

Political Science 562: Strategy and National Security
Monday, Wednesday, and Friday

Instructor: Colonel Lionel Ingram, U.S. Army, retired, Ph.D.

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Primary sending mode: **By hand in the class and on time**

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Web page: **lionelingram.com**

Here you can find, as they are ready, all class handouts, readings and, when necessary, course announcements.

Office: **Horton 213**

Office Hours: **Monday, Wednesday, and Friday 9:30-10:00, 11:00-12:00, and by appointment.**

Office Phone Number: 862-1032 (Do not rely on this phone number; use my home phone.)

I. Course Description and Objectives:

This course has two primary objectives: 1) to provide you with an ability to understand, analyze, and judge national security behavior and issues and 2) to encourage you to have a continuing interest in world affairs.

It begins by addressing three questions:

- 1) what are national security and national security strategy,
- 2) how does a national security strategy differ from a military strategy, and
- 3) what influences the making of a national security strategy.

It then develops three aspects of national security:

- 1) the use of force and the relationship between the use of force and diplomacy,
- 2) some aspects of the American national security process, and
- 3) some major issues of American national security and defense policy.

We will use my narrow definition of national security -- the protection against the intentional use of force and violence by foreign states and organizations against a state and its interests.¹

¹ My broad definition of national security is the physical survival of the state and safety of its people. Such security would include protection against threats that do not necessarily have a base in a foreign state or organization. Such threats could arise in such transnational forces as the environment, disease, and the world economy.

Arising from a process, a strategy is a plan that:

- 1) identifies and explains the goals (interests) of the state,
- 2) considers the relative resources and means available to the involved actors,
- 3) tries to consider the interests and probable behavior of the other actors,
- 4) tries to consider all the other causal factors that could affect the ability of the state to achieve its goals, and
- 5) explains how the state should apply its resources and means in a course of action expected to be the most cost/effective in achieving the state's goals.

As we will see, no state can have a cohesive, comprehensive national security strategy. The closest a state can get is **an approach** to its national security. The ever-changing environment, the effects of the many causal factors, the demands of other interests, the scope of the issues, and the political and competitive nature of complex decision-making processes guarantee that the best a state can do is to approximate a coherent, comprehensive strategy.

Therefore, I have two specific analytical goals in this course: **for you to develop 1) an approach to thinking about national security, specifically the national security strategies and policies of the U.S., and 2) the ability to judge the effectiveness of such strategies and policies.**

Additionally, I have a concept goal and an informational goal. **I want you to be able to use effectively a number of concepts directly related to military strategy and U.S. national security and to understand the broad outlines of several national security issues.**

II. Instructor's Policies:

◆ I work on the premise that all students are responsible, honest, and courteous adults, who are at this university to learn.

◆ I am always ready to discuss course matters with you. I am available in my office during office hours or by appointment. If you are having difficulties, speak to me. If I believe you are having difficulties, I will speak to you.

◆ I expect you to attend all classes. If you miss more than six classes by the end of the course, for whatever reason, excused or not, you will give me a letter of explanation. I will take roll at every class. **If I determine that you have missed too many classes, I will reduce your final course grade up to one letter grade.** If there are prolonged difficulties that will keep you from attending classes, speak to me.

◆ **You cannot pass this course without having done all take-home tasks.**

◆ I expect you to turn in all work on time. If there is a problem, discuss with me an

appropriate extension. If a situation arises that could require missing a number of classes, discuss this situation with me.

◆ Only with my prior permission will I accept an e.mailed assignment.

◆ **HONESTY.** I expect you to be honest with me in all matters. I will take your word, unless you have given me reason to be concerned about your ability to tell the truth.

-- In doing an assignment, you are not to work with anyone regarding any task, unless the task is marked "collaboration permitted." All other sources are authorized. If a question is marked "collaboration permitted," you may discuss everything with others, but once you have started writing the essay the work is to be your own. You, however, may have others read and critique your work, and you may incorporate this advice in your writing. If the advice was significant, footnote the source – "Suggested by my mother."

An aspect of the above policy is that you may not supply answers or show your examination to others. To do so is a violation of my standards regarding collaboration.

If I find sufficient evidence of improper collaboration, I will assign the collaborators an F for the course and dismiss them from the class.

If there are more serious violations, I will follow the university's procedures for dealing with academic misconduct.

Citing Sources. An aspect of being honest is ensuring that you give credit to your sources. Above I have told you what I expect if you collaborate on a task. Additionally, for all tasks, you will provide a citation showing your sources, even if these are from the text or a reading on my website. For questions and paragraphs, only one citation may be sufficient and can come at the end of your response to the task. For essays, I expect the citations to be at the appropriate points in the essay. Citations should be in the form: (Jordan, p.254). There are administrative penalties for not citing your sources, up to a full grade for the assignment, and if warranted I will follow the university's procedures for dealing with academic misconduct.

You might wish to look at this site to help you better understand what is plagiarism:

www.unh.edu/liberal-arts/plagiarism/plagiarismHome.cfm

◆ **DISABILITIES.** "The University is committed to providing students with documented disabilities equal access to all university programs and facilities. If you think you have a disability requiring accommodations, you must register with Disability Services for Students (DSS), Contact DSS at (603) 862-2607 or disability.office@unh.edu. If you have received Accommodation Letters for this course from DSS, please provide me with that information privately in my office so that we can review those accommodations."

◆ **CONFIDENTIALITY AND MANDATORY REPORTING.** The University of New Hampshire and its faculty are committed to assuring a safe and productive educational environment for all students and for the university as a whole. To this end, the university requires faculty members to report to the university's Title IX Coordinator (Donna Marie Sorrentino, dms@unh.edu 603-862-2930/1527 TTY) any incidents of sexual violence and harassment shared by students. If you wish to speak to a confidential support service provider who does not have this reporting responsibility because their discussions with clients are subject to legal privilege, you can find a list

of resources here ([privileged confidential service providers/resources](#)). For more information about what happens when you report, how the university considers your requests for confidentiality once a report is made to the Title IX Coordinator, your rights and reporting options at UNH (including anonymous reporting options) please visit [student reporting options](#).

III. Requirements:

General.

Studying. Learning does not come from just reading and listening. Your learning is derived primarily from active engagement with the material -- considering the material and writing the essays. This is why there are so many written tasks.

Preparation for class. I expect you to come to class having read the assigned material, using the power points to focus your effort on what I believe is important in the material. This will help focus your mind and prepare you to ask questions.

If you have not read the material, it will be difficult to have any meaningful class discussion. What happens in class and what you learn in class depends on what you bring to class. The better prepared you are, the more the class will guide, reinforce, and stimulate your learning.

Texts. The assignments will come out of these required texts:

- ◆ The readings on my website
- ◆ Class handouts
- ◆ The power points, which I will send to you by e.mail as they are ready.

Graded Assignments: There are 1) four take-home examinations worth 18%, 18%, 18%, and 20%, one take-home history and geography quiz worth 4%, and four take-home assignments worth either 5% or 6%. **To pass the course, you must do all nine take-home requirements.**

◆ All tasks are due on time. If you need an extension, request it in advance. If at the last moment you have a valid reason for being unable to turn in a take-home task on time, I will give you an extension. If at the last moment you have no valid reason, I will give you an extension and reduce your grade one level: for example, B+ to C+.

Class Participation. There is no overall class participation grade because I expect you to participate in class as part of your effort to master the material. However, one could consider the reductions in grades for excess absences from class as a fair way to determine a class participation grade.

Writing Intensive Requirements. **This is a writing intensive course.** You will write often: well over 50% of the value of the assignments is derived from essay questions.

◆ I expect you to write with a purpose and with your audience clearly in mind. The purpose will be to fulfill the task I have given you, and I am your audience.

◆ General guidance is in the course handout, "Writing for POLT 562." Part of your grade on each writing assignment will be determined by how well you follow that guidance. I expect complete, well-structured essays and paragraphs as responses to the examination tasks.

IV. Schedule:

- 28 AUG *Topic:* Introduction
 Sub-Topic: The Course
 My website: Course Syllabus, Section I, “Course Description”
 Sub-Topic: My Expectations, Standards, and Course Requirements
 My website: Ingram, “Course Syllabus, Section II, “Instructor’s
 Policies”
 My website: Ingram, “Course Syllabus, Section III, “Requirements”
 Sub-Topic: Structure of the Course
 My website: Course Syllabus, Section IV, “Schedule”
- Topic:* Three Critical Concepts:
 Sub-Topic: Thinking with Bounded Rationality
 My website: “Bounded Rational Thought”
 Sub-Topic: Policy (getting from A to B)
 My website: Ingram, “Policy”
 Sub-Topic: Causation
 My website: Ingram, “A Useful Concept of Causation”

NATIONAL SECURITY AND STRATEGY

- 30 AUG *Topic:* What is Security?
 Sub-Topic: Security Broadly Defined
 My website: Ingram, “An All Encompassing Concept of Security”
 My website: Caldwell, Chapter 1, “The Meaning of Security
 Today”
 Sub-Topic: National Security as Defined for This Course
 My website: Course Syllabus, Section I, “Course Description”
 My website: Ingram, “A Useful Concept of National Interest and
 Goals” pp. 1-3
- Topic:* Why Theories of Global Politics, Although Important, Are Not Stressed in
 This Course
 My website: Snyder, “One World, Rival Theories,” *Foreign Policy*,
 Nov 2004
- 1 SEP *Topic:* What is Strategy?
 My website: Course Syllabus, Section I, “Course Description”
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, “A Strategy is a Plan”
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, “Span from Grand Strategy to Tactics”
- Topic:* The Conflict Spectrum
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, “A Spectrum of Conflict”

Topic: Considering Two Approaches to an American Grand Strategy

My website: Ikenberry, “America’s Imperial Ambition” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2002, “Proven Legacies and America’s Historic Bargains”

4 SEP **LABOR DAY**

6 SEP **HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY QUIZ DUE (4%)**

Topic: A View of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Early 21st Century

My website: Haass, “Where to go From Here: Rebooting American Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2017

Topic: Strategy or Policy: Getting from A to B

My website: Ingram, “Policy”

Topic: Bounded Rational Policy Analysis (I)

My website: Ingram, “Bounded Rational Policy Analysis”

My website: Unknown, “Political Socialization”

My website: Jervis, an outline from *Perception and Misperception in International Relations*, Chapter 4, “Cognitive Consistency and the Interaction between Theory and Data,” and Chapter 6, “How Decision-Makers Learn from History,” pp. 3-5

8 SEP *Topic:* Interests and Goals as the Basis of Policy Analysis

My website: Ingram, “A Useful Concept of National Interest and Goals”

Topic: Causality as a Basis of Analysis

My website: Ingram, “A Useful Concept of Causation”

My website: Ingram, “Policy”

Topic: Power as a Tool of Analysis

My website: Ingram, “A Useful Concept of Power”

My website: Jordan, Chapter 1, “The International Setting,” pp.14-18

My website: Jordan, Chapter 13, “Military Power,” pp. 271-275

11 SEP *Topic:* Bounded Rational Policy Analysis (II)

My website: Ingram, “Bounded Rational Policy Analysis”

Focus: Case Study (I) – ISIL, 2015 (**Due 25 September**)

My website: Ingram, Tasker: “ISIL, Summer 2017”

13 SEP *Topic:* National Security Strategy

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, “A Strategy is a Plan”

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, “The Primacy of Politics and Goals”

Topic: Clausewitz and Military Strategy

My website: Ingram, "Clausewitz, National Security Strategy, Military Strategy, and War"

My website: Moran, Chapter 1, "Strategic Theory and the History of War," pp. 26-32

15 SEP *Topic:* The Concepts of Victory and Military Victory
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "The Concepts of Victory and Military Victory"
Sub-Topic: Victory and Military Victory in World War II

Topic: The Concept of Limited War
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Limited War"
Sub-Topic: The Korean War
 My website: Spinicci's Maps
 Wikipedia "Korean War," sections 2 & 3

18 SEP **EXAM I DUE (18%)**
Topic: Cost/Benefits and Victory
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Cost/Benefit Analysis"
Sub-Topic: The Korean War
 My website: Spinicci's Maps
 Wikipedia "Korean War," sections 2 & 3

20 SEP *Topic:* Costs and Benefits Analysis, Strategy, and Victory
Focus: Case Study (IV) – The War in the Pacific after 1944
 My website: "War in the Pacific after 1943"
 My website: Map: WW II in the Pacific
 In-class video: American Experience Video, "The War in the Pacific," in part

22 SEP *Topic:* Influences on the Strategic Process
 My website: Gray, Chapter 1, "The Dimensions of Strategy"
 My website: Ingram, "Description of Decision-making"
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "The Equation"
 My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "The Primacy of Politics and Goals"

THE USE OF FORCE AND THE DIPLOMATIC INSTRUMENT OF POWER

25 SEP **CASE STUDY (I) – ISIL, 2017 DUE (5%)**
Topic: Consideration of the Use of Force (1)
 My website: Ingram, "Considerations of the Use of Force"

Sub-Topic:

My website: Jordan, Chapter 13, "Military Power," pp. 281-284

Topic: Considerations for the Use of Force (II)

Focus: Case Study (II) -- Guatemala, 1953 **(Due 2 October)**

My website: Tasker: "Guatemala 1953"

27 SEP

Topic: The Use of Force (I)*Sub-Topic:* Defense

My website: Jordan, Chapter 13, "Military Power," pp. 275-277

Sub-Topic: Deterrence

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Deterrence"

Focus: Some Nuclear Concepts and How Deterrence Differs from Mutual Assured Deterrence

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "How Deterrence Differs from Mutual Assured Deterrence"

Sub-Topic: Compellence

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Compellence"

Focus: Compellence: World War II

My website: Unconditional Surrender

Sub-Topic: Prevention and Preemption

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Prevention and Preemption"

My website: Jordan, Chapter 14, "Asymmetric Conflict, Terrorism, and Preemption," pp. 303-308

Focus: Prevention and Preemption: Iraq

My website: Secretary of State Powell's Addresses the U.N. Security Council, February 5, 2003

29 SEP

Topic: Diplomacy*Sub-Topic:* What is Diplomacy?

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Diplomacy"

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "The Functions of Diplomacy"

Sub-Topic: Bilateral relations, cooperation, competition, and conflict

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Dealing with Other States"

Topic: Some Uses of Diplomacy Related to the Use of Force*Sub-Topic:* Crisis Management

My website: Ingram, vu-graph, "Crisis Management"

Sub-Topic: Coercive Diplomacy

My website: Ingram, Vu-graph, "Coercive Diplomacy"

Sub-Topic: Conflict Management

My website: Ingram, Vu-graph. "Conflict Management"

Topic: The Use of Force and Diplomacy (I)

Focus: Case Study (V) – The First Gulf War

My website: Freedman and Karsh, “How Kuwait Was Won: Strategy in the Gulf War,” *International Security*, Autumn 1991

My website:

My website: Map of the Middle East

2 OCT

GUATEMALA TASK DUE (6%)

Topic: Shaping the International Environment

Focus: Case Study (VI) – The Unification of Germany

My website: Cox and Hurst, “George Bush and the Diplomacy of German Integration”

My website: Wittig, *Europe-Asia Studies*, “Moscow’s Acceptance of NATO” (1993)

My website: BBC: Europe 1989-1991 (click on map for the sequence)

4 OCT

Topic: The Use of Force and Diplomacy (II)

Focus: Case Study (VIII) – The Cuban Missile Crisis

My website: “Nuclear Order of Battle, 1962”

My website: Sherwin, “The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: In Search of Historical Perspective,” Fall 2012

My website: The Malin Notes: “Glimpses Inside the Kremlin during the Cuban Missile Crisis,” Fall 2012

My website: Gavin, *National Interest*, “Lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis,” 26 Oct 2012

THE PROCESS OF STRATEGY AND POLICYMAKING IN THE UNITED STATES

6 OCT

Topic: Process (I)

Sub-Topic: The Presidency and the NSC

My website: Jordan, Chapter 4, “Presidential Leadership and the Executive Branch”

Topic: Process (II)

Sub-Topic: The Congress

My website: Jordan, Chapter 5, “Congress”

9 OCT

EXAM II DUE (18%)

Topic: The Use of Force and Diplomacy (IV)

Focus: Nuclear Deterrence

CNN Video, “Cold War #12: MAD 1960-1972”

- 11 OCT *Topic:* Process (III)
 Focus: Case Study (IX) -- War Powers: Libya
 My website: Pfiffner, Chapter 6, “The President and National Security,” pp. 186-199
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 5, “Congress,” pp. 116-121
 My website: *NYT* OPED by Baker and Christopher, War Powers
 My website: *NYT* article on White House defense of Libya
 My website: *NYT* editorial on Libya
- 13 OCT *Topic:* Process (IV)
 Sub-Topic: Department of Defense
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 8, “The Role of the Military in the Policy Process”
 Sub-Topic: Civil-Military Relations
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 8, “The Role of the Military in the Policy Process,” pp. 179-183
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 6, “Homeland Security,” pp. 138-141
 My website: Ingram, Vu-graph, “Civil-Military Relations”
- 16 OCT *Topic:* Process (V)
 Sub-Topic: The Intelligence Establishment
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 7, “Intelligence and National Security”
- 18 OCT *Topic:* Process (VII)
 Sub-Topic: Planning, Budgeting, and Management
 My website: How DoD Gets Its Money
 My website: Jordan, “Planning, Budgeting, and Management”
 My website: Enthoven and Smith, “Yardsticks of Sufficiency”
- 20 OCT *Topic:* Process (VII)
 Sub-Topic: State Department
 My website: NDU, “The National Security Policy Process,” pp. 44-48
 Sub-Topic: the Process
 My website: Pfiffner, Chapter 6, “The President and National Security,” pp. 199-205
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 10, “Putting the Pieces Together”
 My website, Ingram, “The Pluralist Description of Decision Making” (Again)

SOME ISSUES

- 23 OCT **EXAM III DUE (18%)**
Topic: The Nuclear World (I)
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 17, “Nuclear Policy,” pp. 351-364
 My website: Tasker: The Nuclear World Task
- 25 OCT *Topic:* The Nuclear World (II)
 TBD
- 27 OCT *Topic:* The Nuclear World (III)
 TBD
- 30 OCT **NUCLEAR TASK DUE (6%)**
Topic: The Use of Force (III)
 Sub-Topic: Conventional War
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 15, “Conventional War”
 Sub-Topic: Non-Conventional War
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 16, “Irregular Challenges,
 Military Intervention, and Counterinsurgency”
- 1 NOV *Topic:* The Use of Force (IV)
 Sub-Topic: Military Intervention (I)
 My website: vu-graphs, “Hoffman’s views on military interventions”
 My website: Ingram, “When Thinking about Military Intervention”
- 3 NOV *Topic:* The Use of Force and Diplomacy (V)
 Sub-Topic: Military Intervention (II)
 My website: Zoellick, “Fragile States: Securing Development”
 The Keynote Address at the IISS Global Strategic
 Review, 9/2008
 My website: Thurer, “An Internal Challenge”
 My website: Conry, *Cato Institute Policy*, “Analysis No. 209:
 The Futility of U.S. Intervention in Regional Conflicts,”
 May 19, 1994
- 6 NOV *Topic:* The Use of Force and Diplomacy (VI)
 Sub-Topic: Iraq and Afghanistan
 TBD
- 7 NOV ***CLASS – the day follows a Friday schedule.***
Topic: The Use of Force and Diplomacy (VII)
 Sub-Topic: Anti-American Terrorists **ADJUST**

*Focus: Theory**Wikipedia*. Terrorism, sections 1-12

My website: Jordan, Chapter 14, “Asymmetric Conflict, Terrorism, and Preemption,” pp. 297-300

My website: Combating Terrorist (TBD)

Focus: Al-Qaeda

My website: Jordan, Chapter 14, “Asymmetric Conflict, Terrorism, and Preemption,” pp. 300-303

My website: *The Economist*, 28 September 2013, Leader: “Al-Qaeda returns”My website: *The Economist*, 28 September 2013, “The state of Al-Qaeda”

- 8 NOV *Topic: Morality in Foreign Policy*
 My website: Ingram, “Morality and Ethical Reasoning in International Relations.”
Sub-Topic: Responsibility to Protect
 My website: Morality in National Security
- 10 NOV VETERANS’ DAY**
- 13 NOV *Topic: Alliances (I)*
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 13, “Military Power,” pp.279-281
 My website: Sherwood-Randall, “Alliances and American National Security,” pp. 1-19
Focus: NATO
 My website: Jordan, Chapter 23, “Europe,” pp.493-497
- 15 NOV *Topic: Alliances (II)*
 TBD
- 17 NOV *Topic: Major Potential Rival – Russia (I)*
 TBD
- 20 NOV **ALLIANCE-NATO TASK DUE (5%)**
Topic: Major Potential Rival – Russia (II)
 TBD
- 22 NOV NO CLASS – PRE-THANKSGIVING**
- 27 NOV *Topic: Major Potential Rival – China (I)*
 TBD

- 29 NOV *Topic:* Major Potential Rival – China (II)
TBD
- 1 DEC *Topic:* Regional Threats
Focus: Iran
TDB
Focus: North Korea
TBD
- 4 DEC *Topic:* Technology
Sub-Topic: Cyberwarfare (I)
My website: *The Economist*: “War in the fifth dimension”
My website: Schneider, Blog, “Computer Network Exploitation vs. Computer Network, Attack,” 10 March 2014
- 6 DEC *Sub-Topic:* Cyberwar (II)
My website: White House, Fact Sheet, “Cyber Threat Intelligence Integration Center,” 25 February 2015
My website: Military and Strategic Affairs, Menashri and Baram, “Critical Infrastructures and their Interdependence in a Cyber Attack – The Case of the U.S.,” March 2015
- 8 DEC *Topic:* A Pluralist World
Wikipedia, “Polarity (International Relations)”
My website: NDU, “Political Flux in a Nonpolar World”
- Topic:* How transnational issues and national security broadly defined can affect national security narrowly defined.
My website: NBC, Briggs, “Is Climate Change Real? The Pentagon Sure Thinks So”
My website: Jordan, Chapter 25, “Globalization and Human Security”
- Topic:* The U.S. Defense Posture
My website: Walt, *Foreign Policy*, “More or Less: The Debate on U.S. Grand Strategy,” 2 Jan 2013
My website: Brookings, O’Hanlon, “A Moderate Plan for Defense Budget Cuts,” Chapter 6, “Conclusions”
- Topic:* A View of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Early 21st Century (Again)
My website: Haass, “Where to go From Here: Rebooting American Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2017
- 13 DEC **EXAMINATION IV DUE (20%)**

