PLAY BALL!
NATIONAL SECURITY AND SPORTS

ELECTIVE COURSE 6095

SYLLABUS

ACADEMIC YEAR 2020-2021
FALL

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Course Overview: Play Ball! National Security and Sports

Sport is a universal language. At its best it can bring people together, no matter what their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status. And when young people participate in sports or have access to physical education, they can experience real exhilaration even as they learn the ideals of teamwork and tolerance. That is why the United Nations is turning more and more to the world of sport for help in our work for peace and our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

~ Kofi Annan, Secretary General, United Nations

Introduction

The combination of sports and politics is a story of some success, a bit of failure, but mostly missed opportunity. This is not a course on sports history and athletic achievement but an academic study using sports as a vehicle to answer the fundamental question: What “position” can sports “play” on the “field” of U.S. National Security? To answer this question, this course combines a contextual analysis viewed through the unique lens of sports and the application of sports as non-military instrument of national power to design a new Game Plan for U.S. National Security.

The history of sports on the field of politics and national security dates back to the earliest organized sporting events. Prior to the pre-modern Olympic Games, organizers declared the Olympic Truce whereby participants agreed to suspend hostilities over the course of the events. The Spartans, however, were prohibited from participating in the 420 BC Olympics after completing military maneuvers during the truce. Sport’s influence as an instrument of U.S. power began in 1888 with Chicago White Stockings owner “Big Al” Spalding and America’s first sports diplomats. Eager to promote the national pastime of baseball and his personal empire, his troupe of All-Stars circled the globe playing exhibition games. Emerging from World War II as an international power, the U.S. Department of State (DoS) used African-American athlete diplomats in response to global competitors challenging American values. The level at which sports can influence international relations is exemplified by President Barack Obama’s attendance at a baseball game with Raul Castro 2015. The national security strategist need look no further than the firestorm the General Manager of the Houston Rockets created when tweeting his support for Hong Kong to understand the power sports play in national security. When a peer competitor forces their values on a US multi-billion dollar company, it may be time for a new foreign policy game plan.

The course consists of twelve weekly two-hour seminars designed for maximum student participation and interaction after preparation through targeted readings. The course will also examine current sports-related topics as they arise.

Course Learning Outcomes (CLO)

The course has four main objectives:
1. Analyze the **fundamental nature, capabilities, and limitations** of sports as they pertain to the Diplomatic, Information, Military, and Economic instruments of power and the U.S. national security establishment.

2. Analyze how **sports can affect U.S. interests** in the broad political context of U.S. national security.

3. Analyze how **domestic and international sports historical, geographical, ethnic, religious, and cultural characteristics influence** the formulation and execution of national security policy.

4. Evaluate the fundamental issues and debates in the **development of past and present** sports policies affecting U.S. national security.

**Course Approach**

The course focuses on using sports to complete two elements of strategy development. The first element is context. Sports will be used as an indicator, or *driver* to define *international and domestic contexts*. National identity will also be viewed through the lens of sports to tell the story. The second element is sports as a *way* or *mean*. Students will assess strategies whereby sports were used as an element of strategy to advance desired *national interests*. Furthermore, how the non-military *Instruments of Power (IOPs)* wield sports, along with coherent *strategic approaches*, will be analyzed. For each topic, the seminar will analyze whether sports played the strategy position of *way* or *mean* assigned to “block” for a corresponding *political aim* or *subordinate objective* while serving the ultimate goal of “tackling” a national interest. Further strategy analysis will determine how sports can address either a *threat* or *opportunity* to achieve national interest victory. Finally, the *institution* or *agency* responsible to execute this sports strategy is identified.

Block 1 (Topics 1-2) opens with an introductory overview and discussion of practical examples of sports applications for strategy practitioners in national security strategy development. After this brief introduction, Topic 2 examines the theory behind the use of sports for public diplomacy purposes and historic and current U.S. Government efforts to advance national interests through sports. Block 2 (Topics 3-7) examines the role specific sports have played in national security strategy as they relate to defining context or in support of individual IOPs. Block 3 (Topics 7-9) combine the roles sport can play through analysis of global mega-competitions. The course ends with Block 4 (Topics 11-12) which allow students to present their own sports strategies to a panel.

Topics 3-10 will begin with a 15-minute student/group presentation where the objective is to prepare POTUS, or other senior government official, to attend an event relative to the day’s assigned sport/mega-competition. Following each presentation, the seminar discussion will use the assigned readings to further analyze the sport’s influence on foreign policy and domestic and international contexts. Other sports may be included in the discussion to provide supporting or alternative perspectives.

Using the concepts and lessons learned from Topics 1-10, students will divide into teams of 3-4 and develop a Sports Strategy *Game Plan* to address a current national security issue using sports as the primary focus. Topics 11 and 12 are designed to give students the opportunity to present
their sports game plans to a panel and their classmates.

Drawing heavily on sports cultural and political patterns of interaction, this course will use a tailored version of the National War College’s (NWC) case-study format. These frameworks for analysis, strategy development, and Ends-Ways-Means discussions are based on NWC’s National Security Strategy Framework and the National Security Strategy Model for Ends-Ways-Means (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Course Assignments

1. **Sport/Event Package for POTUS Project (20%)**: Each student/group will be assigned to prepare a package to prepare POTUS, or other senior government official, to attend the next big international event relative to your assigned sport (no more than 15 minutes). The briefing package should include:
   a. Cover memo (1-page) with 5-W's (What/What/When/Where/Why)
   b. Longer Scene Setter (2-3 page double space, prose)
   c. Recommended talking points (bullets)

2. **Sports Strategy Project (50%)**: You will develop a sports Game Plan related to a particular security-related program or issue. For the purposes of this exercise, the position of U.S. National Sports Minister has been established on the National Security Council. Working in a team of three to four, you will act as advisors to the “Sports Comish.” You will identify a security issue of interest to you and then determine how sports can be either act as a singular solution or part of a broader strategy. Your group will present your strategy in one of the last two seminar meetings, at which point a panel will critique and evaluate your strategy. The minimum requirement is a 2-page “read ahead” and a title slide for display.

3. **Seminar Participation (30%)**: This elective contains a mixture of seminars, in-class presentations, and case studies. You are strongly encouraged to participate actively in all venues. Guest speakers will be scheduled and you will have the opportunity to ask questions of the guest speaker. Take advantage of the opportunity and ask thoughtful questions. Your regular participation is crucial to the success of the seminar. You and your seminar colleagues will learn more through active engagement than you will through passive listening. Moreover, the seminar environment is a perfect opportunity for you to explore innovative and possibly controversial ideas in a nonjudgmental setting. Finally, the course contains opportunities for individual presentations and group case studies. Full participation is critical for your success and the success of group efforts.

Course Anthology

Four basic texts and two movies will be used in this course with an **average of 50 pages per topic**.

Texts:


Videos

Selections from these works are indicated for appropriate weeks. Additional readings from various primary and secondary sources are also provided to students in pdf format. Assigned readings can be downloaded through the NDU library or via the internet. Podcasts and YouTube videos may be included if applicable.

You are expected to read the class assignments, but please also follow international and domestic sports news; specifically monitor major international competitions such as the Olympics and World Cup (if applicable). Useful sports sources include: [Eurosport.com](http://Eurosport.com), [BeyondSport.org](http://BeyondSport.org), [Sportsbusinessdaily.com](http://Sportsbusinessdaily.com), and [bbc.com/sport](http://bbc.com/sport).

**Assessment Policy**

Students must demonstrate mastery of the stated course objectives to pass this course. The course director will use performance on the following assessments to determine each student’s final grade: Sport/Event Package for POTUS Project (20%), Sports Strategy Project (50%), and Seminar Participation 30%).

The following grading scale will be used:

**Figure 1. NDU Grading Scale**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
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<tr>
<td>100-93</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92-90</td>
<td>A-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89-87</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86-83</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-80</td>
<td>B-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-70</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 or less</td>
<td>F</td>
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Students must meet all stated course objectives to pass this course.

Students who fail to complete all course requirements in the time allotted will receive an overall grade of Incomplete (I), and students who cannot meet all course objectives will receive an
overall grade of Fail (F). In both cases, the student will enter a remediation program in an effort to bring the student’s performance up to passing standards. Any student may appeal any course grade. First, within a week of the release of the grade, request a review by the course director. Should this review not lead to a satisfactory resolution, submit a written petition to the NWC Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs within two weeks of the release of the grade. The Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs will convene a faculty panel to conduct a formal review; the decision of that panel will be final.

Absence Policy

1. Students must notify their assigned college’s leadership and the course professor/instructor of absences in accordance with the College Absence/Leave Policy.
   a. Foreseen absences (e.g. student travel) require prior notification.
   b. Unforeseen absences (e.g. sudden personal injury or illness; sudden injury, illness, or death in the family, etc.) require notification as soon as possible, but no later than the first day the student returns to class.
2. It is the student’s responsibility to complete any reading and coursework missed during the absence.
3. It is the student’s responsibility to complete additional assignments as required by the professor/instructor.
4. Students who accumulate 4 or more foreseen or unforeseen absences will be required to participate in a performance review by the course’s host college.
**Topic 1**

**SPORTS AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

Using Sports to Develop Strategy

*Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball.*

~ Jacques Barzun, French-American Historian

*Research has demonstrated that when women and girls participate in sports they are more likely to gain leadership skills that are vital across all areas of life, and the women in this program are aiming to use that knowledge to create stronger, more stable communities.*

~ Laura Gentile, ESPN Senior VP and Leader of espnW and Women’s Initiatives

**Overview**

The first step of strategy development is understanding the problem. The strategist must ask themselves, “What is the story?” This topic will argue, and provide evidence, sports can be used to analyze domestic and international contexts in addition to defining national identity. For example, the mass exodus of a country’s athletic talent can indicate poor government economic policies. Likewise, a mass influx of talent could indicate the destination provides economic freedom and opportunity.

Once the problem is understood, sports can then be used as a way or mean to achieve desired objectives. The objectives address threats and opportunities in order to achieve political aims and national interests. Nations have used sports as a foreign policy way or mean to achieve national interests with varying degrees of success. South Korea, for example, enacted positive democratic changes in order to show their country in a positive light in preparation for the 1988 Summer Olympic Games.

This lesson analyzes the efficacy of strategists to use sports to define context and as a way or mean. Further analysis will look at sports as an opportunity to act as a catalyst for change.

**Issues for Consideration**


2. How can sports be used to tell the story of political challenges in China, Russia, and Iran? (CLO 3)

3. Critique the Lago et al. argument competitive balance of a country’s domestic football league correlates to good governance. Can the strategist use this correlation to diagnose domestic context? (CLO 3)

4. How effective was baseball in enabling post-Civil war reconstruction? In what areas did
it fall short? (CLO 1)

5. Critique the long-term effectiveness of civil and political change in China following the 2008 Olympics. (CLO 1, 3)

6. Do you see any lessons from the readings for applying sports to current U.S. national security challenges? (CLO 2)

Required Readings (59 pages)


Alternate podcast format links:
- Google: https://podcasts.google.com/?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5mZWVkYnVuby5vLy&hash=614402
- Podcruncher: http://podcruncher.co/play/4oXL


Additional Resources (32 pages)


THE GLOBAL SPORTS GAME PLAN
A Court-side Seat

The mission and role of the IOC is to oppose any political or commercial abuse of sport and athletes.
~ Olympic Charter Rule 2, Article 5

Sports and politics don’t mix.
~ Eric Heiden, U.S. Olympic Gold Medalist

Politics should not interfere with sports. And sports should impact politics.
~ Vladimir Putin, Russian President

Overview

The International Olympic Committee's (IOC) mission reflects the Idealist’s desire for sport to remain pure and isolated from politics. The Realist, however, acknowledges the two have been, and forever will be, interconnected. If the Realist’s perspective is accepted, the national security strategist then looks to sport as a significant opportunity to advance a nation’s interests. This perspective then begs the question, how is the U.S. Government (USG) using, or plans to use, sports to support the IOPs?

The first significant American use of sports to address U.S. national interest originated in the private sector. “Big Al” Spalding led a world-wide baseball exhibition tour in 1888-89 to expand his personal empire and explore new sports markets. While these “sport tourists” may have spread American values as a by-product, scant evidence suggests the USG integrated the exhibition into a larger, coordinated security strategy.

Early public examples of USG coordinated sports-influenced security strategies appear following WW II during America's rise to power. The domestic failure to fully integrate African-Americans into the American enterprise challenged the very ideals the U.S. attempted to project abroad. DoS officials faced constant criticism from countries and peoples of color along with a subversive Soviet information campaign highlighting American inconsistencies. Following the integration of Major League Baseball (MLB) with Jackie Robinson’s debut in 1947, professional sports gained notoriety as an American institution integration "success" story. DoS planners identified this "progress" as an opportunity to counter critics by sending mostly African-American athletes abroad as part of an information campaign. From these humble beginnings, DoS expanded its sports diplomacy programs in order to serve U.S. national interests and today runs sports diplomacy programs out of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (https://eca.state.gov/programs-initiatives/initiatives/sports-diplomacy).

This lesson presents the current USG and non-USG sports programs and associated policies which are used to advance US National Interests.
Issues for Consideration

1. What is the linkage between sports and national security? Should sports remain independent of politics? (CLO 4)

2. What are the past and current U.S. Government efforts to leverage sports across the Diplomatic, Information, Military, Economic, (DIME) instruments of power? What level of success have these efforts achieved? (CLO 1)

3. Do American sports reflect its domestic values? If so, how?

Required Readings (62 pages)


Overview

If sports competed head-to-head and victory is achieved by scoring the global scale, history, passion, and impact on politics, football (what Americans have come to know as soccer) would win in a blowout. Total. Victory. Every. Time. International football is a multi-billion-dollar industry with thousands of fan bases uniting citizenry from all economic and political classes. Traditional and social media platforms and outlets around the globe are dedicated daily to critiquing the latest game, player performance, and even referee performance.

The best two-of-three 1970 World Cup qualifier series underscores football’s global impact. Prior to the third game, the home team winning the first two games, fan passion and violence ignited a 100-hour war between Honduras and El Salvador over longstanding immigration and land ownership issues. Conversely, within the U.S. domestic context, soccer’s popularity and impact parallels the four-year World Cup cycle and the corresponding United States National Soccer Team (USNST) performance. When the USNST qualifies for international tournaments, American fans will reserve their seat on the bandwagon to cheer for the home team. However, following poor performance, or in the case of the 2018 World Cup, failure to qualify, the wagon unloads inside of a 24-hr news cycle.

This lesson examines the cultural and political role football plays when examining domestic context and the corresponding opportunities the world’s most popular sport provides. Soccer has also been used to define nationalism and this will be viewed through the lens of soccer’s history in the former Yugoslavia, now Balkan, region.

Issues for Consideration

1. Examine football’s influence on international politics. (CLO 3)

2. How does the U.S. domestic football context differ from the international context? Why? (CLO 3)

3. How does the U.S. domestic football context affect U.S. national interests? (CLO 2)

4. Using football to analyze the Serbian context, discuss the evolution of Serbian football support from Yugoslavian nationalism to Serbian paramilitary forces. What is a counter-strategy to prevent this?
5. How can the U.S. leverage football to advance U.S. national interests? What agencies and institutions would be used? (CLO 2)

6. How can sports be used to define context? Do you accept the Lee/Kim assertion domestic context characterizes the export of a country’s sport? (CLO 3)

**Required Readings (73 pages)**


**Optional Reading**

Topic 4

TABLE TENNIS
Serving U.S. interests in China

There’s no capitalist like a Chinese Communist.
~ John Tannehill
1971 U.S. National Table Tennis Team

Where politics failed, sports have succeeded.
~ George Braithwaite
1971 U.S. National Table Tennis Team

Overview

The Game Plan assigning sports to serve an integrated USG Diplomatic game plan is filled with net-balls. The Nixon administration, however, turned the tables and scored a significant Cold War win by using table tennis to initiate rapprochement with China to further isolate the Soviet Union.

Following the Soviet Union’s support to the Chinese Communists in 1949, subsequent U.S. presidential administrations worried the Sino-Soviet alliance would spread Communism across Asia. U.S. involvement in Vietnam reflected this concern. Ideological differences leading to a limited border war in the late 1960’s indicated the alliance was not as strong as originally assessed. The Nixon administration needed a way to extricate the U.S. from Vietnam and break the Sino-Soviet alliance.

This lesson examines using sports as a means to support the Diplomatic Instrument of Power. Specifically, the context surrounding the Nixon administration’s exploitation of a serendipitous opportunity to re-establish diplomatic relations with China is examined. Further discussion will analyze whether the USG is value-added in these and similar sports exchanges.

Issues for Consideration

1. How did table tennis define the Chinese context? (CLO 3)

2. How does table tennis define the U.S. domestic context? (CLO 3)

3. How did the Nixon administration exploit the 1971 U.S. National Table Tennis team to serve U.S. national interests and political aims? (CLO 4)

4. What national interests, both American and Chinese, were served? Were they successfully achieved? (CLO 2)

5. What role did U.S. policy makers play in this exchange? How was the game plan drawn up?
6. What level of oversight or involvement does the U.S. Government play in today’s sports exchanges? (CLO 1)

Required Readings and Viewing (53 pages and 74-minute video)


Topic 5

BASEBALL
A Swing and a Miss in Cuba

One of the things we share is our national pastimes—la pelota. As the quote from "Field of Dreams" goes, "the one constant through all the years ... has been baseball." That's as true in America as it is in Cuba. Whether it's the middle of an Iowa cornfield or the neighborhoods of Havana, our landscapes are dotted with baseball diamonds. Our kids grow up learning to run the bases and count balls and strikes. And many of our greatest ballplayers have taken the field together.

~ Barack Obama, U.S. President

It’s a symbol. I’d say like the flag, like the coat of arms, like the national anthem. Baseball has been a symbol of nationalism for more than 120 years.

~ Carlos Rodriguez Acosta,
Cuban Baseball Commissioner

Overview

Akin to many “uniquely American” customs and traditions, baseball evolved from British origins, namely the games cricket and rounders. U.S. players and organizers sufficiently changed-up British characteristics of these games and audaciously labeled baseball America’s National Pastime. Baseball’s history is interwoven into America’s history, including U.S. national security history.

The batter’s box score for baseball’s role in U.S. national security tallies a few hits and some runs over 150 years of at-bats, barely above the Mendoza line, but enough to remain in the starting lineup. However, one glaring statistic stands outs – U.S. inability to get a hit off of Cuba since 1961. The Obama Administration’s 2015 attempt to restart baseball diplomacy with Cuba to promote US interests could be scored as a solid single. However, since baseball does not have a time limit, President Trump’s recent reversal of the previous agreement ensures this game of diplomacy will go into extra innings.

This lesson examines baseball’s broad influence on historic and current U.S. domestic context and national security challenges. Specifically, the U.S. – Cuban relationship presents an opportunity to analyze why sports diplomacy fails to normalize a relationship so steeped in common baseball tradition.

Issues for Consideration

1. What domestic context allowed baseball to become the “National Pastime?” Does this context still apply today? (CLO 3)

2. How has the U.S. used baseball to achieve national interests? (CLO 2)

3. How does Cuba use baseball as an instrument of power? How did the move to socialism
affect Cuban baseball? (CLO 1)

4. Compare and contrast the success of Chinese Ping-Pong Diplomacy with the failure of Cuban Baseball Diplomacy. How did the strategic elements of interests and assumptions U.S. policy makers play in the successful and failed diplomacy? (CLO 4)

5. How can the U.S. leverage baseball to advance U.S. national interests vis-à-vis Cuba? What agencies and institutions would be used? (CLO 4)

Required Readings (68 pages)


Topic 6

ICE HOCKEY
Cross Checking the Soviets in the Cold War

Eleven seconds. You've got 10 seconds. The countdown going on right now!
Morrow, up to Silk. Five seconds left in the game. Do you believe in miracles?
Yes!

~ Al Michaels, American Sportscaster

Overview

The Cold War played out on multiple fronts using all Instruments of Power. One front pitted American-led NATO military power the USSR’s military. On another, non-military front, the Soviets used the Information IOP to face off against Canada in order to spread communist ideology. Whereas U.S. and Soviet soldiers stared at each other across the Fulda Gap, Canadian and Soviet hockey teams played epic games in what could be considered proxy sports wars.

Outside of anomalous performances in the 1960 and 1980 Olympics U.S. hockey prowess and popularity was overshadowed by its military might. To the north, however, Canada’s hockey-military relationship proved quite the opposite. While little evidence supports a coordinated NATO effort, the Soviet Union had to fight a two-front war. The Soviet Union hoped their on-ice power play would transition to supremacy in the game of Information Warfare in order to message to the world the greatness of the communist ideology. Russian hockey’s impression on Cold War intrigue cannot be understated and continues today.

This lesson examines using sports as a means to support the Information instrument of power. Specifically, hockey’s role in the Cold War and future U.S./NATO and Russia relations is examined. Using hockey to define context and determine the level of influence on Cold War outcome, analysis will include hockey’s use by other instruments of power and whether Cold War policymakers maximized the opportunities hockey presented.

Issues for Consideration

1. How did hockey define the Soviet Union, Canadian, and U.S. context during the Cold War? (CLO 3)

2. How did the Soviets use hockey as an instrument of power? Did this power affect the results of the Cold War? (CLO 1)

3. How did Anatoly Tarasov’s training techniques reflect the communist ideology?

4. Do you accept John Soares assertion hockey helped the Soviet Union achieve superpower status?

5. How did the U.S. hockey victory over the Soviet Union at Lake Placid in 1980 change the U.S. domestic context? (CLO 3)
6. What challenges do the National Hockey League (NHL) and U.S. Information instrument face in light of the current display of Russian player support for Putin? What is a strategy to counter this? (CLO 1)

**Required Readings and Viewing (29 pages and 84-minute video)**


Topic 7

BASKETBALL
The Globalization of “Free” Throws

I felt renewed by the notion I could go out under the sky in a foreign land, with nothing but a hundred words and a basketball. And communicate well with kids that within half an hour I’d see the same looks of joy that I’d felt with my first high leap.

~ Bill Russell, American Basketball Player, 11-time NBA Champion and Hall of Famer

Overview

Of the major international sports, basketball is an American original (even though James Naismith was Canadian, he invented basketball in Massachusetts). The National Basketball Association’s (NBA) players mirrored the sport’s Americanism and lagged far behind baseball and hockey’s international appeal. Notable exceptions include the Philippines and other locations susceptible to early Western influence. This dearth of worldwide interest relegated basketball to the national security bench playing mop-up minutes only in Information games.

Realizing an opportunity to expand their market, the NBA developed business strategies to parallel the recent spike in globalization - defined as the movement of capital and people. One in four NBA players today is foreign born representing all corners of the globe. As a result, NBA revenue and popularity are at an all-time high, especially in China. However, the PRC called a hard foul on the NBA when a seemingly innocuous tweet by the Houston Rockets General Manager supporting US values sparked a bench clearing brawl.

This lesson examines using sports as a means to support the Economic instrument of power by analyzing globalization and the economic impact of other international sports and the sports industry as a whole. In addition, this lesson addresses challenges strategists face when national interests are in conflict. Specifically, the recent NBA/China conflict is used as a case study to assess strategy when economic prosperity conflicts with values.

Issues for Consideration

1. How does the success of NBA globalization serve U.S. interests? (CLO 2)

2. How do sports advance economic prosperity? (CLO 1)

3. What has enabled sports globalization? (CLO 1)

4. How does the strategist reconcile conflicting national interests? (CLO 4)

Required Readings (46 pages + ~25 pages for case study)

1. Anzilotti, Eillie, “How the NBA’s Progressivism is Helping It Thrive.” The Atlantic, June


9. NBA/China case study reading readings will be distributed separately.
THE OLYMPICS I
Arriving, and Remaining, on the World’s Medal Podium

The sportive, knightly battle awakens the best human characteristics. It doesn't separate but unites the combatants in understanding and respect. It also helps to connect the countries in the spirit of peace. That's why the Olympic Flame should never die.

~ Adolph Hitler, German Chancellor

Overview

National security strategists can pull applicable lessons from nearly every Olympic competition. Relevant examples are abundant ranging from the 1972 Munich terrorist attack to 1968 Mexico City civil rights demonstration. However, Olympics hosted by countries preparing for, or recovering from, international conflict provide the most dynamic post-game analysis from which to update the strategy game plan.

The politics surrounding the 1936 Berlin, 1988 Seoul, 2008 Beijing, and to a lesser degree, the 1964 Tokyo Olympics were truly international affairs. (The 1980 and 1984 Olympics are covered in the next lesson.) Early Jewish oppression by the Nazi regime had started to turn the world against Germany, yet the 1936 games continued as scheduled. Few citizens outside of the Asia-Pacific region were aware of the post-war economic miracle South Korea represented and North Korea tried every play in the book, including blowing up a Korean airliner, to prevent a successful Olympiad. While not necessarily recovering from a recent war, China attempted to restore its place in the world order in 2008 following a “Century of Humiliation.” These countries have won world power gold but can they remain on the medal podium?

This lesson examines the international context respective domestic contexts surrounding pre- and post-war Olympics. Moreover, this Olympic era presents the unique opportunity to not only compare and contrast recent Olympics hosted by the same country, but also to develop sports-related strategies for immediate execution. The bases for this study are Japan (1964-1998-2020), South Korea (1988-2018), and China (2008-2022).

Issues for Consideration

1. What was the significance of the 1936 Berlin Olympics? (CLO 3)

2. How does the strategist reconcile the Jesse Owens myth and the reality of America’s treatment of African-Americans when using “values projection” as a national interest when developing strategy?

3. A senior Carter administration official argued participation in the 1936 Berlin Olympics "was not among our (USA) proudest moments." Do you agree? What good or bad came out of U.S. participation in 1936? (CLO 4)
4. How does Avery Brundage’s assertion sports should transcend politics resonate in today’s political climate?

5. How did the studied countries use the Olympics to legitimize their regimes? What instrument(s) of power did they use and were they successful? (CLO 1)

6. Did the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics serve U.S. interests? What can the strategist expect from Tokyo in 2020 and Beijing in 2022? (CLO 2)

Required Readings (64 pages)


Additional Resources (2 videos)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HV8055dbfc&list=PLIqQtoGAQS3-dRg815GQAxzAXuQhIe4n2&index=1. 127 minutes.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHN8Jwku1Nc&list=PLIqQtoGAQS3-dRg815GQAxzAXuQhIe4n2&index=2. 88 minutes.
Topic 9

THE OLYMPICS II
Boycotts and Bans: Penalty or Advantage?

*I know the decision was controversial, but I had no idea at the time how difficult it would be for me to implement it or convince other nations to join us.*

~ Jimmy Carter, U.S. President

*The United States has far more to lose from staying home from Moscow than we will ever gain from a boycott. The President overreacted, now what we are trying to do is put up the façade of protest at the expense of some athletes.*

~ Ted Stevens, Alaskan Senator

*Is the White House serious in asking the American public to accept the notion that this nation’s foreign policy has been reduced to employing a boycott of a sports event as the principal non-military response to what Carter has called the ‘greatest threat to world peace and stability since World War II’? If so, we should be debating questions of considerably greater gravity than whether the country should participate in the 1980 Summer Games.*

~ Dr. Harry Edwards, U.S. Sociologist

Overview

The Fundamental Principles of Olympism promote a “philosophy of life” and “harmonious development of humankind” with a “view to promoting a peaceful society.” Unfortunately, neither political nor athletic Olympic players always adhere to these altruistic ideals. In the game of national security, should the strategist award boycotts and bans a penalty or advantage?

In 1976, 28 African nations boycotted the 1976 Montreal Olympics in retaliation to New Zealand’s rugby engagement with South Africa. Russia’s Afghanistan invasion triggered a major policy debate convincing Jimmy Carter to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In 1984, citing security concerns, Russia responded in kind and boycotted the 1984 Los Angeles games. While not the only boycotts in Olympic history, these examples demonstrate the magnitude sports can play in international relations.

The list of countries banned from participating in the Olympics is long and hardly distinguished. Justification for banning ranges from starting wars (Japan and Germany banned from the 1948 London Olympics) to domestic policies such as apartheid (South African banned from 1964 – 1992). Bans are usually more contentious than boycotts because they are imposed by external players.

This lesson examines the efficacy of boycotts and bans as suitable ways in the national security game and whether they award the affected country a penalty or reward. The bases for analysis are Olympic bans in general and the 1976-1980-1984 Olympic boycotts specifically. Past (1936 Berlin, 2014 Sochi) and future (2022 Beijing) boycott recommendations will also be assessed.
Issues for Consideration

1. Are boycotts and bans useful foreign policy tools? (CLO 1)

2. What correct and incorrect assumptions did the Carter administration make regarding the 1980 Moscow Olympics boycott? (CLO 3)

3. Did the 1980 boycott serve the national interests Jimmy Carter intended? (CLO 2)

4. Should the U.S. have boycotted the 2014 Sochi Olympics due to Putin’s anti-gay laws? (CLO 2)

5. Should the US consider boycotting 2022 Beijing? (CLO 2)

Required Readings (71 pages)


http://www.topendsports.com/events/summer/bans.htm. Scan the list of countries and reasons why they banned from the Olympics.


**Additional Resources (85 pages)**


Overview

Who wins in head-to-head global competition, the Olympics or the World Cup? The box score shows the game is very close. Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the IOC are both NGOs, ruling with nearly unlimited power and autonomy. The pair equally reach a global audience presenting immense economic and information opportunities. The ability to claim total victory may be the deciding factor. How does one “win” the Olympics? Do the victors hoist the most gold medals, or the most medals overall, or win a popular sport? On the other hand, winning the World Cup is obvious and the ability to unite a nation into a nationalist fervor gives the World Cup the slightest edge.

The 2015 FIFA scandal rocked the football world with full implications yet to be determined. From the idealist’s perspective, this purity of sport and opportunity to unite make the scandal so heartbreaking. The realist views the scandal as a large corporation found guilty of pay-offs and bribery. Regardless of the strategist’s world view, the economic, civil society, and governance impacts cannot be overlooked.

This lesson examines corruption in sport’s impact on national security and the international context surrounding the World Cup. Strategy options to influence compliance and take advantage of the opportunities presented will be assessed.

Issues for Consideration

1. What are the economic impacts and overall influence of the World Cup? (CLO 1,3)
2. Does the FIFA scandal affect national security? If so, how and who’s? (CLO 4)
3. What lever of power can the U.S. pull to influence non-state actors and non-government agencies (NGOs) such as the IOC and FIFA? Do Rule of Law values translate globally? (CLO 1)
4. How does the US leverage the economic IOP to fight corruption? (CLO 1)

Required Readings (74 pages)


**Additional Resources (38 pages)**


Topics 11 AND 12

YOUR PATH TO VICTORY
Winning Game Plans

*Winning isn't everything; it's the only thing.*

~ Vince Lombardi (maybe), American Football, 2-time Super Bowl Champion Coach and Hall of Famer

*Just win, baby!*

~ Al Davis (for sure), American Football, 3-time Super Bowl Champion Owner and Hall of Famer

Overview

For the purposes of this exercise, the position of U.S. National Sports Minister has been established on the National Security Council. Working in teams of two or three, you will act as advisors to the “Sports Comish.”

In sports, coaches develop a strategy where their team’s strengths and weaknesses are assessed against an opponent. The coach then develops ways to maximize the strengths, mitigate the weakness, and identify asymmetrical advantages in order to achieve victory. This process is very similar to the strategy development and case study process used here at the National War College. This project composes the lessons learned and concepts from Topics 1-10 to develop a sports strategy, or *Game Plan*. Choosing a particular national security-related issue of interest to your team, create a strategy using sports as the main *way* or *means* in order to achieve the desired *end* in order to advance U.S. interests. The Game Plan can either act as a singular solution or part of a broader national security strategy. The Game Plan should establish the path to victory on your issue by identifying the strengths and exploiting the weaknesses of the opponents and other key players in the national security game. Keeping in mind budgetary constraints, current executive branch power, and continuing international tension, the Game Plan should include the individuals and other agencies and institutions most likely to engage on this issue, their powers, their preferences, and where they sit in the national security strategy development process.

These two sessions are designed to give you the opportunity to present your Game Plans to the Sports Comish panel (FSL plus industry experts) and his council (remaining students). Each team will present their findings in both oral and written form in the last two seminar meetings, at which point the panel and council will critique and evaluate your Game Plan. Each team will provide a 2-page Game Plan memo (written in prose) to the class and give a 15-minute oral brief. Specific details and direction will be provided in class.

Issues for Consideration

1. Play Book strategies should be based on the frameworks listed in Appendices 1 and 2 and include:
• A concise problem statement of the issue and the primary instrument of power used to achieve the national interest/political aim/goal/objective.

• How sports support the instrument of power

• How the sport is used to analyze the domestic/international context

• Whether sports are a way or mean and if the strategy is “means-restricted” or “means-creating”

• Identification of the strategy as a stand-alone strategy or part of a broader strategy already in place

• Identification of other instruments of power which can be brought to bear

• A likely media coverage and a corresponding information strategy

2. Sports Comish and council requirements:

• Review and critique a variety of sports campaign plans
Appendix 1: NWC National Security Strategy Framework

1. **ANALYZING THE STRATEGIC SITUATION**
   * What is the story? Develop a problem statement.
   * Assess the international and domestic contexts.
   * Identify knowns, critical unknowns, and key assumptions (re: self, others, environment).
   * What national interests—if any—are at stake? How vital is each interest?
   * Determine threats and opportunities and their relation to national interests.
   * How imminent are the threats? How salient are the opportunities?

2. **DEFINING THE DESIRED ENDS**
   **A. POLITICAL AIM(S)**
   * Stated and implied political aims—define desired end-state/success. What does success look like?
   * What are likely constraints—governmental, domestic, international, media-driven, etc.?
   **B. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**
   * Can the political aims be translated into viable objectives?
   * Specify objectives, achievable at a reasonable cost that will accomplish desired political aims
   * Rank objectives by priority.

3. **IDENTIFYING AND/OR DEVELOPING MEANS**
   * Identify our instruments of power (DIME) needed to obtain ends.
   * Assumptions about capabilities/limits of our instruments.
   * What are the intangibles for all actors, to include morale/will and time available?

4. **DESIGNING THE WAYS**
   * Specify fundamental strategic approach(es) – state how the instruments blend together. Are the associated objectives pursued sequentially or simultaneously?
   * Consider Modes of Action.
   * Identify institutions/agencies that will direct the various instruments of power.
   * Most likely constraints? Does the strategic approach account for them?

5. **ASSESSING THE COST, RISKS, AND RESULTS**
   * What are likely costs and benefits? Can they be tracked/measured?
   * Most likely risks, including those to and from the strategy—have they been accounted for and mitigated?
   * Viability Assessments: Is our strategic approach suitable, feasible, desirable, acceptable, and sustainable?
   * What are the most pivotal assumptions? Consequences if wrong? What mechanisms to validate?
   * How does success translate into lasting political effects?

Red Teaming
* Assumptions about allies’, neutrals’, target’s political aims, underlying rationale, and specific objectives.
* Identify target’s instruments of power needed to attain ends—Is one or more likely to be dominant?
* Assumptions about the capabilities/limits of target’s instruments.
* What is the target’s most likely and most dangerous courses of action? Does our strategy negate them?
Appendix 2: National Security Strategy Model for Ends-Ways-Means
Appendix 3: Spare Topic

POLITICAL INJURIES

Doping

*People are celebrating Olympic champion winners, but we are sitting crazy and replacing their urine.*

~ Dr. Grigory Rodchenkov, former director of Russia's national anti-doping laboratory

Overview

Sports often cause *political injuries*, usually the self-inflicted variety. Returning to the Fundamental Principles of Olympism theme, “Team personnel must respect and comply with the…World Anti-Doping Code” to participate in the Olympic Games. Using science to raise the level of athletic performance dates back to ancient Greece. By the early 20th century, competition organizers leveled the playing field and banned performance enhancing drugs. Even though enforcement through rigorous testing followed, athletes continue to try to outmaneuver scientists in order to gain a competitive advantage. Olympic history is rife with doping scandals and the Ben Johnson and recent Russian cases illustrate the spectrum poles. On one end, Ben Johnson made a personal decision with domestic implications. On the other end, the Russia government sponsored the doping with international ramifications.

This lesson analyzes the position doping plays in the national security game plan.

Issues for Consideration

1. What was Canada’s domestic context in 1988 and how did Ben Johnson’s positive steroid test affect Canadian nationalism?

2. How effective was the Russian doping program and how did it ultimately serve their national interests?

3. Does the Russian doping scandal present an opportunity to the U.S. strategist? Is doping an opportunity or a threat to national interests? Can it serve as both?

Required Readings and Viewing (19 pages and 121-minute video)


   Scan the website for a general history of doping in sports.
