

# THE BRADY-JOHNSON PROGRAM IN GRAND STRATEGY INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES AT YALE UNIVERSITY

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## STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY GRADUATE SEMINAR

FALL 2008 SYLLABUS – 20 DECEMBER 2008 UPDATE

<b>Instructors:</b>	Professors John Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Kennedy, Walter Russell Mead, and Paul Solman with guest discussion leaders
<b>Course administrator:</b>	Dr. Minh A. Luong <minh.a.luong@yale.edu>
<b>Course numbers:</b>	HIST 985-01 for Fall 2008 (ID #10827) PLSC 716-01 for Fall 2008 (ID #10828) MGT 984-01 for Fall 2008 (14757 – SOM students only)
<b>Fall meeting time:</b>	Mondays (including reading week), 3:30 p.m. to 5:20 p.m.
<b>Fall location:</b>	Hall of Graduate Studies (HGS) 220B (confirmed)

### COURSE OBJECTIVES

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This two-semester course aims to examine the theory and practice of grand strategy in both historical and contemporary contexts, from a variety of analytical perspectives. It defines grand strategy as 'the calculated relation of means to large ends'. It focuses on how parts relate to the whole in whatever an individual, a corporation or a nation might be seeking to accomplish.

The strategists considered range over some two and a half millennia. Some of them represent the best thinking and writing on this subject; others exemplify success and failure in the implementation of grand strategy. From a careful examination of them, we intend for you to extract a set of principles for the making of grand strategy that will be useful in any future leadership role in which you may be called upon to connect desired ends with available means.

### COURSE STRUCTURE AND REQUIREMENTS

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The course includes a two-semester interdisciplinary seminar and an individual summer component. The first semester is organized chronologically according to strategists, ranging from Sun Tzu in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. through the end of the Cold War. In the second semester, the context shifts from the classical strategists to contemporary grand strategy. Topics will include: national security; economics and finance; technology; the environment; energy resources; culture and ideology; ethics and international law; as well as the competition between democracy and authoritarianism in shaping the post-Cold War international system. This portion of the course will include team-prepared policy briefs, as well as an end-of-semester crisis simulation exercise.

Students must take both semesters of the seminar. They must undertake a summer research project or internship, focusing on a particular strategic problem or aspect of strategy, whether of a historical or a contemporary character. They must also attend separately scheduled lectures on grand strategy in the Spring and Fall terms.

#### SUMMER INTERNSHIP/RESEARCH PROJECT PAPERS

Each student must submit a draft of a detailed précis of his/her summer internship/research project paper by Monday, 15 September 2008 via e-mail to Minh A. Luong. Written reports on the summer internship/project of approximately 5,000 – 8,000 words in length are due in class on Monday, 10 November 2008, and must also be submitted via e-mail to Minh A. Luong. When preparing papers, students should bear in mind the foundations for understanding grand strategy that they have constructed in the first semester, their examinations of a strategic environment through their summer research or internship, and the observations or recommendations they have drawn from that experience.

#### FALL SEMINAR

The requirements for the fall semester of the seminar include preparation for and participation in the weekly sessions, involving several hundred pages of reading per week. The first six weeks of the course will consider the current grand strategic environment. During the next seven weeks, students will prepare and present policy briefs in teams of between three or five students. Team members will research and assign readings for the class, develop policy recommendations relevant to their assigned subject, write a “Marshall brief” on these recommendations, and make a PowerPoint presentation on this brief to a “murder board” composed of the course faculty and students.

### **GRADING**

Students from the Graduate School and Yale College will receive a grade for each semester of the course. Other students will receive grades in accordance with the grading systems of their respective schools. All students should expect their grades to be based upon a combination of their in-class contributions to the seminar, participation in Grand Strategy and ISS-sponsored events, oral presentations, and written work throughout the year, including the summer project.

### **REQUIRED READING FOR THE FALL SEMINAR**

The required reading for the first part of the course is comprised several readings, *all listed under “core reading”*. Articles will be included in the course reader available at ISS. Assigned books, marked with an asterisk (\*), should be purchased on-line or through your preferred book vendor. Readings for the remainder of the semester will be selected by the students, and supplemented, if necessary, by the instructors.

### **SUPPLEMENTARY READING FOR THE FALL SEMINAR**

For some sessions the syllabus includes supplementary reading intended mainly for long-term use. *Students are not required to read the supplementary material*. Nonetheless, students may find the supplementary reading helpful in preparing to discuss particular strategists, intellectual approaches or historical periods with which they are less familiar, and in planning summer projects.

### **GRAND STRATEGY LECTURE SERIES**

The Grand Strategy lectures are not linked directly to the weekly seminar topics; but they will provide a backdrop for the semester’s studies. There will be at least three lectures, which will be open to the entire Yale community. The dates and times of these lectures will be announced as they are confirmed. All students will have the opportunity to attend a private dinner discussion with at least one speaker in the Series.

### **SPECIAL EVENTS AND DINNER SESSIONS**

Throughout the year, there will be special events such as conversations with distinguished practitioners and scholars, dinner discussions, and evening course sessions. We will announce these events as far in advance as practicable. Participation is required: students who cannot attend an event must contact Minh A. Luong as soon as possible.

### **QUESTIONS**

Please direct any course-related questions to Minh A. Luong, Associate Director of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, at <minh.a.luong@yale.edu>.

## THE NEW ISSUES OF GRAND STRATEGY

### WEEK I: WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND THE MODERN WORLD      MONDAY, 8 SEPTEMBER

*Discussion Leader: Walter Russell Mead*

**CORE READING:**

\* Walter Russell Mead, *God and Gold: Britain, America, and the Making of the Modern World*. (New York: Knopf, 2007) [SML E183.7 .M47154X 2007 (LC)]

### WEEK II: VISIONS OF THE FUTURE: THE POST-COLD WAR      MONDAY, 15 SEPTEMBER

*Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis, Paul Kennedy, and Charles Hill*

**CORE READING:**

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?," *The National Interest*, Summer 1989. [.pdf]

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993. [.pdf]

\* Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. (New York: Norton, 2003), pp. 1-256. [SML JC423.Z35 2003 (LC)]

### BRIEFING AND PRESENTATION SKILLS WORKSHOP      MONDAY EVENING, 15 SEPTEMBER

*Workshop Leaders: Minh A. Luong and Paul Solman*

This evening session, which will be held from 6:30 p.m. to 8:45 p.m., will cover presentation and briefing skills as well as the use of PowerPoint to present visual information. Location: William L. Harkness Hall (WLH) room 113.

### WEEK III: THE TERROR ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001      MONDAY, 22 SEPTEMBER

*Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis and Charles Hill*

**CORE READINGS:**

*Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (The 9-11 Commission)

View reports on-line at URL: <http://www.9-11commission.gov/>

\* John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 68-118. [CCL E183.7 .G27X 2004 (LC)]

**SUPPLEMENTAL READING:**

*National Security Strategy of the United States*, September, 2002. URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>

Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003) [SSL E902 D23X 2003 (LC) and Yale Library on-line book – see Orbis]

### WEEK IV: THE ISLAMIST CHALLENGE      MONDAY, 29 SEPTEMBER

*Discussion Leader: Pauline Jones Luong*

**CORE READING:**

\* Olivier Roy, *The Politics of Chaos in the Middle East*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

[Bass Library and SML DS63.1.R6913X 2008 (LC)]

Bernard Lewis, "What Went Wrong?," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 2002, pp. 43-45.

Edward W. Said, "Impossible Histories," *Harper's Magazine*, July 2002, pp. 69-74.

Charles Hill, *On the Possibility of Major Strategic Realignment in the Middle East*, Remarks at the Slifka Center, Yale University, June 2007. [.pdf]

**SUPPLEMENTAL READING:**

George Packer, *The Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005) [SML DS79.76 .P33X 2005 (LC)]

Ali A. Allawi's *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) [SML DS79.76 .A393X 2007 (LC)]

Michael Ignatieff, "Getting Iraq Wrong," *New York Times*, August 5, 2007. [.pdf]

Frederick W. Kagan and Kimberly Kagan, "The New Strategy in Iraq," *Weekly Standard*, July 9, 2007, pp. 26-31  
[handout (includes maps)]

## **WEEK V: THE REVIVAL OF GREAT POWER RIVALRIES**

**MONDAY, 6 OCTOBER**

*Discussion Leaders: John Lewis Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Kennedy, and Walter Russell Mead.*

\*Robert Kagan, *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*. (New York: Knopf, 2008) [SML D860 .K25 2008 (LC)]

\*Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*. (New York: Norton, 2008). [Bass Library and SML CB161 .Z34X 2008 (LC)]

## **EXAMINING THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

### **Preparation format:**

- ✓ Teams of four to five students will be assigned to individual topics below.
- ✓ Teams will submit three to five readings with bibliography in MLA citation format to Minh A. Luong no later than three weeks prior to presentations.
- ✓ Instructors will add one to two readings to fill out the reading list, if necessary.
- ✓ Readings will be announced online, and distributed online and, if necessary, at ISS.
- ✓ Teams will submit a concise 'Marshall brief' on their assigned topic no later than two weeks prior to their presentation date.

### **In-class format:**

- ✓ Team presentations (**20 minutes**; data projector available)
- ✓ Question and answer (**30 minutes**)
- ✓ Instructor-facilitated discussion (balance of class meeting)

## **DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND IMMIGRATION**

**MONDAY, 13 OCTOBER**

*Discussion Leaders: Paul Kennedy and Patrick Weil*

*Presenters: April Lawson, Ned Mitchell, Hassan Siddiq, and Nate Tek*

### **CORE READINGS:**

United States Department of Defense, *2008 National Defense Strategy*, June 2008.

URL: <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/2008%20national%20defense%20strategy.pdf>

Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, *Arab Human Development Report 2003: Building a Knowledge Society*, United Nations Development Programme, 2003.

URL: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regionalreports/arabstates/name,3204,en.html>

Congressional Budget Office (CBO), *Immigration Policy in the United States*, February 2006.

URL: <http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/70xx/doc7051/02-28-Immigration.pdf>

**GLOBAL PUBLIC HEALTH AND CULTURE****MONDAY, 20 OCTOBER***Discussion Leaders: Paul Kennedy and Elizabeth Bradley**Presenters: Jeff Geels, Giorgi Kvelashvili, Sara Robinson, and Aniket Shah***CORE READINGS:**

James A. Baker III and Lee Hamilton, *The Iraq Study Group Report*, United States Institute of Peace: December 2006.

Seth Jones, Lee Hilborne, C. Anthony, Lois M. Davis, Federico Girosi, Cheryl Benard, Rachel Swanger, Anita Garten and Anga Timilsina, *Securing Health: Lessons From Nation-Building Missions*, Center for Domestic and International Health Security – Rand Health Program, 2006, pp. 221-298.

World Health Organization, *World Health Organization Position Paper on Cholera Vaccine Use in Iraq*, World Health Organization, October 2007.

World Health Organization, *Cholera Outbreak: Assessing the Outbreak Response and Improving Preparedness*, World Health Organization, 2004.

World Health Organization, *Cholera Fact Sheet*, September 2007.

URL: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs107/en/index.html>

**FINANCE AND GLOBALIZATION****MONDAY, 27 OCTOBER***Discussion Leader: Paul Solman, Paul Kennedy, and Minh A. Luong**Presenters: Kate Aitken, Andrew Mangino, William Oh, and Marisa Reisman***CORE READINGS:**

Alan P. Larson and David M. Marchick, *Foreign Investment and National Security Getting the Balance Right*, Council on Foreign Relations, July 2006.

James K. Jackson, *Foreign Investment, CFIUS, and Homeland Security: An Overview*, Congressional Research Service, April 17, 2008.

Public Law 110-49, *Foreign Investment and National Security Act Of 2007*, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress of the United States of America, January 4, 2007.

*Sovereign Wealth Funds Generally Accepted Principles and Practices: Santiago Principles*, International Working Group of Sovereign Wealth Funds, October 2008.

Monetary and Capital Markets and Policy Development and Review Departments of the International Monetary Fund, *Sovereign Wealth Funds—A Work Agenda*, International Monetary Fund, February 29, 2008.

*Discussion Leader: Paul Kennedy and Nick Butler*

*Presenters: Karen Burke, Shazan Jiwa, Callie Jones, and Rebecca Yergin*

**CORE READINGS:**

\* Isaiah Berlin, “The Hedgehog and the Fox,” in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Oxford UP, 1963). [CCL: B1618 B454 H47 2000 (LC)]

The Energy Planning Committee believes that U.S. energy policy is too “fox-like,” as Berlin might have diagnosed it, and needs the “single, universal organizing principle” of the hedgehog.

David Sandalow, “Rising Oil Prices, Declining National Security,” testimony to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives (May 22, 2008), available online at: <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/110/san052208.htm>

David Sandalow, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the author of *Freedom from Oil* (2007), explains the implications of our continuing dependence on foreign oil.

Mark Holt and Carol Glover, “Energy Policy Act of 2005: Summary and Analysis of Enacted Provisions,” *CRS Report for Congress* (March 8, 2006), available online at: [http://lugar.senate.gov/energy/links/pdf/Energy\\_Policy\\_Act.pdf](http://lugar.senate.gov/energy/links/pdf/Energy_Policy_Act.pdf)

This analysis demonstrates the lack of organization, clarity, and public awareness of current energy-related incentives.

U.S. Department of Energy, *The Smart Grid: An Introduction*, available online from the DOE’s web site: [http://www.oe.energy.gov/DocumentsandMedia/DOE\\_SG\\_Book\\_Single\\_Pages.pdf](http://www.oe.energy.gov/DocumentsandMedia/DOE_SG_Book_Single_Pages.pdf)

This study introduces readers to smart grid technology and the current problems with our electricity grid.

**SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS:**

WADE: World Alliance for Decentralized Energy, available online at: <http://www.localpower.org/>

This is a web site that explains key terms in the new global energy market, including decentralized energy (“distributed energy”) and micro-generation. Readers are encouraged to explore on the site the international efforts at energy efficiency, decentralized energy, and grid modernization that are currently underway.

*Discussion Leader: Paul Kennedy, Charles Hill, and Walter Russell Mead*

*Presenters: Mark Evidente, Cyrus Habib, Sarah Mishkin, and Megan Reed*

**CORE READINGS:**

***Scholarship & reports***

CRS Report, “Treatment of ‘Battlefield Detainees’ in the War on Terrorism” (Jan. 23, 2007)

URL: <http://www.usembassy.it/pdf/other/RL31367.pdf>.

Provides a helpful, if slightly dated, summary of international and domestic law regarding detention (written after the Supreme Court’s *Hamdan* decision). The law of war has not changed, but it may be useful to read a summary of *Boumediene v. Bush* and the more recent articles on Guantanamo included below to get an up-to-date picture of the current situation and applicable domestic law.

“*Hamdan* and the Military Commissions Act,” 155 *U. Pa. L. Rev.* 146 (2007).

A debate between Professors Sulmasy and Yoo and Professor Flaherty on the merits of the Military Commissions Act of 2006.

***Legal standards***

An in-depth discussion of the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005, Pub. L. No. 109-148, §§ 1001–1006 (2005), published in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 19 (Spring 2006):

URL: <http://www.law.harvard.edu/students/orgs/hrj/iss19/suleman.shtml>

DoD Directive 2310.01E (Sept. 5, 2006):

Transcript of press conference -

<http://www.defenselink.mil/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=3712>

Primary text - <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/231001p.pdf>

The press conference transcript provides the political/historical context for the new DOD directive issued in the wake of *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*. This document is the “cornerstone” of American detention policy. We have included its text for your reference.

***Popular press***

Jeffrey Toobin, “Camp Justice: Everyone wants to close Guantanamo, but what will happen to the detainees?”, *The New Yorker* (April 14, 2008):

URL: [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/04/14/080414fa\\_fact\\_toobin?currentPage=1](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/04/14/080414fa_fact_toobin?currentPage=1)

“Foiling U.S. Plan, Prison Expands in Afghanistan,” *N.Y. Times* (Jan. 7, 2008)

URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/07/world/asia/07bagram.html?pagewanted=all>

“U.S. military reforms its prisons in Iraq,” *International Herald Tribune* (June 1, 2008)

URL: <http://www.iht.com/bin/printfriendly.php?id=13375130>

**ALLIANCES AND MULTILATERALISM****MONDAY, 17 NOVEMBER***Discussion Leader: John Gaddis, Charles Hill, and Paul Kennedy**Presenters: Matt Blomerth, Molly Fowler, Haley Nix, and Zach Wasserman***CORE READINGS:**

Walter Russell Mead, "Reconstructing the American Project," *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk*, Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

Charles A. Kupchan, "Minor League, Major Problems: The Case Against the League of Democracies," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008.

"Birth of the G20," G20: Sao Palo, Brazil Summit Programme, 2008

URL: <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/G20at10.pdf>

**MILITARY POWER****MONDAY, 1 DECEMBER***Discussion Leaders: Paul Kennedy, Charles Hill, and Minh A. Luong**Presenters: Sarah Cunningham, Leslie Hough, Christina Person, Ryan Shaw, and Maggie Goodlander***CORE READINGS:**

White House, *Fact Sheet Making America More Secure by Transforming Our Military*, August 2004.

URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040816-5.html>

U.S. Department of Defense, *National Defense Strategy*, 2005.

URL: <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr2005/d20050408strategy.pdf>

U.S. Department of Defense, *National Defense Strategy*, 2006.

URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/nss2006.pdf>

U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 2006.

URL: <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/QDR20060203.pdf>

Army War College, *Essays on Transformation*, September 2004. Chapters 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14.

URL: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub580.pdf>

Richard Betts, "A Disciplined Defense: How to Regain Strategic Solvency," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007.

Optional: National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015*, 2008.

URL: [http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF\\_GIF\\_global/globaltrend2015.pdf](http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_GIF_global/globaltrend2015.pdf)

Optional: National Intelligence Council's 2020 Project, Mapping the Global Future

URL: <http://www.foia.cia.gov/2020/2020.pdf>

**GS CRISIS SIMULATION - SESSION #1****ALL DAY SATURDAY, 6 DECEMBER***Facilitators: Instructional Staff and Guests***THE GRAND STRATEGY OF THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION****MONDAY, 8 DECEMBER***Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis, Walter Russell Mead, Paul Kennedy, and Charles Hill***GS CRISIS SIMULATION – SESSION #2****ALL DAY SATURDAY, 13 DECEMBER***Facilitators: Instructional Staff and Guests***WHAT, AFTER ALL, IS GRAND STRATEGY?****MONDAY, 15 DECEMBER***Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis, Charles Hill, Walter Russell Mead and Paul Kennedy*

Time and Location: 5:00 p.m. – TBA

**CORE READINGS:**

Introductory packet – Defining Grand Strategy (distributed December 2007)