

Grand Strategy (Draft Syllabus)

PUBP 504-003

Fall 2020

Room: Van Metre Hall 481

Professor: Ketian (Vivian) Zhang

Time: Tuesday 7:20-10:00pm

Office: Van Metre Hall (formerly Founders Hall in the Arlington campus), Room 669

Office hours: Tuesday 4-6pm (appointment preferred)

E-mail: kzhang20@gmu.edu

Course description

What is grand strategy? What is the difference between grand strategy and military strategy? What were the grand strategies that states have adopted in the past? What are the international relations theories behind the format of grand strategies? What is current U.S. grand strategy? Are there debates about what is a good or bad grand strategy? How should we evaluate grand strategies?

In this course, we examine one of the most important aspects of the field of security studies, grand strategy. Grand strategy, the use of certain means to achieve desired ends, is far from a fixed concept. Theoretically, scholars debate what grand strategy entails. Empirically, states adopt different kinds of grand strategies. One cannot understand, analyze, and debate about particular policies in national security without examining the big picture: grand strategy.

As such, in this course, we explore the theoretical and empirical aspects of grand strategy, by examining the concept, the sources of grand strategy and the international relations theories behind grand strategy formation, as well as the grand strategies adopted by various states in different periods, including U.S. grand strategies and the grand strategies of contemporary China, Japan, Russia, and India. This course aims at putting grand strategy in a comparative perspective, as opposed to looking at U.S. grand strategy only.

Course objectives and learning outcomes

This course meshes theoretical discussions of grand strategy with empirical analyses of the sources and consequences of grand strategy. Students are expected to gain deeper understanding of the concept of grand strategy, the theories behind grand strategy formation, and the grand strategies of different states. Furthermore, students should be able to apply analytical tools to explain the origins of certain grand strategies and to evaluate particular grand strategies. Students will be able to apply the course information and skills to real world situations such as policy evaluation. Finally, students are expected to improve their analytical and communicative skills through research papers and oral presentations.

Course requirements

- Active and timely participation in seminar discussion (30%)
- Seminar presentation (10%)
 - Each student will make an oral presentation on selections from at least one week's required readings. The purpose of the presentation will be to critique, and not to simply summarize a major reading for that week. Students presenting should prepare a one-page handout for each member of class, to complement the presentation. We will coordinate this on the first day of class.
- Review essay (10%)
 - Write one short essay, of approximately 5 pages, double-spaced, on one of the week's required readings. A hard copy of this essay is due in class the day of the assigned reading.
 - This is not a summary of the readings, but your reactions toward them. E.g.:
 - What do you agree on? What is the strength/valuable part?
 - What do you disagree, and why?
 - What has been left out? What should we be looking further into?
- Research paper (50%)
 - Write an analytical research paper of 15-20 pages, double-spaced. The paper is due on **the last day of class**.
 - Students are *strongly* encouraged to discuss with the instructor in advance about the topic of the research paper.
 - The paper can be aimed at explaining the origins of the grand strategy of a particular state, using theories of international relations. Please use primary sources to support your argument. Please feel free to come to chat with me about the sources.
 - **Or** the paper can evaluate current or past grand strategies. If you choose the grand strategy evaluation paper, in offering your evaluation, please comment on (a) the validity or falsehood of the factual and theoretical assumptions that produced the strategy; and/or (b) the results the policy produced: were they those that policymakers sought to produce? Were they good or bad? If you argue that a policy was mistaken, identify the alternative policy that you prefer. You are also invited to identify prescriptions for current grand strategy that follow from your analysis, if any do. Use deductive logic and historical evidence to support your argument.

Course textbooks

The following books are available for purchase at the GMU bookstore:

- Hal Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Cornell University Press, 2014)
- Charles Edel, *Nation Builder: John Quincy Adams and the Grand Strategy of the Republic* (Harvard University Press, 2014)
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Princeton University Press, 1989)
- John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy* (Penguin, 2018)
- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (Oxford University Press, 1982)

- Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016)
- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Penguin, 2003)

Special accommodations

Disability Services at George Mason University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students by upholding the laws that ensure equal treatment of people with disabilities. If you are a student with a disability and you need academic accommodations, please see me and contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through the DRC.

Academic integrity policy

The integrity of the University community is affected by the individual choices made by each of us. Mason has an Honor Code with clear guidelines regarding academic integrity. Faculty in the Schar School have zero tolerance for academic dishonesty and will strictly enforce Mason's honor code. Three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification.

Tentative Class Schedule

Week 1: What is Grand Strategy?

- Silove, Nina. "Beyond the Buzzword: The Three Meanings of 'Grand Strategy.'" *Security Studies*, (August 28, 2017): 1-31.
- Hal Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?*, pp. 1-16.
- John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*, chapter 1.
- Richard K. Betts, "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 5-50.
- Recommended (**i.e., not required**):
 - Rebecca Friedman Lissner, "What is grand strategy? Sweeping a conceptual minefield," *Texas National Security Review*. Vol 2, Issue 1 (November 2018).

Week 2: The Making of Grand Strategy and the IR theories Behind

- Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions of American Grand Strategy," *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1996-97), pp. 5-53.
- Barry Posen, *Sources of Military Doctrine*, Chapter 1, pp. 13-33; Chapter 2, pp. 34-41, 59-80.
 - Ch 2 presents both system and unit (organizational) explanations for military doctrine. Ch 1 is recommended for an overview of the military dimension of grand strategy. Ch 2 presents hypotheses on its variation.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* vol. 51, no. 1 (1998): 144-172.

- This introduces one strand of realism, the strand that combines structural factors and domestic politics
- Elizabeth Saunders, "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision Making." *International Organization* 71, no. S1 (April 2017): S219-47.
 - An individual level explanation of foreign policy determinants
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* vol. 30, no. 2 (1978): 167-214.
 - Introduces important concepts such as the spiral model, the deterrence model, and the security dilemma
- Drezner, Daniel W. "Values, Interests, and American Grand Strategy." *Diplomatic History* 29, no. 3 (June 1, 2005): 429-32.
- Vipin Narang. "What Does It Take to Deter? Regional Power Nuclear Postures and International Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 3 (June 1, 2013): 478-508.
 - Nuclear postures and nuclear weapons as a factor in international relations
- Recommended:
 - Narizny, Kevin. "On Systemic Paradigms and Domestic Politics: A Critique of the Newest Realism." *International Security* 42, no. 2 (November 1, 2017): 155-90.
 - Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Cornell, 1993), chapter 2.
 - Robert J. Art, "A Defensible Defense: America's Grand Strategy after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Spring, 1991), pp. 5-53.
 - Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* vol. 42, no. 3 (1988): 427-460.

Week 3: Grand Strategy and Thucydides

- Thucydides, *History of The Peloponnesian War* (available here at <http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelopwar.html>):
 - Book 1, paras. 1-23 (Introduction), 66-88 (The Debate at Sparta and the Declaration of War), 118-146 (The Allied Congress at Sparta, The Stories of Pausanias and Themistocles)
 - Book 2, paras. 1-65 (The Outbreak of War, The First Year of War, Pericles' Funeral Oration, The Plague, The Policy of Pericles)
 - Book 3, paras. 1-50 (Revolt of Mytilene, The Mytilenian Debate), 69-85 (Civil War in Corcyra)

Week 4: The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire

- John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*, chapter 3.
- Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, pp. 1-197.

Week 5: Strategy in the Renaissance

- John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*, chapters 4 and 5.
- Machiavelli, *The Prince*.

Week 6: Grand Strategy and Clausewitz

- John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*, chapter 7.

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Books I-III and VIII (pp. 75-225, 577-637 in the Princeton University Press edition).
- Recommended:
 - Wess Mitchell, *The Grand Strategy of the Hapsburg Empire*, chapters 1-4, 7-8, 10, Epilogue.
 - Peter Paret, "Clausewitz," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, pp. 186-213.

Week 7: Early American strategies

- John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*, chapters 6 and 8.
- Charles Edel, *Nation Builder: John Quincy Adams and the Grand Strategy of the Republic*.
- Recommended: the Wilson and FDR periods
 - John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton University Press, 2001). Chapters Five and Six.
 - Robert Art, "The United States, the Balance of Power, and World War II: Was Spykman Right?" Chapter Three in Art, *America's Grand Strategy and World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 69-110.

Week 8: the Cold War and the Grand Strategy of Containment

- John Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), second edition.
- John Gaddis, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Volume 2, pp. 1-21.
- Melvyn Leffler, "The Emergence of American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952," *Cambridge History of the Cold War*.
- NSC-68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security (14 April 1950). http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc_hst/nsc_68.htm

Week 9: The End of the Cold War and the "Global War on Terrorism"

- Jacqueline Hazelton, "The 'Hearts and Minds' Fallacy," *International Security* 42:1 (2017).
- Keir A. Lieber and Robert J. Lieber, "The Bush National Security Strategy," U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2002).
- Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy* (Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 114-46.
- Anthony Lake, "From Containment to Enlargement," September 21, 1993 [Excerpted in Alvin Z. Rubenstein, ed., *The Clinton Foreign Policy Reader*, pp. 20-27]
- Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?*, pp. 144-89.
- George W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States*, September 2002, pp. i-iii.
- Recommended:
 - Ahsan I. Butt (2019): Why did the United States Invade Iraq in 2003?, *Security Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2019.1551567.

Week 10

- Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International Security* (Stanford University Press, 2005), chapters 1-6.
- Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82 (2003), pp. 22-35.
- On China's mil posture and strategy: M. Taylor Fravel, "Shifts in Warfare and Party Unity: Explaining China's Changes in Military Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 42, Issue (Winter 2017/18), p. 37-83.
- On China's nuke posture: Fiona S. Cunningham and M. Taylor Fravel, "Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Posture and U.S.-China Strategic Stability," *International Security*, Vol. 40, Issue 2 (Fall 2015), p. 7-50.
- China in the Cold War:
 - Jian Chen, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (Columbia University Press, 1994).
 - Chen is a wonderful historian of China at Cornell. Read the section on Chinese leaders debates regarding the entry into the Korean War, where you will see competing visions of grand strategy.
- Recommend:
 - Michael A. Glosny, "Grand Strategies of Rising Powers: Reassurance, Coercion, and Balancing Responses" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2012).
 - William J. Norris, *Chinese Economic Statecraft: Commercial Actors, Grand Strategy, and State Control* (Cornell University Press, 2018).
 - Ketian Zhang, "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South China Sea," *International Security*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Summer 2019), pp. 117-159.
 - Evan S. Medeiros, "China's International Behavior. Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification," Rand Project Air Force, 2009, p. xviii, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG850.pdf, accessed April 17, 2014.
 - M. Taylor Fravel, *Active Defense China's Military Strategy since 1949* (Princeton University Press: 2019).
 - Fiona Cunningham's dissertation on Chinese nuclear, space, and cyber postures.
 - Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, *Rising Titans, Falling Giants: How Great Powers Exploit Power Shifts* (Cornell University Press: 2018).
 - Cold War period Chinese foreign policy:
 - Lorenz M. Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton University Press, 2008).
 - Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

Week 11

- Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 2008), chapters 1-2.
- Christopher Hughes, "Japan's Grand Strategic Shift: From the Yoshida Doctrine to an Abe Doctrine?" in *Strategic Asia*.

- Kent E. Calder, "Securing Security Through Prosperity: The San Francisco System in Comparative Perspective," *Pacific Review* vol. 17, no. 1 (2004): 135–157.
- Midford, P. "The Logic of Reassurance and Japan's Grand Strategy." *Security Studies* 11, no. 3 (March 1, 2002): 1–43.
- Recommended:
 - Sheila A Smith, *Japan rearmed: the politics of military power* (Harvard University Press, 2019).
 - Izumikawa, Yasuhiro. "Explaining Japanese Antimilitarism: Normative and Realist Constraints on Japan's Security Policy." *International Security* 35, no. 2 (September 17, 2010): 123–60.
 - Mochizuki, Mike M. "Japan's Shifting Strategy toward the Rise of China." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, no. 4–5 (August 1, 2007): 739–76.

Week 12

- John Gill, "Challenges for India's Military Strategy: Matching Capabilities to Ambitions?" in *Strategic Asia*.
- Sumit Ganguly & Manjeet S. Pardesi (2009) Explaining Sixty Years of India's Foreign Policy, *India Review*, 8:1, 4-19, DOI: 10.1080/14736480802665162.
- C. Christine Fair, "Pakistan's Strategic Culture: Implications for How Pakistan Perceives and Counters Threats," NBR Special Report #61, December 2016.
- Recommended:
 - Paul Kapur, *Jihad as Grand Strategy: Islamist Militancy, National Security, and the Pakistani State* (Oxford University Press, 2017).
 - Recent special issue on India in *JSS*, with an introduction from Rudra Chaudhuri, "War and peace in contemporary India," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 42:5 (2019), 567-576, DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2019.1571414.

Week 13

- Mark Katz, "Putin and Russia's Strategic Priorities," in *Strategic Asia*.
- Graham Allison and Dmitri Simes, "A Blueprint for Donald Trump to Fix Relations with Russia," *The National Interest*, December 18, 2016
- Leon Aron, "The Kremlin Emboldened," *Journal of Democracy* 28:4 (October 2017)
- Dmitri Trenin, "Moscow's Evolving Grand Eurasia Strategy," Carnegie Moscow Center, July 20, 2017.
- McFaul, Michael. "A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security* 22, no. 3 (1998): 5–35.
- Monaghan, Andrew. "Putin's Russia: Shaping a 'grand Strategy'?" *International Affairs* 89, no. 5 (2013): 1221–36.

Week 14

What should U.S. grand strategy be in a new era of technological changes and globalization?
How to evaluate grand strategy?

- Barry Posen, "The Case for Restraint," *The American Interest* (November/December 2007).

- Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, “Don’t Come Home, America: The Case Against Retrenchment,” *International Security* 37, no. 3 (Winter 2012-13).
- Aaron Friedberg, “Same Old Songs: What the Declinists (and Triumphalists) Miss,” *The American Interest* (November-December 2009).
- Kim, Dong Jung. “Choosing the Right Sidekick: Economic Complements to US Military Grand Strategies.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 5–6 (September 18, 2016): 899–921.
- Walter Russell Mead, “The Return of Geopolitics,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2014.
- G. John Ikenberry, “The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2014.
- Recommended (regarding the changes that globalization brought on the security landscape):
 - Producing Security: *Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* (Princeton University Press, 2005).
 - Eugene Gholz, "Globalization, Systems Integration, and the Future of Great Power War," *Security Studies* vol. 16, no. 4 (2007): 615-636.
 - Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Additional resources:

- Professor Jon Lindsay at the University of Toronto has a wonderfully detailed syllabus with additional information on the strategies of states covered and not covered in this class. Please feel free to check it out for additional sources. The appendix is particularly useful if you are interested in the strategies of states such as North Korea, South Korea, and Canada. It is available here at: https://politics.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/syllabus/1819_pol486h1f_l0201.pdf