POLS: 30210
U.S. National Security Policymaking: History, Institutions, and Statecraft
Department of Political Science and Notre Dame International Security Center
[Spring 2019 – M/W 11:00A - 12:15P, DeBartolo 216]

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Description of the course:

This course serves as a gateway for subsequent coursework in international security. It is a required course in the Notre Dame International Security Center’s undergraduate certificate program requirements, but it is also appropriate for, and open to, any Notre Dame student interested in U.S. national security policymaking. It will begin with an account of the history and development of U.S. national security policy from the Founding through the present. Next, it examines the current state of the primary institutions involved in U.S. national security policymaking. Finally, it explores the tools and instruments of military statecraft as applied by the United States. The course culminates with a simulation exercise in which students will role-play key participants in the U.S. national security policymaking process.

At a minimum, that students will gain the analytical tools, historical knowledge, and current-events background to become more informed citizens, particularly with respect to important national debates about when and how our country should use military force. At a maximum, the course may lead some students to become interested enough in the topic to pursue a career in either the practice or the study of U.S. national security policy.
Concretely, students in this course will:

1. Demonstrate an integrative understanding of the theoretical and policy components of international security.

2. Critically interpret and appraise others’ arguments about the physical, strategic, and moral impact of international security policies.

3. Develop and defend their own arguments about the effects of various technological and strategic developments in international relations.

4. Undertake independent research at varying levels of depth and sophistication.

5. Write and present theoretical research and policy positions clearly and concisely.

We believe in the complementarity of the policy and scholarly worlds. Scholars benefit from policy experience, and policymakers benefit from academic analytical skills. This principle is the foundation for this course and for the NDISC national security certificate program that continues beyond this gateway.

Areas of expertise of involved faculty:

The course will be taught by the following faculty:

Daniel Lindley is Associate Professor of Political Science and director of the NDISC Undergraduate International Security Certificate Program. Lindley’s book, *Promoting Peace with Information: Transparency as a Tool of Security Regimes*, was published by Princeton University Press in 2007. He has published and spoken on U.N. peacekeeping, internal and ethnic conflict, the Concert of Europe, the Cyprus problem and Aegean security, and pre-emptive and preventive war, with articles in: Contemporary Security Policy, International Studies Perspectives, Security Studies, International Peacekeeping, Defense and Security Analysis, Hellenic Studies, and PS: Political Science and Politics. Lindley was the founding Director of the Center for Undergraduate Scholarly Engagement (CUSE) at Notre Dame, and has worked for Congressman Ratchford, two arms control research and lobby groups (CDI and FAS), and the foreign policy study section of the Brookings Institution think tank. Lindley’s research focuses on causes of war and peace.

Eugene Gholz is an associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. He works primarily at the intersection of national security and economic policy, on subjects including innovation, defense management, and U.S. grand strategy. From 2010-2012, he served in the Pentagon as Senior Advisor to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manufacturing and Industrial Base Policy. He is the coauthor of two books: *Buying Military Transformation: Technological Innovation and the Defense Industry*, and *U.S. Defense Politics: The Origins of Security Policy*. Much of his recent scholarship focuses on energy security. He is vice chair of the international security section of the International Studies Association and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; he previously held faculty positions at the University of Texas at Austin, Williams College, the University of Kentucky, and George Mason University; and his Ph.D. is from MIT.
They will be assisted this year will by Benjamin Sehnert. A Ph.D. student in political science at the University of Notre Dame, with interests in the intersection of religion and politics, secularization theory, and phenomenological political philosophy. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Classical Languages and Political Science from St. John's University (Collegeville, MN) and a Master's Degree in Theological Studies from Harvard University.

**Procedures and standards for evaluating student performance:**

Students should attend every lecture and do all of the reading. Participation in discussion is not mandatory due to the size of the class, but we have found that there is generally a "positive correlation" between participation and the level of the student's grade. Regular attendance is important because the lectures will cover material beyond the readings. In addition, while this will not be primarily a "current events" class, a basic familiarity with recent and current history (from The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, or The Economist) will be essential. In other words, if you want to do well in this class, do all of the readings, attend every lecture, and read the newspaper regularly!

**Grading Rubric:** Your grade will be based on five things:

- Take Home Policy Memo #1 = 20%
- Take Home Policy Memo #2 = 20%
- Simulation Team Grade = 10%
- White Paper = 25%
- Weekly quizzes/talk responses = 25% (lowest two quizzes will be dropped)

In addition, you must attend three national security-related lecture/talks sponsored by the Notre Dame International Security center (NDISC) or one of the other institutes or programs on campus. (The NDISC Spring 2019 schedule is at: [http://politicalscience.nd.edu/notre-dame-international-security-center/events/](http://politicalscience.nd.edu/notre-dame-international-security-center/events/). The speaker may be an outside scholar or practitioner or a local scholar or practitioner. You must write a ½ - ⅔ page (150 words or so) response paper for each talk and hand it in to the TA at the next class. A response paper gives your reactions to the talk, addresses issues raised, and so forth.

There is no curve. All excellent work will receive an A. All good and competent work will receive a B. Work with some significant flaws will receive a C. Work with very significant flaws will receive a D along with recommendations or requirements to speak with the TA, one of the professors, any special counseling and advising services, etc., as appropriate. Incompetent, negligent, or non-existent work will receive an F.

Extensions may be granted for legitimate reasons, including illness of the student or in the student's family. Other reasons should be discussed well in advance with the professors or the TA. Flexibility may be possible ahead of time; very little is possible after the fact. Schedule and assignment pressures require planning by the student much more than they require flexibility from us. Most students have lots of work and commitments. We must be fair to those who do not ask for extensions and face similar or worse time pressures. Faits accomplis (turning something in late without permission) beat the alternative of not handing anything in, but they reflect poorly on the student and are insulting to us. Grades on faits accomplis and other avoidable late assignments will be adjusted accordingly.
**Academic Integrity:** All students must abide by the Notre Dame Honor Code: “As a member of the Notre Dame community, I will not participate in or tolerate academic dishonesty.” Details are available at http://www.nd.edu/~hnrcode/docs/index.htm. Please note that academic dishonesty (including plagiarism and unauthorized multiple submissions of work for assignments) will not be tolerated and will be punished severely. If we suspect academic dishonesty, we will use Turnitin.com to determine whether the student’s work is original or not.

Do not cheat. Your work must be your own. In writing for political science courses, cheating is most likely to take the form of plagiarism. Plagiarism is the use other people’s words or ideas without giving credit to the original author. Use footnotes or endnotes to give credit for direct quotes, paraphrased quotes, or borrowed ideas. We will explain how to use footnotes and endnotes in class and in handouts. If you don’t know what footnotes or endnotes are...Ask! Do not copy other people's old papers. Do not use your own old papers or use work done for another course. Do not copy or buy papers or sections of papers from the web or other sources. Do not quote or paraphrase without giving credit in footnotes or endnotes. This is true regardless of source, including online articles, books, and other print sources. Wikipedia and other general-interest encyclopedias are not appropriate sources for college-level work.

Your ideas, your arguments, and the vast majority of your text must be your own. Everything that is not your own must be noted. Possible penalties for cheating include redoing work, lowered grades, course failure, letters on your permanent record, and expulsion. Every year, a number of students are not allowed to graduate because they cheated. That is a more-than-$60,000 mistake.

You MUST use citations when:

- you use other people’s words or ideas in any way, from direct quotes to paraphrasing to borrowed ideas.
- you include a fact that is not commonly known. Anything you had to look up must be cited.

There are several links that explain citations and how to use them, via this link, under Writing: http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/handoutlinks.html

**Students with Disabilities:** We are strongly committed to working with students who have any disability recognized under the Americans with Disabilities Act to ensure that they are able to fully participate in class activities. If you feel you require a “reasonable accommodation,” please follow the process through http://www.nd.edu/~osd/.

**Computer policy:** Research about education has shown that students who take notes during class using laptop computers or other electronic screens learn the material less well than those who take notes by hand. Computerized notes tempt students to try to take dictation during class rather than to try to process the information that they are receiving in class. Computers also present temptations to engage in non-class activities, and notifications of incoming messages can be distracting. Finally, use (and abuse) of computer screens can distract your classmates as well, harming their educations (https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/22/business/laptops-not-during-lecture-or-meeting.html?_r=0). Consequently, we do not permit students to use laptop computers or other electronic screens in class unless we arrange a specific exception to this policy.

Useful Supplemental Sources: Professor Lindley has designed his website http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/ to make current events and international relations research fairly easy. Near the top of the page are links to various newspapers, journals, branches of government, international organizations, and various think tanks and non-governmental organizations. You may wish to bookmark the page for the duration of the course. He uses it to click around and get his daily fix on news and views. Many other useful (!?) handouts are also available there under HANDOUTS and ADVICE. He welcomes ideas for additions, corrections on dead links, etc.

Schedule of Topics and Assigned Readings:

We may tweak / adjust the readings for particular class sessions; if we do, we will let you know in advance, and we will make the new readings available via Sakai.

Part I: History

1/16/19: Introduction to the Course; The Constitutional Basis for American Defense Policy and the Role of the Military in Building the New American State.[Lindley]

- Millett and Maslowski, chapter 5.
- Constitution of the United States, Article I, sec. 8, 10-16 and Article II, sec. 1, 1 at: http://constitutionus.com/

1/23/19: The Civil War and Saving the Union.[Lindley]

- Millett and Maslowski, chapters 6-7.

In-class Quiz

1/28/19: The Spanish-American War and the Birth of an American Empire.[Gholz]

- Millett and Maslowski, chapters 9

1/30/19: A Great Power Military Goes to War for the First Time.[Lindley]

- Millett and Maslowski, chapters 11-12.

In-class Quiz
  - Millett and Maslowski, chapters 13-14.

2/6/19: The Cold War. [Gholz]
  - Millett and Maslowski, chapters 15-16.

**In-class Quiz**

2/11/19: The Vietnam War and the Media. [Lindley]
  - Millett and Maslowski, chapters 17-18.

**Part II: Institutions and Processes**

2/13/19: The President and Public Opinion. [Gholz]
  - Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 10.

**Memo #1 Due**

2/18/19: Congress and Interest Groups (Case Study: Veterans). [Lindley]
  - Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapters 9, 13.

2/20/19: The Pentagon and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. [Gholz]
  - Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 4.

**In-class Quiz**

2/25/19: Who’s In the Military? [Gholz]
  - Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 5.

2/27/19: The Services and Doctrine. [Lindley]
  - Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 6.

**In-class Quiz**
3/4/19: Civil-Military Relations. [Gholz]

- Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 3.

3/6/19: The Intelligence Community and Threat Assessment. [Lindley]

- Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 11.
- Erik J. Dahl, *Intelligence and Surprise Attack: Failure and Success from Pearl Harbor to 9/11 and Beyond* (Georgetown University Press, 2013), chapter 1. (pp. 6-26)

**In-class Quiz**

Spring Break – No Class 3/11/19 – 3/15/19 [Must be signed-up for simulation teams by now]


- Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 12.

3/20/19: The Defense Budget. [Lindley]

- Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 7.

**In-class Quiz**

3/25/19: Acquisition and Innovation. [Gholz]

- Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 8.
Part III: Statecraft


- Fact Sheets:
  Union of Concerned Scientists, “How Do Nuclear Weapons Work?”
  https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Nuclearweaponwhohaswhat
- Thorough primer: https://www.wisconsinproject.org/nuclear-weapons/
- U.S. Congressional Research Service, “U.S. Strategic Nuclear Forces: Background, Developments, and Issues,” Updated November 21, 2018, pp. 1-10. The rest is background for the simulation on the nuclear budget. Be sure to read it as part of your simulation preparation.
- (Very optional!) For any nuke nuts, here is a whole semester class worth of lectures on nukes: http://isis-online.org/conferences/detail/nuclear-non-proliferation-technical-primer/

Memo #2 Due

4/1/19: Deterrence and Arms Control. [Lindley]

- Gerard Powers, “From Nuclear Deterrence to Disarmament: Evolving Catholic Perspectives,”

4/3/19: Simulation Team Meetings [various undisclosed locations].


- Sapolsky, Gholz, and Talmadge, chapter 2.

4/10/19: Ground Combat. [Gholz]


In-class Quiz
4/15/19: Asymmetric Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Peacekeeping. [Lindley]

- Headquarters, Department of the Army, *Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies*, FM3-24 (May 2014), Cover to 1-14; 1-19 to 1-22; 2-1 to 2-10; 3-1 to 3-5.

4/17/19: Air and Naval Operations. [Gholz]


**In-class Quiz**

**Simulation**

4/24/19: Simulation Exercise – Part 1

4/29/19: Simulation Exercise – Part 2

5/1/19: Simulation Exercise – After Action Review

**Final White Paper Due – XXXX at 5:00 PM (E.S.T.)**
Policy Memo Assignments
POLS 30210
US National Security Policymaking
Professors Eugene Gholz and Dan Lindley
TA Benjamin Sehnert

One of the goals of this course is to help students prepare for careers in national security, broadly defined. In your career (and in most careers), you will have to write policy memos recommending a course of action that addresses a policy problem. Therefore, we are tasking you to write two policy memos.

The first is due at the end of our section on History, February 13, 2019. The second is due at the end of our section on Institutions and Processes, March 27, 2019.

For the first, you are to write a policy memo for any of the historical topics covered in this section. You must write a recommendation/s for a policy choice the US did NOT make, and you can ONLY use information available at the time.

For the second, you are to make a recommendation/s to fix a policy problem whose roots lie in institutions.

In both cases, the topic is up to you. Open-ended topics are a wonderful invitation to the curious but quicksand to procrastinators.

Papers will be graded on clarity and professionalism of writing, persuasiveness of argumentation, and mastery of the subject.

Details:

Policy memos diagnose the causes of a problem and recommend solution/s. They must address two related sets of issues: PEST and SWOT. PEST stands for political, economic, social, and technological. SWOT stands for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats.

Use PEST, as relevant, to assess technical/scientific, social, political, etc. causes of problems, as well as historical precedents of both causes and attempted remedies.

Use PEST factors under SWOT to assess the strengths and weaknesses of your proposals. This includes feasibility, costs, benefits, and expected utility.

You will find in the handouts (below and on the Lindley webpage) that these terms and their purposes vary in their meaning and explanations, depending on the author. You probably do not have space to use every element, nor are they all equally relevant to every topic. The bottom line is to be persuasive.

Use facts. Avoid assertions.
It will be very hard to be persuasive in 5 pages, but that is the point. Imagine your memo is going to a very busy president or superior. 5 pages, 5 minutes is all you have. Write well.

**Technical Requirements:**

You are required to have a cover page with an abstract, five pages maximum of text, then endnotes, and finally a bibliography. All text pages exceeding five may be ignored. It will harm your grade if you exceed the limit and your conclusion (or more) is ignored and considered missing.

You will need to do some independent research, as none of our readings provide enough data to make a convincing argument that answers the above questions.

Do not cheat by plagiarizing, copying, or re-using old work. Anything you look up, you must cite. See the syllabus for more information on cheating.

How to Write Policy Memos
Advice from leading Universities
Dan Lindley, January 8, 2018, v. 1.1a


*https://twp.duke.edu/sites/twp.duke.edu/files/file-attachments/policy-memo.original.pdf*


* [http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/policymemo](http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/policymemo)


* [http://wilcoxen.maxwell.insightworks.com/pages/275.html](http://wilcoxen.maxwell.insightworks.com/pages/275.html) examples of good and bad writing

Two others:

https://www.idrc.ca/sites/default/files/idrcpolicybrieftoolkit.pdf  ppt type presentation but 37pp = too long!