflict." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 59 (1): pp. 74–92.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 12

ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS AND BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS

Focus

State and societal-level explanations are important in accounting for foreign policy decision-making. There are two other lenses analysts can use to view these state level explanations: the organizational process and bureaucratic politics perspectives. The organizational process perspective draws attention to organizations as habitual actors who systematically process information and produce organizational outputs in the form of options and lower-level actions. Over time, organizations develop their own cultures which, in turn, significantly influence their behavior. The bureaucratic politics perspective, on the other hand, focuses on organizations as strategic actors represented by people in positions. This lens focuses on the bargaining that occurs among senior leaders of organizations who argue for policies that protect and promote the core interests of their specific agency or department. When viewed through this lens, decisions are seen as the result of compromises among competing bureaucratic interests.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify the behavioral characteristics and limitations of organizations, such as major staffs, in formulating and implementing effective policies
- Identify the behavioral characteristics of and competing cultures inside different types of military and civilian organizations
- Identify how bureaucratic interests can both intersect with and diverge from the unitary state perspective's "national interests" as agency leaders evaluate a given national security problem in terms of threats or opportunities to their particular organization
- Analyze how bureaucratic bargaining among senior agency leaders shapes the outcome of national security decisions

Guidance

- Compare and contrast the organizational process perspective with the unitary state perspective.
- Every government organization—whether a department, agency, service, or staff—develops its own culture. How do these different cultures and sub-cultures impact the way in which organizations operate internally and externally? Can you think of examples in your own career of instances where organizational behavior affected decision-making, processes or practices?
- How might military officers and civil servants operating in the national security policy arena navigate the dynamics of organizational behavior to assure mission success?
- 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 an outcome that was nobody's initial preference?

Essential Readings (108 Pages)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Organizational Process Perspective," Chapter 5 in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 125-161.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Bureaucratic Politics Perspective," Chapter 6 in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 162-191.
- Sagan, Scott Douglas, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 18:4 (1994) 66–107.

Recommended Resources

- Halperin, Morton H. and Priscilla Clapp, with Arnold Kanter, "Organizational Interests," Chapter 3 in *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, 2nd edition, 25-27, 38-40, 49-61.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K., Jessica D. Blankshain and David A. Cooper, "Annex: Case Studies," in *Decision-Making in American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 378-382.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 12

THE GOLDEN THREAD OF STRATEGY AND FORCE PLANNING

Focus

For the first part of this sub-course, we have examined the international system and some of the key challenges in world affairs. We now begin our second block of sessions to develop and assess strategy. This session provides insights into how to assess an environment based on strategic goals and values, how to think about risk and assumptions, and how to envision strategic end-states. You will gain an appreciation for the term “golden thread” as a metaphor for the analytical and assessment processes that connect the development of strategy with how well you achieve your intended results. Lastly, the golden thread process illuminates how to think systematically through possible ways to achieve those goals, especially concepts and capabilities.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the logic by which abstract end states are translated into concrete achievable objectives
- Identify how strategic objectives are matched with instruments of national power and used to help develop concepts for action and specific capabilities
- Understand the strategic, temporal, and structural considerations in a force planning process

Guidance

- How are general strategic objectives translated into more specific guidance, to the U.S. government as a whole, and then to individual departments and agencies? How should the elucidation of a broad set of interests and goals enable missions and responsibilities to be assigned?
- How does the drafting of strategic documents identify concrete steps and actions that must be taken to either mitigate negative consequences or shape environments?
- In reading the Bartlett, Holman, and Somes article and watching the Flournoy lecture, can you discern how the “golden thread” links objectives to more specific ways and means? How do strategic assessments create demand signals for concepts (courses of action needed to achieve the goals set out in the assessment) and capabilities (specific tools and methods for implementing the concepts)? How does technological progress factor into these assessments (both in terms of potential challenges as well as likely solutions)?
- In IS-1, you were introduced to Anne-Marie Slaughter’s concept of the “web and chessboard.” How does Daniel Nexon’s discussion of the strategic importance of networks (“from transnational terrorists to ideological movements, from economic networks to communications flows”) impact the development of grand strategy? How might it inform development of strategic concepts and specific military capabilities?
- How does the “action plan” proposed to address supply chain vulnerabilities provide examples of the “golden thread” in action?

Essential Readings (43 Pages and 1.5hr Video)

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. “Waiting for the Documents: The Function of U.S. National and Defense Strategic Documents.” Foreign Policy Research Institute, 2022.
- Bartlett, Henry C., G. Paul Holman, and Timothy E. Somes. 1995. “The Art of Strategy and Force Planning.” Naval War College Review 48 (2): 114–26.
- Flournoy Michele (with Colin Kahl). “U.S. National Security in an Era of Great Power Competition and Technological Disruption,” 2019 Drell Lecture. (Start at 7:53 mark) Drell Lecture 2019-2020 – YouTube
- Nexon, Daniel H. 2021. “Network Theory and Grand Strategy.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy*, edited by Thierry Balzacq and Ronald R Krebs. Oxford University Press, 123-141.
- **Case Study:** Securing Defense-Critical Supply Chains: An action plan developed in response to President Biden’s Executive Order 14017 (DoD, February 2022). Please read the executive summary, introduction and cross-cutting recommendations (4-10), please scan other parts of the report. Select one of the areas (energy storage, microelectronics, critical materials, etc.) to examine how a broad strategic objective is translated into more specific policy recommendations.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 13

DOD: D.C. AND COMBATANT COMMANDS

Focus

Despite shifts in global power, the return to strategic competition, and contemporary challenges to national security, the United States remains the preeminent global military power, making the DoD front and center in foreign policy. Combatant Commanders continue to wield more power in their regions and are responsible for activities far beyond warfighting. Using these perspectives at the State/Societal level, this session will focus on the DoD and how it influences policymaking at the national-strategic and the theater-strategic levels. We will examine the role that the Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Combatant Commanders play in decision-making, reflect on how the military has changed over time, and identify the roles the services play in making or executing policy. Finally, this session establishes a foundation for future sessions in which we examine the relationship between Congress and the military, decisions governing the use of force, and defense budgeting.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the structure, hierarchy, and functions of the Defense Department and subordinate organizations in U.S. national and theater security decision-making and policy processes
- Understand the role that DoD components play in developing and implementing national defense and military policy
- Examine how various defense establishment components sometimes arrive at different conclusions during foreign policy deliberations
- Understand how the organizational process perspective guides Defense Department outputs to national policy decision-makers

Guidance

- How does the DoD structure affect the formulation of defense policy? How does the culture differ from other agencies?
- Do individual service cultures affect policy formation at the JCS level?
- Where are the friction points among the Secretary of Defense, JCS, Combatant Commanders and Service Secretaries?
- What are the DoD's bureaucratic interests and how does the organization protect those interests in the game of political bargaining and compromise at the executive level?
- What are the cascading effects on the DoD from internal changes or surprising events around the globe that have strategic impact? How do decisions in the Pentagon impact combatant commands?
- How has the DoD changed over time, why, and what implications are these changes likely to have in the future?

Essential Readings (66 Pages)

- McInnis, Kathleen J., "Defense Primer: The Department of Defense" IFI0543 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, updated November 8, 2021).
- Feickert, Andrew, "The Unified Command Plan and Combatant Commands: Background and Issues for Congress," R42077 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, updated January 3, 2013), 1-10.
- Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "CJCSI 3100.01E, Joint Strategic Planning System," May 21, 2021, 1-3, Enclosures A, B, G, I.
- McMillan, Joseph and Franklin C. Miller, "The Office of the Secretary of Defense," Chapter 6 in *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*, Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, eds. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2nd edition, 2017, 120-141.
- Brown, Zachery T. and Kathleen McInnis, "The Pentagon's Office Culture is Stuck in 1968," *Foreign Policy*, October 25, 2021.
- Coffey, Ross, "NWC Talks: Combatant Command 101." YouTube video, 14:38, August 10, 2021.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY - 13

THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND THE 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. Let the grand strategy archetypes from IS-7 guide your thinking about power, interests, challenges, and approaches to the NSS.

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 between the ends, ways, and means
- Analyze how well the NSS lays out key national priorities
- Evaluate how well the NSS serves modern planning needs

Guidance

- 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 rivals' strategies?

Essential Readings (108 Pages)

- Biden, Joseph. "National Security Strategy." The White House, Oct. 2022.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "It's Time to Get Honest About the Biden Doctrine," New York Times, Nov. 12, 2021.
- Kennan, George F. "The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare," April 30, 1948.
- Lettow, Paul. 2021. "U.S. National Security Strategy: Lessons Learned." Texas National Security Review 4 (2), 117-154.
- Smarter Strategies for the Twenty-First Century – Interview with H.R. McMaster, Orbis, 65: 2, 2021, 207-213.
- Walt, Stephen. "Would You Die For That Country?" Foreign Policy, March 24, 2014. 1-6.

Recommended Resources

- Reagan, Ronald. "National Security Decision Directive 238." Declassified October 27, 2005. The Reagan Library. September 2, 1986.
- War on the Rocks, Net Assessment Podcast, "A Strategy-Budget Mismatch." April 29, 2022.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 14

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT

Focus

The Intelligence Community (IC) is an integral part of the interagency and national security decision-making processes. This session defines the nature of intelligence and addresses how the IC contributes analytically to strategic-level U.S. national security policy as well as to defense and theater operations. The session explores the limitations of intelligence and emphasizes the critically important advisory role that the IC plays. It illustrates how the IC operates in making assessments and provides intelligence support to leaders.

Guidance

- The U.S. Intelligence Community includes 18 distinct organizations “charged with providing insight into actual or potential threats to the U.S. homeland, the American people, and national interests at home and abroad”, as the “Defense Primer” readings sets out. Why so many? How and why has the Intelligence Community developed in this way, and what impact does this structure and its related processes mean for policy decision-making?
- What role does Congress play in overseeing the Intelligence Community, why and how?
- What is the nature of intelligence and has its character changed in the 21st century? If so, what implications does this hold for modern-day intelligence gathering, analysis, and assessment?
- How does the IC serve and support the policy process and, in particular, the President of the United States? What norms, customs, rules, laws, and other factors come into play between policymakers and intelligence providers? How might intelligence at the strategic level differ from that focusing on operational or tactical decisions and why?
- Finally, what can intelligence do in support of policy decision-making, what will it not do and why?
- Why does intelligence at times fail (or fail to be heeded by policy decision-makers)?

Essential Readings (63 Pages)

- Devine, Michael E., “Defense Primer: National and Defense Intelligence,” In Focus, (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service Reports, Updated December 13, 2021).
- Rosenbach, Eric and Aki J. Peritz, “Confrontation or Collaboration? Congress and the Intelligence Community,” (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center’s Intelligence and Policy Project, 2009), 10-13, 18-23.
- Zegart, Amy, “Intelligence Basics: Knowns and Unknowns,” Chapter 4 in Spies, Lies and Algorithms: The History and Future of American Intelligence (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), 77-90; 102-105.
- Helgerson, John. L. “Afterward - Concluding Observations,” in Getting to Know the President: Intelligence Briefings of Presidential Candidates and Presidents-Elect 1952-2016, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency Center for the Study of Intelligence, October 2021), 269-287.
- Walton, Calder, “Can Intelligence Tell How Far Putin Will Go?,” War on the Rocks (February 28, 2022).
- Dahl, Erik, “Warnings Unheeded, Again: What the Intelligence Lessons of 9/11 Tell Us About the Coronavirus Today,” Center for Homeland Defense and Security, Naval Postgraduate School, YouTube, (December, 2020).
- Gibson, Lt. Gen. Karen, “The Role of Intelligence in the National Security Decision-Making Process,” Address to the U.S. Naval War College, YouTube, (January 22, 2020).

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the United States’ modern Intelligence Community, its makeup, missions, and role(s) in supporting policy decision-making, as well as some of the enduring and novel challenges involved in intelligence gathering, analyzing and assessment
- Comprehend the role that the U.S. Congress plays in overseeing U.S. intelligence and how that impacts Executive-Legislative interactions on matters of intelligence policy and law
- Examine the distinctions between strategic-, operational- and tactical-level intelligence





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 14

THE NDS, NMS, AND STRATEGIC CONCEPTS

Focus

The National Defense Strategy (NDS) and National Military Strategy (NMS) are used to shape the future development of the U.S. military in support of the National Security Strategy (NSS). The Department of Defense is currently focused on developing concepts and orienting future forces for strategic competition in multiple domains based upon a comprehensive assessment of the future security environment. This session discusses the importance of strategic direction and concept development to identify and prioritize capability and force structure requirements to achieve strategic goals. It also explores the myriad challenges associated with strategic change.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify and analyze major directions of current U.S. defense strategic guidance
- Assess emerging strategic challenges and how they may affect future U.S. defense strategy
- Understand the importance of concepts in strategic planning

Guidance

- How does strategic competition impact defense planning? What are the biggest current and future challenges to the region and the U.S. Joint Force? What important conversations are not happening?
- How should the United States and allies adapt their forces, operational concepts, and posture to respond to new challenges? Do you agree with the National Defense Strategy (NDS) and National Military Strategy (NMS) visions? Do these documents establish clear priorities for the DoD and Joint Force?
- What is the role of concepts in strategic planning? Do they matter?
- How does strategic guidance get translated into a comprehensive force structure? How can these strategic documents help senior leaders implement change?

Essential Readings (72 Pages and a 14min Video)

- Department of Defense. "2022 National Defense Strategy." 27 October 2022, III-IV, 1-23. [Assigned reading is only the NDS and does not include the Nuclear Posture or Missile Defense Reviews].
- Atlantic Council. "The next National Defense Strategy is coming. These next seven points are key to understanding it," 20 April 2022.
- NWC Talks: Security Cooperation - Advancing and Defending U.S. Interests with Lt. Col. Ross Coffee, 14 January 2021
- E. John Teichert, "Walking the Talk in International Engagement and Security Cooperation," War on the Rocks, 14 September 2022.
- James Cook. "The Importance of Joint Concepts for the Planner," Joint Force Quarterly, Issue 99, 4th Quarter 2020, pp. 95-100.
- Jones, David C. "What's Wrong with our Defense," November 7, 1982. New York Times Magazine.
- Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps. "Force Design 2030," March 2020, pp. 2-13.

Recommended Resources

- Department of Defense. "Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America."
- Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps. "Commandant's Planning Guidance."





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 15

THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND DIPLOMACY

Focus

American diplomats, known as foreign service officers, are key players on the foreign policy team representing the American people around the world. They build enduring relationships with governments and foreign publics to advance U.S. interests and manage global challenges. They have the duty of helping American citizens and advocating for American businesses abroad. Their reports, from their overseas vantage points, provide unique information and insights to policy-makers. Their work is changing, however, as new definitions of diplomatic practice encompass global topics such as health, science, technology, and climate. Wherever an administration falls on the spectrum between isolationism and internationalism, the demands of multilateral diplomacy are increasingly complex. Diplomacy and alliance management require deft handling of NATO allies, imaginative new groupings such as the Quad, and management of longstanding regional organizations such as the OAS. This unit explores the many dimensions of American diplomacy.

OBJECTIVES

- Familiarize students with how the State Department, through its embassies and consulates, conducts foreign policy overseas
- Identify the State Department's role in the interagency policy-making process
- Analyze how traditional bilateral diplomacy is waning in an era when cross border issues play out on the multilateral stage
- Identify the ways in which the United States engages in multilateral diplomacy and manages its many alliances
- Assess insights into new fields of U.S. diplomacy including science, health, and climate

Guidance

- How do America's alliances provide added diplomatic leverage?
- What is the Country Team and how does it function?
- In a world full of organizations and bureaucracies, what examples can you find where one-on-one diplomacy made the difference?
- What steps are necessary to build a relatively new alliance, such as the Quad, into a relevant and enduring means of advancing U.S. goals?
- How important are new lines of diplomatic efforts, such as science, health, technology, and climate?

Essential Readings (74 Pages)

- Cloud, John A. and Damian Leader, "Chapter 10: Diplomacy, the State Department, and National Security," The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security, ed. Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 185-195.
- Blinken, Antony, "Secretary Blinken's Remarks on Modernizing American Diplomacy," YouTube, Oct. 27, 2021, 25:00.
- Ford, Lindsay W. and James Goldgeier, "Retooling America's alliances to manage the China Challenge," Brookings, Jan. 25, 2021.
- Brands, Hal and Peter D. Fever, "What are America's Alliances Good For?" Parameters, 47: 2, Summer 2017, 15-30.
- Curtis, Lisa, Jacob Stokes, Joshua Fitt and Andrew Adams, "Operationalizing the Quad," Center for a New American Security, June 30, 2022.
- Montgomery, Kimberly and E. William Colglazier, "Emerging Technologies and Science Diplomacy," Science & Diplomacy, February 16, 2022.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 15

MARITIME STRATEGY

Focus

With over 95,000 miles of shoreline, the United States is now and has always been a maritime nation. The country's economic and political ascendancy from its colonial era until today has been facilitated and underpinned by its mastery of the maritime space, which facilitates 90% of global trade. America's maritime tri-services—the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard—provide the tools of such mastery, ranging from force projection, maneuver warfare within littoral spaces, coastal defense, law enforcement and environmental protection, among other activities. In addition, the United States is an Arctic nation and is a founding member of that region's premier intergovernmental rules-setting body, the Arctic Council. The purpose of this session is to examine and to assess key challenges and strategic trends affecting America's tri-service maritime team.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand key security challenges facing the tri-service maritime agencies (Navy, Marines, Coast Guard)
- Examine current debates within the tri-service regarding future force structures and concepts

Guidance

- What are some key strategic challenges facing each of the tri-services?
- What are some key concepts in each service and what are some potential synergies, related to these concepts, that could link the different maritime services with each other?
- What are some urgent or long-term personnel challenges facing the tri-services?
- What does the rise of Chinese naval power mean for U.S. maritime strategy and how should the United States respond?

Essential Readings (96 Pages)

- Hattendorf, John B. 2013. "What Is a Maritime Strategy?", Nr.1, pp. 1–10.
- Rubel, Robert C. 2022. "Command of the Sea Redux." *Naval War College Review* 75 (2): pp. 66–76.
- Chief of Naval Operations Navigation Plan 2022 (Washington DC: United States Navy), pp. 1-24.
- United States Marine Corps, Force Design 2030: Annual Update (May 2022), pp. 1-20.
- Testimony of Admiral Linda L. Fagan, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard, on "Taking the Helm: the Commandant's Vision for the U.S. Coast Guard," Before the House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Transportation and Maritime Security, July 14, 2022.
- Rice, Jennifer and Robb, Erik. 2021. "China Maritime Report No. 13: The Origins of "Near Seas Defense and Far Seas Protection"", CMSI China Maritime Reports. 13.
- Cordesman, Anthony H., 2022. "CNO's Navigation Plan for 2022: A Critique," Center for Strategic and International Studies, pp. 1-11. (download full report).

Recommended Resources

- Advantage at Sea: Prevailing with Integrated All-Domain Naval Power (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, December 2020).
- Congressional Research Service, "Navy Force Structure and Shipbuilding Plans: Background and Issues for Congress," August 25, 2022, pp. 1-83. (scan).





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 16

ECONOMIC TOOLS OF POWER

Focus

The United States is a world leader in large measure through its ability to project enormous economic power and influence beyond its borders. Crafting economic policy as a critical component of foreign policy is a complex, interdisciplinary effort involving executive and legislative branches of government; a variety of monetary and financial institutions with global reach; and the indisputable role of 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. It poses the question: How can economic tools best be used to pursue foreign policy and national security goals?

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
- Evaluate the limitations of economic statecraft – where it is most likely to succeed and where it frequently fails
- Explore the role of the interagency in foreign economic policymaking
- Consider the challenges and trade-offs the United States faces when confronted with the dilemma of protecting national security but also retaining its lead in AI, quantum computing, and other cutting-edge technologies

Guidance

- What is the purpose of economic statecraft, and what is the track record of its success? What are the obstacles and limitations?
- What considerations should policymakers give to the use of coercive economic tools, and what are the domestic costs?
- How does the United States use economic “carrots” such as trade, loans, and economic assistance, and how effective has it been?
- Amb. Marc Knapper describes the range of U.S. economic tools he’s using in Vietnam. Given that many of these are led by USAID, do you see these as examples of soft power or a response to market forces?

Essential Readings (55 Pages)

- Barry Eichengreen, “What Money Can’t Buy: The Limits of Economic Power,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2022.
- Rosenberg, Elizabeth, Peter Harrell, Paula J. Dobriansky and Adam Szubin, “America’s Use of Coercive Economic Statecraft: A Report from Select Members of the CNAS Task Force on the Future of U.S. Coercive Economic Statecraft,” Center for a New American Security, December 2020.
- Christopher S. Chivvis and Ethan B. Kapstein, “U.S. Strategy and Economic Statecraft: Understanding the Tradeoffs,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 28, 2022.
- United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, “Chairman Menendez Introduces Economic Statecraft for the Twenty-First Century Act,” (2:30-23:15).
- Marc E. Knapper, keynote address, “Building Resilient Supply Chains: Enhancing Cooperation with India, Vietnam and Other Emerging Markets,” CSIS, July 19, 2022 (4:15-19:00).
- Zoellick, Robert, “Economic Diplomacy,” address to the Mosbacher Institute for Trade, Economic, and Public Policy, Texas A&M University, April 12, 2022 (14:00-56:00).

Recommended Resources

- Council on Foreign Relations, “What Happened When China Joined the WTO?,” *World 101 Global Era Issues*.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY – 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. 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.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the purpose and of the Unified Command Plan
- Understand the origins, roles and responsibilities of Combatant Commands
- 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 and Trans-Oceanic regions

Guidance

- Why did the United States feel it needed regional combatant commands? Is the current structure still effective? What changes would you suggest?
- What are the most effective ways for CCDRs to work together? What is the most effective role for the Joint Staff?
- How important is theater strategy? How does the Combatant Command affect DoD capability requirements and force planning?
- How or who should the U.S. military best prioritize global and regional threats? Is DoD adequately structured to meet this challenge?

Required Readings (29 Pages and a 4min Video)

- Reveron, Derek S, James L Cook, and Ross M Coffey. 2022. "Competing Regionally: Developing Theater Strategy." Joint Force Quarterly : JFQ, no. 104 (January): pp. 48–62.
- Eaglen, MacKenzie. "Putting Combatant Commanders on a Demand Signal Diet," War on the Rocks, 9 November 2020.
- Dunford, Joseph F. 2018. "The Character of War and Strategic Landscape Have Changed." Joint Force Quarterly : JFQ, no. 89: pp. 2–3.
- "General Joseph F. Dunford on Meeting Today's Global Security Challenges," Center for Strategic and International Studies, YouTube. 29 march 2016. (Start at 16:48 and end at 20:52).
- Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Global Integration – Maintaining a Competitive Advantage," 18 October 2018.

Foundational Resources (Posture Statements -Geographic Combatant Commands, <https://www.defense.gov/About/combatant-commands/> and <https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/>)

- AFRICOM, Before the 117th Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, 15 March 2022.
- CENTCOM, Before the 117th Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, 15 March 2022.
- EUCOM, Before the 117th Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, 29 March 2022.
- INDOPACOM, Before the 117th Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, 10 March 2022.
- NORTHCOM, Before the 117th Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, 24 March 2022.
- SOUTHCOM, Before the 117th Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, 24 March 2022.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 17

INTERAGENCY SIMULATION EXERCISE

Focus

In this fictional scenario, it is May 24, 2022. 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. 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.

Guidance

- Your faculty member will supply you with a specific role in the North Pacific Interagency Working Group (NPIWG) in the National Security Council of President James Walker.
- After reading the materials relevant to the situation in Lorica, you will consult with your agency partner to prepare for the crisis meeting of the NPIWG.
- You may need to decide how to navigate between the national interests of the United States and the priorities and culture of your home organization.

Essential Readings (22 Pages)

- Stigler, Andrew, "Student Guide – Interagency Simulation Exercise," 2022.
- Background: "Lorica, a Gentle Giant."
- Background: "U.S. Policy Regarding Lorica Since 1999."
- Background: "Hypersonic Weapons: Overview, Country Programs, & Implications."
- Background: "Map of Lorica."
- Crisis: "President Xi Statement on China-Venezuela Cooperation."
- Crisis: "State Cable OAS Rep."
- Crisis: "State Cable EMB Beijing."
- Crisis: "VTC Transcript."
- Crisis: "Map of PRC Airbase Lorica."

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the background of Lorica, the strategic role it plays in the Pacific, and the current situation
- Apply what you have learned about the interagency and the operations of government, as well as your strategic acumen, to the task of generating strategic perspective
- Use a crisis scenario to debate and arrive at policy recommendations for senior officials
- Experience the give-and-take of the interagency process and observe how agency equities affect the outcome
- With that advice, consult with your interagency colleagues to aid the group in supplying the president with strategic policy advice





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 17

TPO FOUNDATIONS AND KEY SECURITY CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-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. It also features a number of intergovernmental organizations that play an increasing role in security matters.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of the trans-Pacific Ocean region to American national security
- Understand the importance and origins of America's treaty system within the trans-Pacific region
- Understand the vulnerabilities of the trans-Pacific region, including rising great power competition, and the role the wider Pacific community may play in addressing them
- Understand the role of institutions and organizations and how they influence regional security

Guidance

- What are some key interdependencies linking the various countries within the trans-Pacific Ocean region?
- Why are some of the key alliances in this part of the world and how did they form?
- Is the US-PRC rivalry all-encompassing? Are there areas for cooperation and, if so, which ones?
- What is the role of regional organizations or institutions in trans-Pacific security?

Essential Readings (98 Pages)

- Heine, Jorge, Cynthia J Arnson, and Christine Zaino. 2014. Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century. Policy File. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 9-30.
- Cha, Victor D. 2009. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia." *International Security* 34 (3): 158-96.
- Mazarr, Michael J. 2020. "The Essence of the Strategic Competition with China." *Prism* (Washington, D.C.) 9 (1): 2-21.
- Sarkar, Mittika Guha. 2020. "CHINA AND QUAD 2.0: Between Response and Regional Construct." *Maritime Affairs* (New Delhi, India) 16 (1): 110-30.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 17

TAO FOUNDATIONS AND KEY SECURITY CHALLENGES

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 Atlantic basin to American national security
- Understand the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) to American national security
- Understand the dynamics of trans-Atlantic relations and the challenges of enlarging the Atlantic community
- Understand how the trans-Atlantic relationship, particularly with Europe, bolsters the U.S. position in the world
- Understand the vulnerabilities of the trans-Atlantic region and the role the wider Atlantic community may play in addressing them

Guidance

- 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 this overlap with a geopolitical or geo-economic conception of "the West"?
- 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 United States benefit from the European Union, especially in economic terms? How does the development and expansion of economic and technological ties across the Atlantic community benefit American security?
- The Covid-19 pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine have demonstrated the vulnerabilities of the Euro-American economic space to supply disruptions for critical commodities, including energy. Does reorienting towards sources of supply in Latin America and West Africa?

Essential Readings (65 Pages)

- Brizzi, Matteo. "Shaping a pan-Atlantic community: an opportunity for the European Union," CeSPI, March 14, 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 Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941, The Avalon Project, Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008.
- The White House, "The New Atlantic Charter," U.S. Government, 10 June 2021.
- Smith-Windsor, Brooke A. "NATO and the South Atlantic: Perspectives from the Global North," International Security: A European-South American Dialogue (2014). Multilateral Security Governance.
- Hamilton, Daniel S. and Joseph Quinlan, "Chapter 1: Pain and Resilience: The Transatlantic Economy in 2022," and "Chapter 3: Shifting Dependencies: Rethinking Russia, China and Global Supply Chains," Transatlantic Economy 2022.
- Ribble, Betsy, Juliette Keeley, Keith McCammon, and Michael Ignatieff. 2016. "The Refugee and Migration Crisis: Proposals for Action, U.N. Summit 2016." Brookings Institution Reports.

Case Study Securing Atlantic Supply Chains

- Home, Andy, with Emelia Sithale-Matarise. "Column: US forms 'friendly' coalition to secure critical minerals," Mining.com, June 30, 2022.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 17

TIO FOUNDATIONS AND KEY SECURITY CHALLENGES

Focus

The Indian Ocean basin is critical to global trade, security and geopolitics, tying together East Africa, the Greater Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania. About 2.7 billion people live within the trans-Indian oceanic region which connects the resource-rich eastern coast of Africa and the Middle East to Asia's labor markets and manufacturing industries. Not only is one emerging great power-India-present, a number of key middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, Iran and South Africa) are present, and the region is also the subject of U.S., Chinese, European and Russian interest.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of the Indian Ocean basin to American national security
- Understand the challenges of great power competition in this trans-oceanic region
- Understand the importance of this trans-oceanic region to the global economy
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions of South Asia, the Middle East, East Africa, Southeast Asia, and Oceania
- Understand the challenges of creating institutional structures for this trans-oceanic region

Guidance

- What is the centrality of the trans-Indian region to global security concerns, from energy transit to nuclear proliferation? How the trans-Indian region act as a keystone connecting the trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic regions?
- Revisiting Spykman's concept of the Rimland from IS-4, how does the Indian Ocean basin factor into great power competition with Russia and China?
- How does China attempt to compete with India and the West in the region? How does China promote and compel support for both maritime and land routes through the trans-Indian region?
- Given the nature of the trans-national challenges you have examined in earlier classes, how vital is the trans-Indian region?
- Why has the United States traditionally viewed this area primarily through the lens of its subregions? Why are states like India attempting to conceptualize a regional view of security and partnership?
- What are the risks of thinking of the Indian Ocean basin as a subunit of the larger Pacific region?

Essential Readings (50 Pages)

- Baruah, Darshana and Caroline Duckworth. "We're Thinking About the Indian Ocean All Wrong," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2022). We're Thinking About the Indian Ocean All Wrong - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Brewster, David. 2017. "Silk Roads and Strings of Pearls: The Strategic Geography of China's New Pathways in the Indian Ocean." *Geopolitics* 22 (2): 269–91.
- Soliman, Mohammed. "West Asia is now a reality," *National Interest*, July 3, 2022.
- Jilani, Jalil Abbas, Maleeha Lodhi, Nirupama Rao, and Arun Singh "India and Pakistan at 75: Prospects for the Future," U.S. Institute of Peace, August 15, 2022.
- Gurunathan, Angelina, and Ravichandran Moorthy. 2021. "CHINA AND THE INDO-PACIFIC IN INDIA-ASEAN TIES: PROSPECTS FOR ASEAN." *e-Bangi : Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 18 (9): 42–57.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 18

CONGRESS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MILITARY

Focus

Congress engages in an enduring struggle to check the powers of an increasingly powerful President. The way in which Congress relates to the military provides insight regarding the ability of Congress to exercise its authority over the military and control the use of power. Article I of the Constitution grants Congress certain national security powers, including those to declare war, raise and support armies, provide and maintain a Navy, make rules for regulating the land and naval forces, and to create and empower executive branch departments. Additionally, Congress has the exclusive power of appropriating funds to support the U.S. government, and the responsibility to conduct oversight of how U.S. national security policy is formulated and executed. Personnel policy supports our national security priorities by recruiting and retaining servicemembers who will carry out the orders of the President. This session highlights the tensions that exist between the Legislative and Executive branches by examining the creation of laws and policies that govern DoD's attempts to prevent and reduce sexual assault in the military.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the structure of Congress and its role in passing laws, appropriating funds, and overseeing the Executive Branch, as well as the process that the Legislative Branch employs to implement policy
- Examine how Congress and the military work together, or in tension, to create national security policies, institutions, and processes
- Understand how Congressional intent can shape attitudes about policies within the military over time

Guidance

- What powers does Congress have in creating, shaping, and implementing national security policies?
- What limitations exist that prevent Congress from fully exercising its authority?
- Does Congress have a role in shaping the culture of the military, and if so, what tools are available to do so?
- Why are Members of Congress interested in how the military investigates and prosecutes cases of sexual assault?
- Why did leaders in the Department of Defense resist changes to the Uniform Code of Military Justice until 2021?
- How are matters of sexual assault in the military related to the implementation of Women, Peace, and Security initiatives?
- What other instances have you seen where tension exists between Congress and the military regarding a policy outcome, and how was it resolved? Did tensions dissipate after resolution?

Essential Readings (99 Pages)

- Serafino, Nina M. and Eleni G. Ekmektsioglou, "Chapter 9: Congress and National Security," *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, ed. Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Biden, Joseph R., "A Proclamation on National Sexual Assault Awareness and Prevention Month, 2022, Proclamation 10361 of March 31, 2022," *Federal Register* 87, no. 65 (April 5, 2022): 19589.
- Boczar, Amanda, "Managing Harassment and Assault in the Contemporary U.S. Military," *Managing Sex in the U.S. Military: Gender, Identity, and Behavior*, ed. Beth Bailey, Alesha E. Doan, Shannon Portillo, and Kara Dixon Vuic, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2022), 219-235.
- Norris, Peter, "Congress and its Relationship with the Military Case Study Reader," U.S. Naval War College, August 25, 2022.

Recommended Resources

- Walsh, Kathleen A., "Legislative Affairs and Congressional-Military Relations," Newport, R.I.: Naval War College faculty paper, updated 2012, 1-11.
- Mitchell, Ellen, "General slated to lead US Army Europe mistreated congressional staffer," *The Hill*, November 8, 2017.
- U.S. Congress. Legislative Process Videos 1-9.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 18

TPO SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

Focus

The idea of security has evolved from traditional hard power concerns to a growing appreciation for other non-traditional issues, such as freedom from violence, gender equality, access to food and water, health, and stability among many others. On the future security side, this session highlights two issues: the growing role of nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia and the rising threat posed by climate change.

Guidance

- What are the important elements of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) framework?
- What are the demographic challenges facing China and other countries? What impact will these challenges have on economics and security? How have gender roles been part of the issue?
- How would you describe the nature of Latin America-Asia trade flows? What is the likely future of Latin America-Asia trade?
- How is climate change affecting geopolitics and security interests in the Indo-Pacific?
- What challenges do expanding nuclear arsenals in China and North Korea present to security and nonproliferation interests in East Asia? How should the United States and regional actors respond to these developments?

Essential Readings (62 Pages)

- True, Jacqui, "Women, Peace and Security in Asia Pacific: Emerging Issues in National Action Plans for Women, Peace and Security, UN Women, 2016, pp. 10-17; pp. 22-24.
- Minzer, Carl, "China's Doomed Fight Against Demographic Decline," *Foreign Affairs*, May 3, 2022, pp. 1-10.
- Feinberg, Richard, "Latin American-Asian Trade Flows: No Turn Back," in Cynthia J. Arnson, Jorge Heine and Christine Zaino (eds.), *Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century*, Washington DC: Wilson Center, 2014): pp. 31-60
- Thomas, Michael. "Climate Change and Military Forces," in Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific* (Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2022), pp. 72-77.
- Sukin, Lauren, and Toby Dalton. 2021. "Reducing Nuclear Salience: How to Reassure Northeast Asian Allies." *The Washington Quarterly* 44 (2): pp. 143–58.

OBJECTIVES

- Examine and assess the chief socio-economic trends and challenges in the region
- Understand and evaluate the implications for women, peace, and security in the region
- Examine the main economic and trade links between Asia and Latin America
- Understand the risks and challenges climate change will present to security interests in the Indo-Pacific region
- Analyze how nuclear weapons may change the future of the Indo-Pacific and evaluate how to best manage those changes





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 18

TAO SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS AND 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 community, especially the challenge posed by Russia and China to the region's security, and how the trans-Atlantic region factors into the U.S. ability to project power and influence on a global scale.

Guidance

- How does the trans-Atlantic economic relationship enhance U.S. security? How do the trade, business and research linkages across the Atlantic community benefit the United States?
- How does the partnership between Europe and the United States enable the West to “write the rules” of the international order? How does this enhance U.S. leadership of the international community?
- How do north-south linkages in the Atlantic community enhance the economic security of the United States? How do these pathways also produce national security risks?
- How do the Russian and Chinese challenges manifest itself in the Atlantic area? What are Russian and Chinese strategic objectives?

Essential Readings (91 Pages)

- 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. [All seminars should read the Introduction, the cyber security chapter, and the burden-sharing chapter. Your instructor will select whether to read the hybrid threats, counter-terrorism or crisis-management chapters.]
- Fischer, Sabine, Nadine Godehardt, André Härtel, Hanns Günther Hilpert, Margarete Klein, Janis Kluge, Claudia Major, Nicolai von Ondarza, Marco Overhaus, Christian Schaller, and Johannes Thimm. “Russian Attack on Ukraine: A turning point for Euro-Atlantic security,” SWP, March 3, 2022.
- Heisbourg, François. 2021. “Euro-Atlantic Security and the China Nexus.” *Survival* (London) 63 (6): 45–62.

Case Study: The Connections Between Legitimate Trade and Trafficking

- van Uhm, Daan, Nigel South, Tanya Wyatt, Criminologie, and RENFORCE / Regulering en handhaving. 2021. “Connections Between Trades and Trafficking in Wildlife and Drugs.” *Trends in Organized Crime* 24 (4): 425–446. (skip methods section).

Case Study: How trans-Atlantic cooperation shapes global system

- De Goede, Marieke, and Carola Westermeier, “Infrastructural Geopolitics,” *International Studies Quarterly* 66:3 (September 2022).

Recommended Resources

- Speech of Vladimir Putin, Munich Security Conference, 2007 Putin's famous Munich Speech 2007 – YouTube.
- Speech of Vladimir Putin, Victory Day, 2022 Watch Putin's speech as Russia commemorates Victory Day – YouTube.
- Speech of Volodymyr Zelensky, Address to Congress, 2022 Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's full speech to Congress – YouTube.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand and assess cooperation between NATO and the EU in furthering trans-Atlantic security
- Understand the north-south linkages in trans-Atlantic security
- Assess how Atlantic pathways can facilitate the transmission of threats throughout the region
- Understand how trans-Atlantic cooperation shapes the global system
- Understand the scope and depth of the Russian challenge to the security of the Atlantic community including the conventional, hybrid and nuclear threats





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 18

TIO SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-Indian oceanic 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 this trans-oceanic region perhaps the most dynamic in terms of future challenges, given the importance of this area to the global economy and security balance.

Guidance

- 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 do regional rivalries impact great power competition? Does great power competition exacerbate regional tensions and divisions?
- How does Iran use its trans-Indian connectivities to hedge against U.S. pressure? How does the Saudi-Iran rivalry create larger security issues for the region?
- How does India hedge between Russia and China, on one hand, and its U.S., European and Asian partners on the other? How does hedging impact regional competition?
- In IS-11, you discussed questions of nuclear deterrence. How does the intersection of regional and global nuclear rivalries impact nuclear deterrence?

Essential Readings (44 Pages and 21min Video)

- Bloomfield, Alan. 2021. "The India-China Bilateral Relationship: a 'Serious and Enduring Rivalry.'" *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 5–23.
- Solhdoost, Mohsen. 2021. "Iran's Geo-Strategic Orientations Toward China and India." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 60–77.
- Mohammed, Ahmed Anwer and Ravichandran Moorthy. 2019. "SAUDI-IRAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST: IMPLICATION TO NATIONAL SECURITY." *e-Bangi : Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 16 (1): 1–13.
- Blanco Pitlo III, Lucio. "QUAD and BRICS Want to Grow as U.S.-China Rift Deepens," *China-US Focus*, June 11, 2022.
- South Asia's Nuclear Future, SIPRI, October 8, 2021. [Required: Please watch the presentation of Dr. Lora Saalman 10:05-31:17; 21min total. Recommended: watch presentations of Air Commodore (Retd) Khalid Banuri, Former Director-General, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division; Vice Admiral (Retd) Vijay Shankar, Former Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Forces Command, Indian Armed Forces; Senior Colonel Dr Lu Yin, Associate Professor, National Security College, National Defense University, People's Liberation Army.]

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the dynamics of the India-China 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 coalition-building efforts of initiatives like BRICS and the Quad
- Understand the role of geo-economic factors (supply chains, energy dependence, etc.) in either raising or moderating the chances for conflict
- Understand the risks of interstate rivalry, nuclear proliferation and terrorism for regional as well as global stability
- Assess mechanisms for strategic stability in this region





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS – 19

DECIDING WAR: ENGAGING, WITHDRAWING, OR AVOIDING

Focus

On March 20, 2003, a United States-led coalition launched the invasion of Iraq, an initiative that ultimately led to the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's government. This session examines the events, dynamics, procedures, and perspectives that played a role in what was arguably the most consequential American military initiative of the post-Cold War era. Students will be offered an opportunity to assess the extent to which Iraqi actions and misperceptions may have contributed to the likelihood of war. American perceptions played a role as well. Congressional dynamics included legislators who offered reservations but ultimately authorized the attack. Former Senior Intelligence Officer Paul Pillar stated "9/11 made it politically possible for the first time to persuade the American people to break a tradition of not launching offensive wars."

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the range of factors that led to the decision to militarily confront Iraq
- Assess the role of perceptions, calculations, and beliefs in the processes that led to this decision
- Explore the role of the United States Congress in authorizing the conflict
- Examine both the American and Iraqi perspectives on the unfolding diplomatic, and ultimately military, confrontation

Guidance

- Stigler discusses how the Congress and the Executive Branch interact when the prospect of military engagement is on the horizon. What factors influence domestic debates and struggles over authority when the potential use of force is at stake?
- What motivated the United States to take offensive action against Iraq? What are the factors and events that drove this decision? Was there dissent?
- What Iraqi actions, both in the years prior and in the weeks and months immediately preceding the invasion, played a role in the decision process?
- What were the assumptions and beliefs that motivated this decision? Was the decision the product of a rational process? Did cognitive factors impact the development of the policy of confronting Saddam?
- How did senior Iraqi officials perceive the unfolding crisis prior to the invasion?
- George W. Bush states that he "had tried to address the threat from Saddam Hussein without war." Was the war in Iraq something that could have been avoided?
- Was the role of intelligence a crucial factor, or did it merely offer confirmation for actions policymakers were already committed to?

Essential Readings (83 Pages)

- Stigler, Andrew L., "The Decision for War," Chapter 5 in *Governing the Military* (New York: Routledge, 2019), pages 56-64.
- Fisher, Louis, "Deciding on War Against Iraq: Institutional Failures," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 118 No. 3 (2003), 389-410.
- Woods, Kevin, James Lacey, and Williamson Murray, "Saddam's Delusions: A View from the Inside," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85 No. 3 (May/June 2006), 2-26.
- Bush, George W., *Decision Points* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2010), 223-253.

Recommended Resources

- Purdum, Todd S., *A Time of Our Choosing* (New York: Times Books, 2003).





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 19

TIO FOUNDATIONS AND KEY SECURITY CHALLENGES

Focus

The Indian Ocean basin 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 trans-Indian oceanic region which connects the resource-rich eastern coast of Africa and the Middle East to Asia's labor markets and manufacturing industries. Not only is one emerging great power, India, present, a number of key middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, Iran and South Africa) are present, and the region is also the subject of U.S., Chinese, European and Russian interest.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of the Indian Ocean basin to American national security
- Understand the challenges of great power competition in this trans-oceanic region
- Understand the importance of this trans-oceanic region to the global economy
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions of South Asia, the Middle East, East Africa, Southeast Asia, and Oceania
- Understand the challenges of creating institutional structures for this trans-oceanic region

Guidance

- What is the centrality of the trans-Indian region to global security concerns, from energy transit to nuclear proliferation? How the trans-Indian region act as a keystone connecting the trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic regions?
- Revisiting Spykman's concept of the Rimland from IS-4, how does the Indian Ocean basin factor into great power competition with Russia and China?
- How does China attempt to compete with India and the West in the region? How does China promote and compel support for both maritime and land routes through the trans-Indian region?
- Given the nature of the trans-national challenges you have examined in earlier classes, how vital is the trans-Indian region?
- Why has the United States traditionally viewed this area primarily through the lens of its subregions? Why are states like India attempting to conceptualize a regional view of security and partnership?
- What are the risks of thinking of the Indian Ocean basin as a subunit of the larger Pacific region?

Essential Readings (50 Pages)

- Baruah, Darshana and Caroline Duckworth. "We're Thinking About the Indian Ocean All Wrong," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2022). We're Thinking About the Indian Ocean All Wrong - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Brewster, David. 2017. "Silk Roads and Strings of Pearls: The Strategic Geography of China's New Pathways in the Indian Ocean." *Geopolitics* 22 (2): 269–91.
- Soliman, Mohammed. "West Asia is now a reality," *National Interest*, July 3, 2022.
- Jilani, Jalil Abbas, Maleeha Lodhi, Nirupama Rao, and Arun Singh, "India and Pakistan at 75: Prospects for the Future," U.S. Institute of Peace, August 15, 2022.
- Gurunathan, Angelina, and Ravichandran Moorthy. 2021. "CHINA AND THE INDO-PACIFIC IN INDIA-ASEAN TIES: PROSPECTS FOR ASEAN." *e-Bangi : Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 18 (9): 42–57.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 19

TPO FOUNDATIONS AND KEY SECURITY CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-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 trans-Pacific Ocean region to American national security
- Understand the importance and origins of America's treaty system within the trans-Pacific region
- Understand the vulnerabilities of the trans-Pacific region, including rising great power competition, and the role the wider Pacific community may play in addressing them
- Understand the role of institutions and organizations and how they influence regional security

Guidance

- What are some key interdependencies linking the various countries within the trans-Pacific Ocean region?
- Why are some of the key alliances in this part of the world and how did they form?
- Is the US-PRC rivalry all-encompassing? Are there areas for cooperation and, if so, which ones?
- What is the role of regional organizations or institutions in trans-Pacific security?

Essential Readings (98 Pages)

- Heine, Jorge, Cynthia J Arnson, and Christine Zaino. 2014. Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century. Policy File. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, pp. 9-30.
- Cha, Victor D. 2009. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia." *International Security* 34 (3): pp. 158-96.
- Mazarr, Michael J. 2020. "The Essence of the Strategic Competition with China." *Prism* (Washington, D.C.) 9 (1): pp. 2-21.
- Sarkar, Mrittika Guha. 2020. "CHINA AND QUAD 2.0: Between Response and Regional Construct." *Maritime Affairs* (New Delhi, India) 16 (1): pp. 110-30.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 19

TAO FOUNDATIONS AND KEY SECURITY CHALLENGES

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 Atlantic basin to American national security
- Understand the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) to American national security
- Understand the dynamics of trans-Atlantic relations and the challenges of enlarging the Atlantic community
- Understand how the trans-Atlantic relationship, particularly with Europe, bolsters the U.S. position in the world
- Understand the vulnerabilities of the trans-Atlantic region and the role the wider Atlantic community may play in addressing them

Guidance

- 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 this overlap with a geopolitical or geo-economic conception of "the West"?
- 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 United States benefit from the European Union, especially in economic terms? How does the development and expansion of economic and technological ties across the Atlantic community benefit American security?
- The covid pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine have demonstrated the vulnerabilities of the Euro-American economic space to supply disruptions for critical commodities, including energy. Does reorienting towards sources of supply in Latin America and West Africa?

Essential Readings (65 Pages)

- Brizzi, Matteo. "Shaping a pan-Atlantic community: an opportunity for the European Union," CeSPI, March 14, 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 Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941, The Avalon Project, Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008.
- The White House, "The New Atlantic Charter," U.S. Government, 10 June 2021.
- Smith-Windsor, Brooke A. "NATO and the South Atlantic: Perspectives from the Global North," International Security: A European-South American Dialogue (2014). Multilateral Security Governance.
- Hamilton, Daniel S. and Joseph Quinlan, "Chapter 1: Pain and Resilience: The Transatlantic Economy in 2022," and "Chapter 3: Shifting Dependencies: Rethinking Russia, China and Global Supply Chains," Transatlantic Economy 2022.
- Ribble, Betsy, Juliette Keeley, Keith McCammon, and Michael Ignatieff. 2016. "The Refugee and Migration Crisis: Proposals for Action, U.N. Summit 2016." Brookings Institution Reports.

Case Study Securing Atlantic Supply Chains

- Home, Andy, with Emelia Sithale-Matarise. "Column: US forms 'friendly' coalition to secure critical minerals," Mining.com, June 30, 2022.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 20

FUNDING FOREIGN POLICY: AUTHORIZING AND APPROPRIATING

Focus

This session answers two essential questions: how do policy-makers decide what to spend on defense, and what role(s) does Congress play in these decisions? Decisions on defense spending result from interactive Executive and Legislative Branch decision-making systems and processes. This session will outline the national security decision-making processes and dynamics that result in annual defense bills and address their long-term, strategic implications for national defense in an era of strategic change. Some of the readings also offer a critique of the current system and suggestions for how it might be improved.

Guidance

- The annual U.S. defense budget is the result of numerous actors, institutions, and interests competing together and advancing through the processes established by two branches of government: the Executive and Legislative Branches. Understanding how these systems and processes work and interrelate in determining annual defense spending and its long-term implications is important for professionals working in the defense and national security realm.
- What is the impact of time on the budget cycle, and is there any way to shorten the multi-year process?
- Why do you suppose that members of Congress – including members of the President's party – tend to substantially increase the administration's defense budget requests?

Essential Readings (52 Pages)

- Parrish, Molly, "Navigating the Billions: A Beginner's Guide to the Defense Budget," (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, February 11, 2020).
- Fiorentino, Dominick A., "The Executive Budget Process Timeline: In Brief," Congressional Research Service Report R47088, ver. 3 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, May 5, 2022).
- McGarry, Brendan W., "Defense Primer: Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution (PPBE) Process," (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, updated May 20, 2022).
- Hale, Robert F., "Executive Summary, Overview & Key Findings," Financing the Fight: A History and Assessment of Department of Defense Budget Formulation Processes (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Foreign Policy Division, April 2021), pp. 1-4.
- Crawford, Neta., "The U.S. Budgetary Costs of the Post-9/11 War," The Costs of War Project (Providence, RI: Brown University, Watson Center, September 1, 2021).
- Feldscher, Jacqueline., "House Committee Boosts Defense Budget by \$37B," Defense One (June 22, 2022).
- McGregor, Matt et al., "Pillars of the Modern Defense Budgeting System," (McLean, VA: MITRE Center for Data-Driven Policy, 2022).

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the policy decision-making and lawmaking systems and processes that drive U.S. defense spending
- Consider a variety of policy factors that impact defense spending decisions, both internal to the Department of Defense and from external actors, interests, and influences
- Analyze the trade-offs that often result in defense spending decisions, and how these trade-offs impact long-term force planning and the resulting force structure





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 20

TIO SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-Indian oceanic 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 this trans-oceanic region perhaps the most dynamic in terms of future challenges, given the importance of this area to the global economy and security balance.

Guidance

- 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 do regional rivalries impact great power competition? Does great power competition exacerbate regional tensions and divisions?
- How does Iran use its trans-Indian connectivities to hedge against U.S. pressure? How does the Saudi-Iran rivalry create larger security issues for the region?
- How does India hedge between Russia and China, on one hand, and its U.S., European and Asian partners on the other? How does hedging impact regional competition?
- In IS-11, you discussed questions of nuclear deterrence. How does the intersection of regional and global nuclear rivalries impact nuclear deterrence?

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the dynamics of the India-China 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 coalition-building efforts of initiatives like BRICS and the Quad
- Understand the role of geo-economic factors (supply chains, energy dependence, etc.) in either raising or moderating the chances for conflict
- Understand the risks of interstate rivalry, nuclear proliferation and terrorism for regional as well as global stability
- Assess mechanisms for strategic stability in this region

Essential Readings (44 Pages and 21min Video)

- Bloomfield, Alan. 2021. "The India-China Bilateral Relationship: a 'Serious and Enduring Rivalry.'" *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 5–23.
- Solhdoost, Mohsen. 2021. "Iran's Geo-Strategic Orientations Toward China and India." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 60–77.
- Mohammed, Ahmed Anwer and Ravichandran Moorthy. 2019. "SAUDI-IRAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST: IMPLICATION TO NATIONAL SECURITY." *e-Bangi : Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 16 (1): pp. 1–13.
- Blanco Pitlo III, Lucio. "QUAD and BRICS Want to Grow as U.S.-China Rift Deepens," *China-US Focus*, June 11, 2022.
- South Asia's Nuclear Future, SIPRI, October 8, 2021. [Required: Please watch the presentation of Dr. Lora Saalman 10:05-31:17; 21min total. Recommended: watch presentations of Air Commodore (Retd) Khalid Banuri, Former Director-General, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division; Vice Admiral (Retd) Vijay Shankar, Former Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Forces Command, Indian Armed Forces; Senior Colonel Dr Lu Yin, Associate Professor, National Security College, National Defense University, People's Liberation Army.]





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 20

TPO SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

Focus

The purpose of this second trans-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 freedom from violence, gender equality, access to food and water, health, and stability among many others. On the future security side, this session highlights two issues: the growing role of nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia and the rising threat posed by climate change.

OBJECTIVES

- Examine and assess the chief socio-economic trends and challenges in the region
- Understand and evaluate the implications for women, peace, and security in the region
- Examine the main economic and trade links between Asia and Latin America
- Understand the risks and challenges climate change will present to security interests in the Indo-Pacific region
- Analyze how nuclear weapons may change the future of the Indo-Pacific and evaluate how to best manage those changes

Guidance

- What are the important elements of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) framework?
- What are the demographic challenges facing China and other countries? What impact will these challenges have on economics and security? How have gender roles been part of the issue?
- How would you describe the nature of Latin America-Asia trade flows? What is the likely future of Latin America-Asia trade?
- How is climate change affecting geopolitics and security interests in the Indo-Pacific?
- What challenges do expanding nuclear arsenals in China and North Korea present to security and nonproliferation interests in East Asia? How should the United States and regional actors respond to these developments?

Essential Readings (62 Pages)

- True, Jacqui, "Women, Peace and Security in Asia Pacific: Emerging Issues in National Action Plans for Women, Peace and Security, UN Women, 2016, 10-17; 22-24.
- Minzer, Carl, "China's Doomed Fight Against Demographic Decline," *Foreign Affairs*, May 3, 2022, 1-10.
- Feinberg, Richard, "Latin American-Asian Trade Flows: No Turn Back," in Cynthia J. Arnson, Jorge Heine and Christine Zaino (eds.), *Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century*, Washington DC: Wilson Center, 2014): 31-60
- Thomas, Michael. "Climate Change and Military Forces," in Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific* (Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2022), 72-77.
- Sukin, Lauren, and Toby Dalton. 2021. "Reducing Nuclear Salience: How to Reassure Northeast Asian Allies." *The Washington Quarterly* 44 (2): 143–58.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 20

TAO SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS AND 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 community, especially the challenge posed by Russia and China to the region's security, and how the trans-Atlantic region factors into the U.S. ability to project power and influence on a global scale.

Guidance

- How does the trans-Atlantic economic relationship enhance U.S. security? How do the trade, business and research linkages across the Atlantic community benefit the United States?
- How does the partnership between Europe and the United States enable the West to “write the rules” of the international order? How does this enhance U.S. leadership of the international community?
- How do north-south linkages in the Atlantic community enhance the economic security of the United States? How do these pathways also produce national security risks?
- How do the Russian and Chinese challenges manifest itself in the Atlantic area? What are Russian and Chinese strategic objectives?

Essential Readings (91 Pages)

- 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. [All seminars should read the Introduction, the cyber security chapter, and the burden-sharing chapter. Your instructor will select whether to read the hybrid threats, counter-terrorism or crisis-management chapters.]
- Fischer, Sabine, Nadine Godehardt, André Härtel, Hanns Günther Hilpert, Margarete Klein, Janis Kluge, Claudia Major, Nicolai von Ondarza, Marco Overhaus, Christian Schaller, and Johannes Thimm. “Russian Attack on Ukraine: A turning point for Euro-Atlantic security,” SWP, March 3, 2022.
- Heisbourg, François. 2021. “Euro-Atlantic Security and the China Nexus.” *Survival* (London) 63 (6): 45–62.

Case Study: The Connections Between Legitimate Trade and Trafficking

- van Uhm, Daan, Nigel South, Tanya Wyatt, *Criminologie*, and RENFORCE / Regulering en handhaving. 2021. “Connections Between Trades and Trafficking in Wildlife and Drugs.” *Trends in Organized Crime* 24 (4): 425–446. (skip methods section).

Case Study: How trans-Atlantic cooperation shapes global system

- De Goede, Marieke, and Carola Westermeier, “Infrastructural Geopolitics,” *International Studies Quarterly* 66:3 (September 2022).

Recommended Resources

- Speech of Vladimir Putin, Munich Security Conference, 2007 Putin's famous Munich Speech 2007 – YouTube.
- Speech of Vladimir Putin, Victory Day, 2022 Watch Putin's speech as Russia commemorates Victory Day – YouTube.
- Speech of Volodymyr Zelensky, Address to Congress, 2022 Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's full speech to Congress – YouTube.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand and assess cooperation between NATO and the EU in furthering trans-Atlantic security
- Understand the north-south linkages in trans-Atlantic security
- Assess how Atlantic pathways can facilitate the transmission of threats throughout the region
- Understand how trans-Atlantic cooperation shapes the global system
- Understand the scope and depth of the Russian challenge to the security of the Atlantic community including the conventional, hybrid and nuclear threats



FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 21

HOW SPACE FORCE WAS BORN: CASE STUDY

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 nation. In this session, we apply previous lessons on bureaucratic politics and the role of Congress and the president in national security policy to understand why the option of a new service was chosen, how Congressional interests and oversight shaped the new Space Force and consider the likely bureaucratic and political implications of a separate organization responsible for the space domain.

OBJECTIVES

- Discuss the creation of the U.S. Space Force
- Identify the role of Congress in legislating the Space Force
- Examine the different priorities of stakeholders who influenced the congressional legislative process
- Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the Space Force as it currently exists and how they reflect the legislative process that created it

Guidance

- What problems have been identified with respect to U.S. space capabilities? To what extent do they represent changes in the international security environment versus domestic organizational and implementation difficulties?
- Why might space have been "neglected" bureaucratically within DoD before Space Force was created?
- What led to a separate space service being formally proposed? Would this specific choice have been likely without Donald Trump as President? Why did Congress approve a fully independent service after being opposed to even a Space Corps just a few years earlier?
- How did Congress shape the creation of the Space Force? What issues interested the House and Senate? What do you think the DoD and other Services wanted? What interest groups might have had a stake?
- What organizational and political challenges do you see for the new Space Force? Do you think the solution that was adopted will fix the problems that were identified several years earlier?
- How will a dedicated space service change the debates over U.S. military strategy and force planning? What role do you think Space Force will advocate for space in U.S. national strategy?

Essential Readings (75 Pages)

- Chaplain, Christina, "Defense Space Acquisitions: Too Early to Determine If Recent Changes Will Resolve Persistent Fragmentation in Management and Oversight," Government Accountability Office, July 2016.
- Harrison, Todd, "Why We Need a Space Force," Center for Strategic and International Studies, October 3, 2018.
- Johnson, Kaitlyn, "Why a Space Force Can Wait," Center for Strategic and International Studies, October 3, 2018.
- Burbach, David, Space Force Case Reader, U.S. Naval War College, August 5, 2022.
- Farley, Robert, "Space Force: Ahead of Its Time or Dreadfully Premature," Cato Institute, December 1, 2020, 1-15.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Commanding Space: The Story Behind the Space Force," video, 20:00, April 2019.

Recommended Resources

- Spirtas, Michael, et. al., "A Separate Space: Creating a Military Service for Space," (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2020).
- Colby, Elbridge, "From Sanctuary to Battlefield: Framework for a U.S. Defense and Deterrence Strategy for Space," Center for a New American Security, 2016.
- United States Public Law 116-92, "National Defense Authorization Act For Fiscal Year 2020," 116th Congress, 1st session, December 20, 2019, 365-373.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 21

FOUNDATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

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 U.S. geopolitical and geo-economic interests as well as facilitating the projection of American power around the world.

OBJECTIVES

- Comprehend the importance of the Atlantic basin to American national security
- Understand the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) to American national security
- Examine the dynamics of trans-Atlantic relations and the challenges of enlarging the Atlantic community
- Analyze how the trans-Atlantic relationship, particularly with the European Union (EU), bolsters the U.S. position in the world

Guidance

- 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 this overlap with a geopolitical or geo-economic conception of "the West"?
- 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?
- The Strategic Compass of the European Union calls for Europe to develop "tailored partnerships" with Africa and Latin America, while the AICGS report calls for a "transatlantic neighborhood policy." Can the east-west trans-Atlantic linkage be deepened in a north-south direction?

Essential Readings (68 Pages)

- Brizzi, Matteo. "Shaping a pan-Atlantic community: an opportunity for the European Union," CeSPI, March 14, 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 Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941, The Avalon Project, Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008.
- The White House, "The New Atlantic Charter," U.S. Government, 10 June 2021.
- The Strategic Compass of the European Union (adopted 21 March 2022).
- Smith-Windsor, Brooke A. "NATO and the South Atlantic: Perspectives from the Global North," International Security: A European-South American Dialogue (2014). Multilateral Security Governance.
- Consult the findings, "The Future of Transatlantic Security," American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, May 14, 2022.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 21

FOUNDATIONS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN COMMUNITY

Focus

The Indian Ocean basin 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 trans-Indian oceanic region which connects the resource-rich eastern coast of Africa and the Middle East to Asia's labor markets and manufacturing industries. Not only is one emerging great power, India, present, a number of key middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, Iran and South Africa) are present, and the region is also the subject of U.S., Chinese, European and Russian interest.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of the Indian Ocean basin to American national security
- Understand the challenges of great power competition in this trans-oceanic region
- Understand the importance of this trans-oceanic region to the global economy
- Understand the challenges of the key subregions of South Asia, the Middle East, East Africa, Southeast Asia and the islands
- Understand the challenges of creating institutional structures for this trans-oceanic region

Guidance

- What is the centrality of the trans-Indian region to global security concerns, from energy transit to nuclear proliferation? How the trans-Indian region act as a keystone connecting the trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic regions?
- Revisiting Spykman's concept of the Rimland from IS-4, how does the Indian Ocean basin factor into great power competition with 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 trans-Indian region?
- Given the nature of the trans-national challenges you have examined in earlier classes, how vital is the trans-Indian region?
- Why has the United States traditionally viewed this area primarily through the lens of its subregions? Why are states like India attempting to conceptualize a regional view of security and partnership?
- What are the risks of thinking of the Indian Ocean basin as a subunit of the larger Pacific region?

Essential Readings (50 Pages)

- Baruah, Darshana and Caroline Duckworth. "We're Thinking About the Indian Ocean All Wrong," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2022). We're Thinking About the Indian Ocean All Wrong - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Brewster, David. 2017. "Silk Roads and Strings of Pearls: The Strategic Geography of China's New Pathways in the Indian Ocean." *Geopolitics* 22 (2): 269–291.
- Soliman, Mohammed. "West Asia is now a reality," *National Interest*, July 3, 2022.
- Jilani, Jalil Abbas, Maleeha Lodhi, Nirupama Rao, and Arun Singh, "India and Pakistan at 75: Prospects for the Future," U.S. Institute of Peace, August 15, 2022.
- Gurunathan, Angelina, and Ravichandran Moorthy. 2021. "CHINA AND THE INDO-PACIFIC IN INDIA-ASEAN TIES: PROSPECTS FOR ASEAN." *e-Bangi : Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 18 (9): 42–57.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 21 GEOGRAPHY AND REGIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Focus

The trans-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.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of the trans-Pacific Ocean region to American national security
- Understand the importance and origins of America's treaty system within the trans-Pacific region
- Understand the dynamics of trans-Pacific relations and the scope and limits of interdependencies
- Understand the vulnerabilities of the trans-Pacific region, including rising great power competition, and the role the wider Pacific community may play in addressing them

Guidance

- What are some key interdependencies linking the various countries within the trans-Pacific Ocean region?
- Why are some of the key alliances in this part of the world and how did they form?
- What are the sources of military competition in this region?

Essential Readings (71 Pages)

- Heine, Jorge, Cynthia J Arnsen, and Christine Zaino. 2014. Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century. Policy File. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 9-30.
- Cha, Victor D. 2009. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia." *International Security* 34 (3): 158-196.
- Puri, Samir. 2022. "Land and Sea: The Evolving Great-Power Contest in Asia." *Survival* (London) 64 (1): 227-236.
- Nick Childs and Tom Waldwyn, "China's naval shipbuilding: delivering on its ambition in a big way," IISS Military Balance Blog, 1st May 2018, <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/military-balance/2018/05/china-naval-shipbuilding>





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 22

ECONOMIC WARFARE: A CLOSER LOOK AT RUSSIAN SANCTIONS

Focus

When Russia invaded Ukraine, the United States and its allies began an unprecedented effort to wield some of the most far-reaching economic sanctions ever attempted, and they ratcheted them up as the war continued. Putin equated them to “economic warfare,” and they affected Russia’s GDP, inflation, interest rates, and unemployment. Sanctions also froze the assets of hundreds of Russian oligarchs. In the near term, Russia avoided bankruptcy by continuing to earn revenue from oil and gas sales, although key European buyers began reducing their dependency. Russia’s ability to persist despite the most comprehensive sanctions ever imposed has set off debates among economists and foreign policy experts on the limits of economic tools of coercion. This session synthesizes knowledge acquired throughout the course, particularly in earlier economics-focused sessions in FPA and IS, and asks students for an in-depth assessment of the efficacy of sanctions as a tool of war.

OBJECTIVES

- Review the range of economic tools available as a means of forcing behavior
- Trace the effects of different kinds of sanctions imposed against Russia, with an eye to identifying which were the most, and least, effective
- Consider the second- and third-order effects of economic sanctions for states imposing them, as well as those on the receiving end
- Distinguish, through examples and discussion, the various lenses through which foreign policy decisions and actions can be interpreted

Guidance

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the various kinds of sanctions on Russia? What impact has sanctions had on Russia?
- Considering the opposing conclusion of the Yale (Sonnenfeld et al) and Stanford (International Working Group) studies, why is it so frustratingly difficult to evaluate the toll of sanctions?
- Why does the length of time matter, and how has the impact of sanctions against Russia changed over time?
- What are the influences of the U.S. domestic political system in shaping the sanctions regime?
- How effective is the threat of secondary sanctions in persuading countries outside a dispute (China and India, for example) to conform to largely Western-imposed sanctions policies?

Essential Readings (71 Pages)

- Sonnenfeld, Jeffrey and Steven Tian, “Actually, the Russian Economy is Imploding,” Foreign Policy, July 22, 2022.
- The Economist, “Split Reality,” The Economist, August 27, 2022, 56-59.
- Kantchev, Georgi, Evan Gershkovich and Yuliya Chernova, “Fleeing Putin, Thousands of Educated Russians Are Moving Abroad,” Wall Street Journal, April 10, 2022.
- Nelson, Rebecca M., “Russia’s War on Ukraine: The Economic Impact of Sanctions,” CRS IF12092. May 3, 2022.
- Sonnenfeld, Jeffrey, Steven Tian, Franek Sokolowski, Michal Wyrebkowski and Mateusz Kasproicz, “Business Retreats and Sanctions Are Crippling the Russian Economy,” SSRN, Aug. 4, 2022, 3-36.
- The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions, “Strengthening Financial Sanctions against the Russian Federation,” The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions Working Group Paper #4, June 22, 2022.
- Thompson-Jones, Mary, “Case Study Reader: Task Force Kleptocapture vs. the Megayachts,” U.S. Naval War College, August 30, 2022.

Recommended Resources

- Korenok, Oleg, Swapnil Singh and Stan Veuger, “Russian Sanctions Are Working But Slowly,” Foreign Policy, July 18, 2022.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 22

REGIONAL SECURITY DYNAMICS

Focus

Trans-Atlantic security encompasses more than the relationship with Europe. Developments in the “outerworks” of the Euro-Atlantic basin—in the Western Hemisphere, Northern and Western Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Arctic—are critical to the overall stability of this region.

Guidance

- How do NATO and the EU cooperate to further security in the trans-Atlantic area?
- What are 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 a trans-Atlantic 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 trans-Atlantic community? How does this connect back to EU and NATO understandings of security?
- How does Russian action in Ukraine and the Middle East create security issues for Europe and North Africa?

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the north-south linkages in trans-Atlantic security
- Understand the role of the Western Hemisphere and Africa in securing the Atlantic basin
- Assess 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

Essential Readings (71 Pages)

- 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. [All seminars should read the Introduction, the cyber security chapter, and the burden-sharing chapter. Your instructor will select whether to read the hybrid threats, counter-terrorism or crisis-management chapters.]
- The Americas, Bello. “Latin America and Europe have much to gain from closer ties,” The Economist, 25 Jul 2019.
- Sany, Joseph. “To Counter Russia’s Aggression, Invest in Africa,” USIP, July 6, 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. 2019. “Russia’s Naval Development - Grand Ambitions and Tactical Pragmatism.” The Journal of Slavic Military Studies 32 (1): 41–69.

Your instructor will ask you to read ONE of the following two readings:

- Ashby, Paul. 2018. “U.S. National Security in the Western Hemisphere.” In The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security, edited by Derek S Reveron, Nikolas K Gvosdev, and John A Cloud. Oxford University Press.
or
- Pham, Peter J. Africa Isn’t an Island: An Emerging Continent and the Geopolitics of the 21st Century. Orbis. 2021;6(3): 420-431.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 22

REGIONAL SECURITY DYNAMICS

Focus

The trans-Indian oceanic 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 this trans-oceanic 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 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 the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan on regional dynamics
- Assess the coalition-building efforts of initiatives like the I2U2, BRICS and the Quad

Guidance

- 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 do regional rivalries impact great power competition? Does great power competition exacerbate regional tensions and divisions?
- How does India hedge between Russia and China, on one hand, and its U.S., European and Asian partners on the other? How does hedging impact regional competition?
- How does the greater Chinese role in the greater Middle East and the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan impact the regional security balance?

Essential Readings (80 Pages)

- Bloomfield, Alan. 2021. "The India-China Bilateral Relationship: a 'Serious and Enduring Rivalry.'" *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 5–23.
- Cordesman, Anthony H. "China, Asia and the Changing Strategic Importance of the Gulf and MENA Region," CSIS, October 15, 2021.
- Lons, Camille, Jonathan Fulton, Degang Sun, and Naser Al-Tamini. 2019. China's Great Game in the Middle East. Policy File. European Council on Foreign Relations.
- Weinbaum, Marvin, and Syed Mohammad Ali, Richard Weitz, John Calabrese, Iulia-Sabina Joja, Shanthie Mariet D'Souza, and Brian Katulis, "Special Briefing: Afghanistan one year on from the Taliban takeover," Middle East Institute, August 15, 2022.
- Tanchum, Michael. "A Commercial Corridor Involving the UAE could reshape Eurasia," *The National*, August 18, 2022.
- Blanco Pitlo III, Lucio. "QUAD and BRICS Want to Grow as U.S.-China Rift Deepens," *China-US Focus*, June 11, 2022.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 22

REGIONAL SECURITY DYNAMICS

Focus

Having covered the basics of the trans-Pacific region in session 1, when we explored how the Pacific Rim coheres as a place, how the U.S. alliance system came into being and anchors U.S. partnerships regionally, and how both the continental and maritime realms impact regional politics, session 2 explores specific regional dynamics that play a major role in U.S. policy considerations for the trans-Pacific. In particular, we will consider the U.S.-PRC relationship, North Korea's nuclear posture, the China Seas territorial and maritime rights disputes, and both longstanding and emerging regional institutions.

OBJECTIVES

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

Guidance

- Is the US-PRC rivalry all-encompassing? Are there areas for cooperation and, if so, which ones? Is the US-PRC rivalry a zero-sum game?
- Should the United States seek to “win” great-power competition against China, or should the United States seek to “manage” great-power competition with China?
- 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?
- Why does China want to control the East and South China Seas’ land formations, surrounding waters, and potentially all water within the dashed line? What are the implications for the United States and for regional countries?
- 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 Readings (75 Pages)

- Mazarr, Michael J. 2020. “The Essence of the Strategic Competition with China.” Prism (Washington, D.C.) 9 (1): 2–21.
- Cho, Hyun-Binn, and Ariel Petrovics. 2022. “North Korea’s Strategically Ambiguous Nuclear Posture.” The Washington Quarterly 45 (2): 39–58.
- Kuo, Jason, Min-Hua Huang, and Yun-Han Chu. 2022. “Maritime Territorial Disputes and China’s Soft Power in East Asia.” The Journal of Contemporary China 31 (133): 72–85.
- Sarkar, Mittika Guha. 2020. “CHINA AND QUAD 2.0: Between Response and Regional Construct.” Maritime Affairs (New Delhi, India) 16 (1): 110–30.





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 23

FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES

Focus

This session is aimed at exercising students' policy analysis skills as applied to a future-oriented policy decision-making challenge(s). The object of this session is to determine analytically what actors, factors, dynamics, powers, and influences in the national security policy decision-making ecosystem are likely to impact a future policy decision. Students will also look for insights into how U.S. policy might be decided in such a circumstance. Having a detailed understanding of the U.S. foreign policy-making apparatus, the policy ecosystem, and policy decision-making dynamics will provide students with the type of strategic foresight essential to the military and national security professional.

OBJECTIVES

- Exercise all FPA concepts and tools to determine the art of the possible in a future-oriented, notional policy decision-making situation
- Evaluate the range of policy actors, factors, dynamics, and influences that could affect a U.S. policy decision regarding a critical national security concern

Guidance

- This session will challenge students' comprehension of FPA concepts and tools with a notional (fictional) scenario that requires students to determine the most likely policy decision(s).
- The fictional scenario involves a surprise invasion by the People's Republic of China (PRC) of Taiwan-occupied islands (Quemoy/Kinmen/Jinmen and Matsu) that lie just offshore from the PRC mainland. This is a realistic scenario and a decision that policymakers could face in the near- to mid-term: what, if anything, to do in response? Faculty will provide additional details on this scenario during class.
- 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), including myriad domestic as well as international (two-level game) dynamics and pressures. In particular, Xinbo Wu, a leading Chinese foreign affairs analyst, provides insights into how Beijing has perceived and responded to past crises involving the United States.
- This session requires students to employ the full range of FPA concepts and tools to reach a compelling answer on how a U.S. policy decision-maker might react in such a scenario. Students may find earlier sessions, including the FPA-3 unitary state readings on U.S.-Taiwan policy particularly helpful. Indo-Pacific regional material and current U.S. strategies, particularly the most recent National Security Strategy and National Defense Strategy (unclassified fact sheet) discussed in the International Strategies sub-course are also pertinent. Finally, sessions on The Rise of Communist China, The Cold War, and The Return of Great Power Competition from the Strategy and Policy (or Strategy and War) syllabus, might also prove useful.

Essential Readings (48 Pages)

- 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," Chapter 17 in *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*. First edition. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1999), 315-348.
- Wu, Xinbo, "Managing Crisis and Sustaining Peace Between China and the United States," (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, April 2008), 7-10; 23-7.
- Seligman, Laura and Alexander Ward, "Pentagon Chief's Calls to China Go Unanswered Amid Taiwan Crisis," Politico (August 5, 2022).
- Chien, Amy Chiang, John Liu and Paul Mozur, "Fight or Surrender: Taiwan's Generational Divide on China's Threats," The New York Times (August 5, 2022).

Recommended Resources

- Culver John. "The Unfinished Chinese Civil War," *The Interpreter* (Sydney, Australia: The Lowy Institute, September 20, 2020).





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 23 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-Atlantic region is defined by a high degree of interconnection that both facilitates economic ties but also allows for what Moises Naim describes as the “dark side” of globalization to flourish. This session will examine some of the economic and social questions that define the broader Atlantic region.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the degree of economic integration that defines the Atlantic region
- Examine how Atlantic pathways can facilitate the transmission of threats throughout the region
- Assess how trans-Atlantic cooperation shapes the global system

Guidance

- How does the trans-Atlantic economic relationship enhance U.S. security? How do the trade, business and research linkages across the Atlantic community benefit the United States?
- How does the partnership between Europe and the United States enable the West to “write the rules” of the international order? How does this enhance U.S. leadership of the international community?
- How do north-south linkages in the Atlantic community enhance the economic security of the United States? How do these pathways also produce national security risks?

Essential Readings (120 Pages)

- Hamilton, Daniel S. and Joseph Quinlan, “Chapter 1: Pain and Resilience: The Transatlantic Economy in 2022,” and “Chapter 3: Shifting Dependencies: Rethinking Russia, China and Global Supply Chains,” Transatlantic Economy 2022.
- Podesta, John. 2019. “The Climate Crisis, Migration, and Refugees.” Brookings Institution Reports, July.
- OCP Agriculture Africa Report 2021 (Oxford Business Group, slides 16-22, 26-27).
- Purdy, Caitlin, and Rodrigo Castillo. 2022. The Future of Mining in Latin America: Critical Minerals and the Global Energy Transition. Policy File. The Brookings Institution: 4-23.

Case Study Securing Atlantic Supply Chains

- Home, Andy, with Emelia Sithale-Matarise. “Column: US forms ‘friendly’ coalition to secure critical minerals,” Mining.com, June 30, 2022.

Case Study: The Connections Between Legitimate Trade and Trafficking

- van Uhm, Daan, Nigel South, Tanya Wyatt, Criminologie, and RENFORCE / Regulering en handhaving. 2021. “Connections Between Trades and Trafficking in Wildlife and Drugs.” Trends in Organized Crime 24 (4): 425–446. (skip methods section).

Case Study: How trans-Atlantic cooperation shapes global system

- De Goede, Marieke, and Carola Westemeier, “Infrastructural Geopolitics,” International Studies Quarterly 66: 3 (September 2022).





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 23 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-Indian oceanic region is the crucible for a number of major threats—great power competition, nuclear proliferation, the continuing threat of terrorism and extremism, as well as natural disasters. How does the distribution of state and non-state capacity address efforts to keep this part of the world stable?

Guidance

- How do maritime challenges provide a basis for common action in defining a trans-Indian oceanic region? How does great power competition between India and China inhibit such efforts?
- In the previous session, you examined some of the transport corridors that define the geo-economics of the region. How can these connections be disrupted, either by natural events or by human action? How resilient is the region in terms of safeguarding these connections?
- 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 area of the world?
- In IS-11, you discussed questions of nuclear deterrence. How does the intersection of regional and global nuclear rivalries impact nuclear deterrence?

Essential Readings (45 Pages and 21min Video)

- Biswas, Aparajita. 2021. “Engagement of China and India in the Western Indian Ocean Littoral and Island States of East Africa.” *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 24–41.
- Chatterjee, Aditi. 2014. “Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the Indian Ocean Region.” *Maritime Affairs* (New Delhi, India) 10 (2): 77–95.
- Blaine, Mark and Francois Vrey, “Western Indian Ocean: Where trouble on land spells danger at sea,” *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute, October 29, 2020.
- Mohammed, Ahmed Anwer and Ravichandran Moorthy. 2019. “SAUDI-IRAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST: IMPLICATION TO NATIONAL SECURITY.” *e-Bangi : Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 16 (1): 1–13.
- South Asia’s Nuclear Future, SIPRI, October 8, 2021. [Required: Please watch the presentation of Dr. Lora Saalman 10:05-31:17; 21min total. Recommended: watch presentations of Air Commodore (Retd) Khalid Banuri, Former Director-General, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, Pakistan’s Strategic Plans Division; Vice Admiral (Retd) Vijay Shankar, Former Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Forces Command, Indian Armed Forces; Senior Colonel Dr Lu Yin, Associate Professor, National Security College, National Defense University, People’s Liberation Army.]

Recommended Resources

- Brewster, David. 2015. “Murky Waters, Dangerous Currents: India, Pakistan, China and the Coming Nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean.” *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 11 (2): E–1–E–4.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the role of geo-economic factors (supply chains, energy dependence, etc.) in either raising or moderating the chances for conflict
- Understand the risks of interstate rivalry, nuclear proliferation and terrorism for regional as well as global stability
- Assess mechanisms for strategic stability in this region





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 23

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS

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 on security.

OBJECTIVES

- Examine and assess the chief socio-economic trends and challenges in the region
- Understand and evaluate the implications for women, peace, and security in the region
- Examine the main economic and trade links between Asia and Latin America

Guidance

- What are the important elements of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) framework in the region? What role can greater attention to WPS play in promoting long-lasting, stable security and what more needs to be done to promote WPS in the region?
- What are the demographic challenges facing China and other countries? What impact will these challenges have on economics and security? How have gender roles been part of the issue?
- How would you describe the nature of Latin America-Asia trade flows? What is the likely future of Latin America-Asia trade?
- What are China's goals in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)? Is it a serious challenge to U.S. and global interests? Why or why not? What is the likely future of the BRI?
- What challenges does Oceania face in sustaining its fisheries which are central to the region's survival? What are possible solutions to these challenges?

Essential Readings (81 Pages)

- True, Jacqui, "Women, Peace and Security in Asia Pacific: Emerging Issues in National Action Plans for Women, Peace and Security, UN Women, 2016, 10-17; 22-24.
- Minzer, Carl, "China's Doomed Fight Against Demographic Decline," *Foreign Affairs*, May 3, 2022, 1-10.
- Feinberg, Richard, "Latin American-Asian Trade Flows: No Turn Back," in Cynthia J. Arnson, Jorge Heine and Christine Zaino (eds.), *Reaching Across the Pacific: Latin America and Asia in the New Century*, Washington DC: Wilson Center, 2014): 31-60.
- Kliman, Daniel, Rush Doshi, Kristine Lee, and Zack Cooper. 2019. Grading China's Belt and Road. Policy File. Center for a New American Security, 4-26.
- Horton, Brittany, "In Oceania, Fisheries are Life. And They are Disappearing," University of Texas, December 2019, <https://sites.utexas.edu/climatesecurity/2019/12/20/in-oceania-fisheries-are-life-and-they-are-disappearing-part-1/>

Recommended Resources

- Women, Peace and Security Index, Georgetown University [data sources to measure women's inclusion, justice, and security in 170 countries.]
- INDOPACOM: Women, Peace and Security Plan





FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS - 24

THE INDONESIAN HANDSHAKE

Focus

This session will allow you to practice demonstrating your comprehension of the material presented in the Foreign Policy Analysis sub-course in preparation for the final exam. You will work with readings that provide different perspectives and information on a national security case study. These materials provide both background and context through which to analyze a foreign policy decision.

Guidance

- In August 2002, the Bush administration announced the resumption of military relations with Indonesia. You are required to use course concepts and materials to conduct an analysis of this case. What are the most important influences or factors that led to this decision? What was the combatant commander's role? Can you apply and distinguish between the analytical perspectives in this case study analysis?
- Note that there will be no "school solution" for this case or for the final examination. The case materials can support a variety of interpretations and may even include contradictory perspectives. Your task is to use course tools to analyze the evidence provided in order to provide your own answer to the question in a well-reasoned argument.
- Additional guidance will be provided on the specific question, methodology, and format for the analysis. Your instructor will provide guidance on how your seminar will discuss the case analysis in class.

Essential Readings (71 Pages)

- Priest, Dana, "The Indonesian Handshake," Chapter 10 in *The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace with America's Military*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003, 216-273.
- Nicksch, Larry, "Indonesia: U.S. Relations With the Indonesian Military, CRS, August 10, 1998.

OBJECTIVES

- Analyze materials concerning a contemporary U.S. policy decision, demonstrate the ability to successfully synthesize the concepts and theories presented throughout the entirety of the policy analysis sub-course
- Demonstrate the ability to assess and evaluate which influences and actors were the most critical in the case study provided





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TAO) – 24 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 community, especially the challenge posed by Russia to the region's security.

Guidance

- Why does NATO continue to matter to U.S. national security? 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 community?
- How does the Russian challenge manifest itself in the Atlantic area? What are Russian strategic objectives? How does Russia's nuclear potential contribute to its ability to compete with the Western world for influence?

Essential Readings (50 Pages)

- McInnis, Kathleen. "Why Americans Still Need NATO," Foreign Policy, June 28, 2022.
- Garcia Rico, Lucia. "NATO and Climate Change: A Climatized Perspective on Security," Harvard Belfer Center, August 18, 2022.

Great Power Challenge:

- Herd, Graeme P. 2021. "Executive Summary: U.S. Policy Considerations," and "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).
- Baev, Pavel K. 2021. "Chapter 11: Russian Nuclear Instruments and Arms Control Approaches," in Russia's Global Reach: A Security and Statecraft Assessment, ed. Graeme P. Herd (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies).

Your instructor will also assign ONE of the following additional chapters:

- Dunay, Pál. 2021. "Chapter 3: Russia and European Great Powers: France, Germany, and the United Kingdom," in Russia's Global Reach: A Security and Statecraft Assessment, ed. Graeme P. Herd (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies).
- Perera, Fabiana Sofia. 2021. "Chapter 5: Russia and Latin America: Flexible, Pragmatic, and Close," in Russia's Global Reach: A Security and Statecraft Assessment, ed. Graeme P. Herd (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies).
- Siegle, Joseph. 2021. "Chapter 10: Russia and Africa: Expanding Influence and Instability," in Russia's Global Reach: A Security and Statecraft Assessment, ed. Graeme P. Herd (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies).

Recommended Resources

- Speech of Vladimir Putin, Munich Security Conference, 2007 Putin's famous Munich Speech 2007 – YouTube.
- Speech of Vladimir Putin, Victory Day, 2022 Watch Putin's speech as Russia commemorates Victory Day – YouTube.
- Speech of Volodymyr Zelensky, Address to Congress, 2022 Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's full speech to Congress – YouTube.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the role NATO plays in Trans-Atlantic security
- Assess 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 community including the conventional, hybrid, and nuclear threats





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TIO) – 24 FUTURE SECURITY CHALLENGES

Focus

Of the three main trans-oceanic regions, the trans-Indian region has the least institutional consolidation and many possibilities for instability. It contains several nuclear 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
- Assess how regional powers utilize great power competition to advance their interests
- Assess the possibilities for creating more Indian Ocean-based regional arrangements

Guidance

- Is the future of the Indian Ocean region going to be determined by the parameters of the China-India strategic competition?
- How does Pakistan use its ties with China to assert its position in the region?
- 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?
- Can the states of the trans-Indian oceanic region form closer associations and pursue greater economic integration?
- Can the United States develop a truly trans-Indian ocean-focused regional strategy?

Essential Readings (86 Pages)

- Gill, Don McLain. 2021. "Between the Elephant and the Dragon: Examining the Sino-Indian Competition in the Indian Ocean." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (2): 235–254.
- Solhdoost, Mohsen. 2021. "Iran's Geo-Strategic Orientations Toward China and India." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 60–77.
- Ranjan, Amit. 2021. "China's Engagement with Pakistan: Concerns for India." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 17 (1): 96–113.
- Gill, John H. 2021. "Russia and South Asia: India and Pakistan," in *Russia's Global Reach: A Security and Statecraft Assessment*, ed. Graeme P. Herd (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies).
- Wignaraja, Ganeshan, Adam Collins and Pabasara Kannangara. 2019. "Opportunities and Challenges for Regional Economic Integration in the India Ocean," *Journal of Asian Economic Integration* 1 (1): 129-151.
- Hastings, Justin V. 2011. "The Fractured Geopolitics of the United States in the Indian Ocean Region." *Journal of Indian Ocean Region* 7 (2): 183–199.

Recommended Resources

- Shivamurthy, Aditya Gowdara, Zeba Fazli, Delwar Hossain, Achyut Bhandari, Dinesh Bhattarai, Azra Naseem and Chulanee Attanayake, "India-China Competition: Perspectives from the Neighbourhood," ORF Special Report No. 197, August 2022, Observer Research Foundation.





INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (TPO) – 24 FUTURE SECURITY CHALLENGES

Focus

The trans-Pacific region is the world's most dynamic, home to 60 percent of the world's population, nearly half of global GDP, and several of the world's largest militaries. It is also set to 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, 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, worsening in recent years, present the most pressing flashpoint and potential for major power conflict in the region. Managing these ongoing and future challenges will be key to ensuring peace, stability, and prosperity in the trans-Pacific area.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the risks and challenges climate change will present to security interests in the Indo-Pacific region
- Understand the geopolitical and security interests in Oceania and evaluate U.S. and other strategies in the region
- Analyze how nuclear weapons may change the future of the Indo-Pacific and evaluate how to best manage those changes
- Apply international relations theories and concepts to cross-Strait relations and develop a strategy to best manage tensions

Guidance

- How is climate change affecting geopolitics and security interests in the Indo-Pacific? What risks and challenges does it 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 nonproliferation interests in East Asia? How should the United States and regional actors respond to these developments?
- What factors affect relations across the Taiwan Strait and, particularly, the likelihood of conflict? How helpful are concepts like the security dilemma, deterrence, diversionary theory, audience costs, economic integration, and identity help us understand these issues? How are these factors likely to change in the coming years and what do they imply for U.S. policy toward China and Taiwan?

Essential Readings (76 Pages)

- Thomas, Michael. "Climate Change and Military Forces," in Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific* (Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2022), 72-77.
- Sikorsky, Erin. "Great-Power Competition and Climate Security in the Indo-Pacific," in Robert Glasser, Cathy Johnstone, and Anastasia Kapetas, Eds., *The Geopolitics of Climate and Security in the Indo-Pacific* (Macquarie, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2022), 78-83.
- Wesley, Michael. "Oceania: Cold War Versus the Blue Pacific," in Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills, Eds., *U.S.-China Competition for Global Influence* (Washington, D.C.: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2020), 191-215.
- Sukin, Lauren, and Toby Dalton. 2021. "Reducing Nuclear Salience: How to Reassure Northeast Asian Allies." *The Washington Quarterly* 44 (2): 143–58.
- Kastner, Scott L. "International Relations Theory and the Relationship across the Taiwan Strait," *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2018), 161-183.

Recommended Resources

- Climate and Security in the Indo-Asia Pacific, (Washington, D.C.: Center for Climate and Security, 2020).
- Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States, The White House, February 2022.





TSDM– FX-01

INTRODUCTION, SEMINAR ORGANIZATION, PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

Focus

The Final Exercise (FX) is a two-phase TSDM capstone event in which students must demonstrate that they understand and can 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. Focused on its respective transoceanic region, during Phase One of the FX, the seminar must engage in the complete sequence of strategic assessment, planning, operationalization, and capabilities development over the next eight years. Phase

Two will present a reframing moment and assess the ability of the seminar to critically analyze their strategic proposal considering specific events within their transoceanic region and to develop and present three policy recommendations to address the events of the reframing moment

OBJECTIVES

- Demonstrate understanding of a wide range of TSDM course concepts through this capstone exercise
- Phase One: Identify U.S. vital interests, conduct a strategic estimate of the transoceanic region, provide a regional strategy outline, and list 3-5 capabilities necessary 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 and provide three policy recommendations to address the events in the region

Guidance

- In Phase One, each working group (seminar) must produce and present an executive-level presentation concerning their transoceanic 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 3-5 capabilities (means) that will be necessary to accomplish or advance the strategic ends. This presentation must be finalized and murder boarded 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 transoceanic 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 alternations or additions as desired. Additionally, the seminar must develop and propose three distinct and plausible policy recommendations to address the events of the reframing moment.
- 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 three policy proposals. 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, not slideology.
- The teaching team will be available as consultants but will not lead the seminar's efforts. Seminars must do a rehearsal (murder board) of their brief with their teaching team no later than the end of FX-06.
- For presentation grading, seminars will be placed in groups of four within their transoceanic regions and will present their briefings to a common faculty grading panel. Time and location of the final presentation, and grading panel members, will be provided by the FX Director during product development.
- 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. The grading panel will determine which seminar delivered the superior presentation within each group of four and will award 3 additional points to that seminar's presentation score. The maximum points that can be awarded for that seminar is 100; the other three seminars may only earn a high score of 97. Because the TSDM Final Exercise is designed as a team effort exercise, each seminar receives one grade that applies to all seminar members.





TSDM– FX-01

INTRODUCTION, SEMINAR ORGANIZATION, PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

- To determine which seminar delivered the superior presentation, the grading panels will consider the content, delivery, feasibility, and integration of TSDM course concepts of both seminars and determine which seminar delivered a superior product, proposal, and presentation. Additional grading considerations are provided in the syllabus sheet for FX-08

Recommended Resources

- Biden, Joseph. “National Security Strategy,” Oct. 2022.
- U.S. Department of Defense, “Fact Sheet: 2022 National Defense Strategy”
Mattis, James., “Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America,” Office of the Secretary of Defense, January 2018





TDSM FX-02-FX-05

SEMINAR PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

🔍 Focus

Throughout the course, students have learned concepts, skills, and substantive information about their transoceanic 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 a transoceanic region, provides the seminar's strategic estimate of the region, a regional strategy outline, and a list of 3-5 capabilities necessary to advance the strategy; target audience is the NSC Regional Director

≡ Guidance

- The required elements of the Phase One brief are:
- **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 the transoceanic region.
 - Once identified, the hierarchy of interests should form the foundation of the 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.
- **Transoceanic region 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. 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
 - 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 CDRs 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?





TDSM FX-02-FX-05 SEMINAR PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

- 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 3-5 Required Capabilities**
 - List three to five prioritized capabilities (Means) the seminar believes are necessary to carry out its regional strategic proposal (please refer to Capstone Lecture-1). Determine and defend the relative priority of your listed capabilities.
 - Conceptualize these as capabilities across the DOTMLPF. They can be hardware, or doctrine, organization, skills, etc. Be sure to be prepared to discuss how the seminar would get the proposal through the policy process, how it would work in the field, and how it would help to achieve the desired strategic outcomes.
 - 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.



Recommended Resources

- Foreign Policy Analysis and International Security curricula.





TDSM FX-06

SEMINAR PRESENTATION REVIEW

Focus

By the end of this session the seminar must present their Phase One presentation to their faculty consultant team for review and feedback..

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 rubric 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.

OBJECTIVES

- Complete the seminar's Phase One brief
- Conduct a rehearsal of the seminar's presentation and receive feedback from the faculty teaching team
- Complete questionnaire on main themes of seminar's FX presentation

The seminar may choose, in consultation with their teaching team, to do this practice briefing before the date FX-06 is scheduled on the TSDM calendar.

By the end of this session, the seminar will complete 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 course director. The submitted slides must be the slides used during their grading evaluation.

E-mail 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.





TDSM FX-06

SEMINAR PRESENTATION REVIEW

FX PHASE ONE PRESENTATION REVIEW CHECKLIST AND EVALUATION RUBRIC

	Delivery Rubric	Panel Comments
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 required capabilities aligned, consistent and mutually supporting• Innovative• Seminar makes a strong case for feasibility	
STRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Material logically presented• 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• Slide template is provided; slideology/creative design is not an evaluated element	
MISC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Responds well to questions• Managed discussion• Seminar participated in Q&A	



TDSM FX - 07

FINAL EXERCISE 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 develop three distinct and plausible policy recommendations that address the events of the reframing moment. The seminar must choose one of these recommendations as their preferred course of action and be prepared to defend their choice..

OBJECTIVES

- Critically analyze and assess Phase One strategic proposal in light of a major national security event

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 transoceanic region. The seminar will then use the scheduled time for FX-07 to develop slides that offer three policy options to address the crisis and recommend one.
- 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 apply their strategy against a specific set of circumstances. Using their previously identified national interests and strategic outline, the seminar must develop three (3) distinct and plausible policy proposals for the NSC Regional Director to address the events of the reframing moment. These recommendations may involve any and all instruments of national power, however one of the policy recommendations must be DoD focused. The seminar must present their policy recommendations and identify their top choice for implementation to the grading panel. The seminar should be prepared to defend their choice during the question-and-answer session.
- The seminar must prepare a short set of slides (3-5) to present the results of their critical analysis and three policy proposals. These slides will be presented after the 30-minute phase one presentation, and prior to the question-and-answer period. The seminar is allotted 10 minutes to present its phase two presentation. As with the phase one 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.

E-mail Phase Two slides to:

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

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





TDSM FX - 08

SEMINAR FOUNDATION GRADING

🔍 Focus

Seminars will be organized in groups of four within the same transoceanic region. These four seminars will deliver their Final Exercise Phase One and Two briefs to the same assigned faculty grading panel. After receiving all four presentations, the grading panel will deliberate and determine which seminar presented the superior presentation and will award that seminar with three additional points added to their FX score.

⚙️ Guidance

- The faculty teaching team will provide additional guidance on the conduct of FX-08, including the specific time and location for the seminar presentation. The seminar must bring four black and white copies of the presentations (two-slides per page) for use by the faculty panel. The Final Exercise is a team effort, and it is expected that all seminar members will engage during the Q&A period.
- Following the presentations by both competing seminars, the grading panel will deliberate and 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 this syllabus page. The seminar that delivers the superior presentation within each group of four as determined by the grading panel will be awarded 3 additional points to be added to the grading panel's assessment value. The maximum points that can be awarded for the winning seminar is 100; the other three seminars may only earn a high score of 97. Because the TDSM Final Exercise is designed as a team effort exercise, each seminar receives one grade that applies to all seminar members. Assessment results and grade feedback will be delivered to each seminar individually at the end of the day. Specific presentation and grade delivery schedule times will be promulgated by the FX Director prior to this session.

⚙️ Grading Criteria (see also rubric from FX-05)

📋 PHASE ONE:

- 📋 Does the brief clearly identify U.S. national interests within the assigned transoceanic region? Does the seminar do an effective job of assigning a level of priority to these interests, defending their assigned level if challenged, and identifying the impact of each priority level? Does the seminar effectively utilize these national interests to build a foundation for the entirety of their strategic proposal, and are these interests reinforced throughout the strategy as part of an easily recognizable Golden Thread?
- 📋 Does the regional strategy outline consider the characteristics of the near- and medium-term future security environment discussed in the strategic estimate? Does the brief present a reasonably complete overview of the transoceanic region including significant military, economic, political, or social issues that would likely concern the NSC Regional Director? Is the information presented in a clear, logical and organized way resulting in a sufficient understanding of the challenges, threats, risks and opportunities facing the United States in the region? Does it identify possible seams and challenges for the interagency and whole of government efforts? Does it take the global context into account?
- 📋 Does the strategic outline clearly articulate U.S. priorities within the transoceanic region, including the relative importance of the various instruments of national power in addressing the regional security environment? Does the brief articulate how the United States intends to conduct activities that address the challenges present in the security environment? Does the strategic outline and its proposed concepts take advantage of all instruments of national power? If the strategy is heavily focused on just one or two instruments of power, does the seminar effectively communicate their reasoning behind that decision? Does the seminar discuss policy implications, possible actors

OBJECTIVES

- Effectively deliver a 30-minute presentation of the seminar's Phase One strategic proposal to include: U.S. interests, regional strategic estimate, outline regional strategy, and 3-5 required capabilities
- Effectively deliver a no more than 10-minute brief of the seminar's Phase Two critical analysis and policy recommendations in light of the reframing moment scenario
- Effectively answer questions asked by the faculty panel for 30 minutes in a clear, articulate, and complete way





TDSM FX - 08

SEMINAR FOUNDATION GRADING

and processes, and DoD/interagency coordination required to implement whole of government concepts? Does the brief identify and explain the strategic vision, end state and strategic objectives? Does it acknowledge and mitigate risks assumed?

- Do the 3-5 items in the prioritized list of required capabilities provide the means necessary to implement the regional strategy? Are these capabilities relevant in the future security environment? To what extent does the brief communicate a consistent plan that links the future security assessment, the regional strategy outline and its supporting concepts, to the list of required capabilities? For non-DoD focused capabilities, was the seminar prepared to discuss the applicable agencies, policy implications, actors, and processes related to their whole of government required capabilities? Did the seminar effectively communicate how the CDR and staff would help coordinate and integrate these whole of government capabilities?
- To what extent does the seminar's presentation provide innovative and imaginative approaches to meet security environment challenges anticipated over the next eight years?

■ PHASE TWO:

- Does the seminar apply a thorough and effective critical analysis against their own strategic proposal in light of the events of the reframing moment? Are areas of strength and weakness identified? Does the seminar propose potential solutions to blind spots or missing concepts or capabilities? Did the seminar design an effective method by which to critically examine their strategic proposal? Utilization of a DOTMLPF or DIME-FIL framework or a SWOT analysis are all potential methods by which the seminar may critically analyze the effectiveness and suitability of their strategic proposal.
- Did the seminar present three distinct and plausible policy recommendations that provide concrete actions the United States should take in light of the events of the reframing moment? Did at least one of these policy recommendations focus primarily on the DoD and military instrument of national power? Did the seminar effectively select one of these policy recommendations as their preferred course of action and communicate why it was superior to the others?
- How well does the briefs for Phase One and Two explain the seminar's ideas? How well did the seminar interact with the faculty panel during the presentation and question and answer period? Did all members of the seminar participate in the question-and-answer session?





TDSM FX - 09

COURSE CONCLUSION

Focus

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

Guidance

- Seminars will coordinate with their faculty teaching team regarding the conduct, time, and location of TSDM FX-09. Seminars must have completed their FX presentations and received their grade and feedback from the FX grading panel prior to conducting FX-09.
- Seminar must complete the FX “Main Themes” questionnaire by FX-09.

Essential Readings (14 Pages)

- Flournoy, Michele. 2021. “America’s Military Risks Losing Its Edge: How to Transform the Pentagon for a Competitive Era.” Foreign Affairs 100, No 3 (May/June): 76-91.

OBJECTIVES

- Reflect on TSDM course concepts and learning objectives
- Discuss FX presentation competition and grading panel feedback
- Ensure FX “Main Theme” questionnaire is complete

