POL502
International Strategy
Summer 2023

UA Online

Description of Course

Policy and strategy development is perhaps the most critical function of the national security apparatus. The results of the policy process provide the blueprint for the array of agencies and departments that execute U.S. national security. Strategy can be narrowly defined in military terms or expanded into grand strategy integrating all of the elements of national power (Diplomatic, Information, Military, Economic, Finance, Intelligence, Law Enforcement). A review of classic strategists including Clausewitz and Sun Tzu will build a foundation upon which modern strategists like Mao Tse-Tung and Schelling add insurgency and nuclear game theory. This course will examine the definitions of policy and strategy, survey the structure and players at the top of the U.S. national security system, and provide the analytical tools for strategy development. Finally, the course will examine the strategy behind the Cold War containment of the Soviet Union and contrast it with the War on Terror strategy which has had suboptimal results. Throughout the course, students will develop a strategy that addresses a current U.S. national security issue. Leveraging an understanding of the nature of strategy and the structure of the national security system, students will build practical experience culminating in the presentation of their strategy.

Instructor and Contact Information

Michael L. Burgoyne M.A.
burgoyneml@arizona.edu

Course Format and Teaching Methods

Online Lecture and online discussion.

Course Objectives and Expected Learning Outcomes

The objective of this course is to impart the foundational knowledge and skills necessary to analyze and develop effective national security policy and strategy.
By the end of the course, the student will be able to:
- Articulate the key theoretical elements of important strategic thinkers
- Analyze national level security policies and strategies
- Describe and navigate the U.S. national security policy apparatus
- Negotiate and use teamwork to manage competing policy interests and objectives
- Develop and present a coherent national level security strategy

The student will also achieve ISS learning outcomes:
- Identify the central themes of modern security studies, especially as related to the student's concentration and interests. Specifically - Non-traditional security threats and foreign policy, including foreign policy creation, the influence of important foreign policy actors, and areas of foreign policy (such as democracy promotion).
- Demonstrate critical thinking skills in the analysis and evaluation of the modern security environment and foreign policies.

- Build and present arguments relating to international security, by conducting original research, generating arguments, and communicating those arguments through academic writing.

Absence and Class Participation Policy

The UA's policy concerning Class Attendance, Participation, and Administrative Drops is available at: http://catalog.arizona.edu/policy/class-attendance-participation-and-administrative-drop

The UA policy regarding absences for any sincerely held religious belief, observance or practice will be accommodated where reasonable, http://policy.arizona.edu/human-resources/religious-accommodation-policy.

Absences pre-approved by the UA Dean of Students (or Dean Designee) will be honored. See: https://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/absences

Course Communications

The course is offered through D2L (d2l.arizona.edu). There you will find access to the readings and materials for this course. **Please check the website DAILY** for announcements about the course, readings, and assignments. I post important information on the course site. In addition, I check my email in the evenings and will aim to respond to any questions within 24 hours. If you contact me, please put in POL580A in the subject heading.

Required Texts or Readings
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). *Available online through UofA Library
- David Rothkopf, *Running the World*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005).

Assignments and Examinations: Schedule/Due Dates

Lectures
The lectures will present the main findings from the readings, placing special emphasis on the primary theme underpinning each week. Students are expected to listen attentively each week and take notes on the lecture. Students will be expected to show an understanding of lecture materials in their discussion posts and in their papers. There may be guest lecturers designated for some weeks that have special expertise on the themes. Lectures will be posted weekly. The recorded lectures will be posted the first working day (Wednesdays) of each week.

Readings
This is an online class where you will only succeed if you stay on top of the material (in this sense, this is no different than a regular course). Read the material and be prepared to discuss during course interactions.

Discussions
Each week (except when explicitly noted in the syllabus calendar provided below), you will be required to post comments on discussion forums that will be created in D2L. The instructor will post questions/comments and you will then engage in the discussion by: 1) reacting to what the instructor posted and, 2) reacting also to **_at least_** one other student's statement. This is the minimum requirement (4pts). To get the maximum credit for discussion for the week, students should engage in a conversation

with other students. The discussion forums will be open for a period of 7 days every week (see the class schedule below for more details) to ensure that everyone has the time to perform the two activities outlined. There is a word limit of 200 words for original posts and 150 words for responses. More is not necessarily better. Your participation in these discussion forums accounts for 35% of your grade.

Note. I will also ask for a short video introduction in the first week. I think networking is an invaluable part of graduate studies. Let everyone know who you are. This is part of the grade for the first discussion session.

Mid-Term Paper

The mid-term paper is individual and accounts for 30% of your grade. The paper should be 2500 words (+/- 200 words), not counting footnotes. Students will select two or more strategic thinkers and evaluate their relevance to the current security environment. Students can select thinkers not reviewed in the course with my approval. If you have a question about the thinkers you would like to examine, feel free to bring it up with me and we can scope out the idea. You will submit an electronic copy on the D2L course website. **Due – Tuesday 1 August 11:59pm (Arizona Time)**.

Final Strategy Document and Presentation

On week two, students will select a national security problem to address and submit a topic for my approval. Some potential options are:

North Korean Nuclear Program
Iranian Nuclear Program
Russian Use of Cyber
Narcotrafficking in the Western Hemisphere
Chinese Territorial Claims in the South China Sea
Afghan Conflict Resolution
Venezuelan Instability
ISIS presence in Africa
The Conflict in Ukraine

From weeks two until the end of the course, students will develop a strategy to address the chosen problem. Students will submit a 2,500 word strategy paper and provide a recorded 10 - 15 minute briefing. The paper and the briefing should be designed for presentation to a principals committee meeting at the NSC. The strategy paper and briefing account for 35 percent of your grade. I will assign class members to provide peer reviews of the presentations. Ensure that you use the concepts and information you have learned during the course to support your arguments. Example formats will be provided. You will submit the video and paper on the discussion board for week eight on the D2L course website. **Due –Wednesday 23 August 11:59pm (Arizona Time). Peer Reviews must be complete by Sunday 27 August 12:00pm (Arizona Time).**

Expectations on Written Work

All papers should be at least 11-point font, standard margins. *Follow the Chicago Manual of Style and utilize footnotes for all papers* (http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html). Ensure that you are using reliable acceptable sources (hint: not Wikipedia).

POL580a Course Schedule Summary

Unit	Dates	Required Assignments	Estimated Time	Due Date
1: Defining Strategy and Policy	3-11 July	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	8 hours	
		Discussions,	5 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm

		Chat Session		
2: Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Kautilya	12-18 July	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	10 hours	
		Discussions	4 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm
3: Mao, 4th Generation Warfare, Nukes, and Tweets	19-25 July	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	10 hours	
		Discussions	3 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm
4: The U.S. National Security Apparatus	26 July – 1 August	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	10 hours	
		Discussions, Chat Session	4 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm
		Mid-term Paper	15 hours (research, reading, writing, and feedback)	1 August 11:59pm
5: Strategy and Policy Formulation	2-8 August	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	10 hours	
		Discussions	3 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm
6: Case Study One: Containment and Cold War	9-15 August	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	8 hours	
		Discussions	3 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm
7: Case Study Two: The War on Terror	16-22 August	Lecture	2 hours	
		Readings	8 hours	
		Discussions, Chat Session	4 hours	Tuesday 11:59pm
8: Strategy Presentations	23-27 August	Final Papers	20 hours	23 August 11:59pm
		Presentations and Feedback	4 hours	

Time in Class
Work Hours: 143
Includes lectures, readings, discussions, papers.

Contact Minutes: 2,640
Includes lectures, discussions and final presentations.

Grading Scale and Policies

Grading Scale

100-90	A
80-89	B

70-79	C
60-69	D
59-	E

Grade breakdown

- Participation in online discussions 35%
- Mid-term paper 30%
- Final papers 35%

Requests for incomplete (I) or withdrawal (W) must be made in accordance with University policies, which are available at http://catalog.arizona.edu/policy/grades-and-grading-system#incomplete and http://catalog.arizona.edu/policy/grades-and-grading-system#Withdrawal respectively.

Scheduled Topics/Activities

Unit 1
Defining Strategy and Policy

Listen to lecture.

Discussion Question: Define policy and define strategy. Is strategy useful?

Readings:

- H. Richard Yarger, "Toward a Theory of Strategy: Art Lykke and the U.S. Army War College Strategy Model," *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues*, 5th ed., Vol. I: Theory of War and Strategy, (Carlisle Barracks: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2012).

- J. Boone Bartholomees Jr., "A Survey of the Theory of Strategy," Theory of War and Strategy, (Carlisle: US Army War College, 2008).

- Richard D. Hooker, "'The Strange Voyage' A Short Precis on Strategy," *Parameters* (Carlisle: US Army War College, 2013).

- Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 1, Chapter 2.

Unit 2
Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Kautilya

Listen to lecture.

Discussion Question: Which thinker is the most useful today? Which one is the least useful?

Readings:

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), Book One: Chapter 1, Chapter 7; Book Two: Chapter 1, Chapter 2; Book 8: Chapter 2, Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Chapter 6.

- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Ralph Sawyer, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), Read only the Sun Tzu work no need to read the Sawyer sections. Available digitally through UofA library or online http://classics.mit.edu/Tzu/artwar.html

- Roger Boesche, "Kautilya's Arthaśāstra on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India," *The Journal of Military History* (Vol 67, no. 1 January 2003).

Unit 3
Mao, 4th Generation Warfare, Nukes, and Tweets

Listen to Lecture.

Discussion Question: How has technology changed strategy since the end of WWII?

Readings:

- Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, Trans. Samuel Griffith II, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), skip Griffin's introduction and Chapter 5, read the rest. Available digitally through UofA library or online https://www.marines.mil/Portals/1/Publications/FMFRP%2012-18%20%20Mao%20Tse-tung%20on%20Guerrilla%20Warfare.pdf

- PW Singer and Emerson Brooking, "The Future of War Will Be 'Liked,'" *Foreign Policy*, 2 October 2018. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/02/future-of-war-memes/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Editors%20Picks%20%2010/2/2018%20-%20Denver%20Korbel&utm_keyword=Editor%27s

- Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), Chapter 1, Appendix A

- Michael Carver, "Conventional War in the Nuclear Age," *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Ed. Peter Paret, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986).

- Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 11, Chapter 12.

Recommended Reading:

- PW Singer and Emerson Brooking, *Like War; The Weaponization of Social Media*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing, 2018), Chapter 1, Chapter 8, Chapter 9.

- Thomas X. Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, (Minneapolis: Zenith Press, 2006), Chapter 1, Chapter 14, Chapter 15

Unit 4
The U.S. National Security Apparatus

Listen to lecture.

Discussion Question: What are one positive and one negative attribute of the U.S. national security apparatus?

Readings:

- *The Constitution of the United States.* Read Articles I and II.

- Kay King, *Congress and National Security*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2010).

- David Rothkopf, *Running the World*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), Chapter 1, Chapter 6

Mid-Term paper due

Unit 5
Strategy and Policy Formulation

Listen to lecture.

Discussion Question: What roadblocks and compromises do you think were part of the development of the 2022 National Security Strategy?

Readings:

- "Guidelines for Strategy Formulation," *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues*, 5th ed., Vol. I: Theory of War and Strategy, (Carlisle Barracks: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2012)

- Robert Worley, "Instruments of Power," in *Orchestrating the Instruments of Power: A Critical examination of the U.S. National Security System*, (Raleigh: Lulu Press, 2012).

- *U.S. National Security Strategy*, (Washington DC: White House, 2022).

Unit 6
Case Study One: Containment and Cold War

Listen to lecture.

Discussion Question: Debate the following statement: "The U.S. policy of containment was a resounding success and a model of grand strategy." Last names beginning A-M argue for the motion. Last names N-Z argue against the motion.

Readings:

- David Rothkopf, *Running the World*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), Chapter 3.

- "NSC-68: A Report to the National Security Council," *Naval War College Review* 27, No. 6 (May-June 1975).

- Paul Nitze, "The Grand Strategy of NSC-68," in *NSC-68: Forging the Strategy of Containment*, ed. S. Nelson Drew (Washington DC: NDU Press, 1994).

- George Kennan (X), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Policy*, July 1947.

Unit 7
Case Study Two: The War on Terror

Listen to lecture.

Discussion Question: Compare and contrast Containment/Cold War strategy and the U.S. strategy in the War on Terror.

Readings:
- David Rothkopf, *Running the World*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), Chapter 12.

- U.S. National Security Strategy, (Washington DC: White House, 2002).

- Richard Haass, *The Irony of American Strategy*, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2013.

- Erik Goepner, "Measuring the Effectiveness of America's War on Terror," *Parameters*, Spring 2016.

Strategy Presentations

Use this time to complete your strategy papers and presentations, which are due on Sunday at 11:59pm (Arizona time). Post papers and videos on the D2L discussion board. I encourage you to comment and engage with your classmates based on their presentations. Set up an appointment with me by email if you would like to discuss the assignment.

Classroom Behavior Policy

To foster a positive learning environment, students and instructors have a shared responsibility. We want a safe, welcoming, and inclusive environment where all of us feel comfortable with each other and where we can challenge ourselves to succeed. To that end, our focus is on the tasks at hand and not on extraneous activities

Students are asked to refrain from disruptive conversations with people sitting around them during lecture or discussion. Students observed engaging in disruptive activity will be asked to cease this behavior. Those who continue to disrupt the class will be asked to leave lecture or discussion and may be reported to the Dean of Students.

Threatening Behavior Policy

The UA Threatening Behavior by Students Policy prohibits threats of physical harm to any member of the University community, including to oneself. See http://policy.arizona.edu/education-and-student-affairs/threatening-behavior-students.

Accessibility and Accommodations

Our goal in this classroom is that learning experiences be as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience physical or academic barriers based on disability, please let me know immediately so that we can discuss options. You are also welcome to contact the Disability Resource Center (520-621-3268) to establish reasonable accommodations. For additional information on the Disability Resource Center and reasonable accommodations, please visit http://drc.arizona.edu.

If you have reasonable accommodations, please plan to meet with me by appointment or during office hours to discuss accommodations and how my course requirements and activities may impact your ability to fully participate.

Code of Academic Integrity

Students are encouraged to share intellectual views and discuss freely the principles and applications of course materials. However, graded work/exercises must be the product of independent effort unless otherwise instructed. Students are expected to adhere to the UA Code of Academic Integrity as described in the UA General Catalog. See: http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/academic-integrity/students/academic-integrity.

The University Libraries have some excellent tips for avoiding plagiarism, available at http://new.library.arizona.edu/research/citing/plagiarism.

Selling class notes and/or other course materials to other students or to a third party for resale is not permitted without the instructor's express written consent. Violations to this and other course rules are subject to the Code of Academic Integrity and may result in course sanctions. Additionally, students who use D2L or UA e-mail to sell or buy these copyrighted materials are subject to Code of Conduct Violations for misuse of student e-mail addresses. This conduct may also constitute copyright infringement.

UA Nondiscrimination and Anti-harassment Policy

The University is committed to creating and maintaining an environment free of discrimination; see http://policy.arizona.edu/human-resources/nondiscrimination-and-anti-harassment-policy

Our classroom is a place where everyone is encouraged to express well-formed opinions and their reasons for those opinions. We also want to create a tolerant and open environment where such opinions can be expressed without resorting to bullying or discrimination of others.

Additional Resources for Students

UA Academic policies and procedures are available at http://catalog.arizona.edu/policies

Student Assistance and Advocacy information is available at http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/student-assistance/students/student-assistance

Confidentiality of Student Records

http://www.registrar.arizona.edu/personal-information/family-educational-rights-and-privacy-act-1974-ferpa?topic=ferpa

Subject to Change Statement

Information contained in the course syllabus, other than the grade and absence policy, may be subject to change with advance notice, as deemed appropriate by the instructor.