

THE BRADY-JOHNSON PROGRAM IN GRAND STRATEGY

YALE UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING 2009

3 FEBRUARY 2009 UPDATE

Instructors:	Professors John Lewis Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Kennedy, Walter Russell Mead, and Paul Solman with guest discussion leaders
Course administrator:	Dr. Minh A. Luong <minh.a.luong@yale.edu>
Course numbers:	HIST 985-01 for Spring 2009 (ID #22355) and HIST 985 for Fall 2009; PLSC 715-01 for Spring 2009 (ID #22356) and PLSC 716 for Fall 2009; MGT 984-01 for Spring 2009 (ID#24330) and MGT 984 for Fall 2009;
Spring meeting time:	Mondays (including reading week), 3:30 – 5:20 p.m.
Spring location:	Hall of Graduate Studies (HGS) 220B

COURSE OBJECTIVES

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

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 6th 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.

SPRING SEMINAR

The requirements for the first semester of the seminar include preparation for and participation in weekly discussion sessions, each involving substantial reading. Students will write three essays addressing three separate topics, of which the first two are assigned and the third is negotiated with the instructors. The topics will involve comparative analyses of strategists and/or address crosscutting themes.

The essays must be no more than 2000 words in length. Each of the three essays will be graded by a different instructor and the assignments will be announced approximately one week prior to the due date of each essay.

Students must clearly state on each essay the topic it addresses. Essays should be submitted both in hardcopy form (deposited in the box outside room 209 at ISS, 31 Hillhouse Avenue by 11 a.m.) and via email with the essay as an attachment in MS-Word, RTF, or .pdf format to Minh A. Luong <minh.a.luong@yale.edu> no later than the designated due date (late submissions will accrue penalties):

- Monday, 16 February 2009 Paper one due
- Monday, 23 March 2009 Paper two due
- Monday, 20 April 2009 Paper three due

SUMMER RESEARCH PROJECT

Each student will be asked to submit – in class on Monday, 30 March – a detailed prospectus of her/his summer project (if known). All projects must be approved in advance by the instructors. Written reports on the summer internship or project (5,000-8,000 words in length) should be submitted in draft form no later than Monday, 14 September and final form no later than Monday, 23 November 2009.

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.

PREPARATION OVER THE WINTER BREAK

Students must begin preparation for the course over the winter break. At a minimum this includes reading the introductory reading packet and preparing for the first seminar session on Thucydides.

REQUIRED READING FOR THE SPRING SEMINAR

Required reading for the weekly sessions includes a combination of books and course packets, *all listed under “core reading.”* Books marked with an asterisk (*) should be purchased on-line or through your preferred book vendor. No books will be pre-ordered through the Yale Bookstore or any local New Haven bookstores.

ISS will offer course reading packets at subsidized rates. The first spring course packet, which includes required readings for the first four sessions, will be available from Susan Hennigan or Kathleen Kennedy at International Security Studies, 31 Hillhouse Avenue, room 209 by the first week of class.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING FOR THE SPRING SEMINAR

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

SPECIAL EVENTS AND DINNER SESSIONS

Throughout the year, there will be a number of special events such as lectures and conversations with distinguished practitioners and scholars, dinners, and two evening course sessions in the spring. We will announce these events as far in advance as possible. *Participation is expected*; if you cannot attend any GS event, please contact Susan Hennigan, ISS Events Coordinator, as soon as possible.

QUESTIONS

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

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING SYLLABUS

INTRODUCTION (TO BE READ DURING BREAK)

DISTRIBUTED IN DECEMBER

CORE READING:

- Williamson Murray and Mark Grimsley, 'Introduction: On Strategy', in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 1, pp. 1-23.
- B.H. Liddell Hart, 'Fundamentals of Strategy and Grand Strategy', in his *Strategy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Faber & Faber, 1967), part IV, pp. 319-370.
- Paul Kennedy, 'Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition', in Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 1-7.
- Thomas Hobbes, 'Of the Natural Condition of Mankind, As Concerning Their Felicity and Misery' and 'Of the Causes, Generation, and Definition of a Common-Wealth', in his *Leviathan* (1651), edited and with an introduction by C.B. MacPherson (London: Penguin, 1968), chapter 13, pp. 183-188; chapter 17, pp. 223-228; plus excerpt, p. 394.

GENERAL BACKGROUND READING:

- Edward Hallet Carr (1939), *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, reprint (New York: Harper & Row, 1964). [SSL JX1391 C37 1964 (LC)]
- Ian Clark and Iver B. Neumann, eds., *Classical Theories of International Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). [SML JX1395 C54X 1996 (LC)]
- Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). [SSL D443 C73X 1995 (LC)]
- Ludwig Dehio, *The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle*, translated by Charles Fullman (New York: Knopf, 1962) [CCL JX1318 D45]
- Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997). [CCL JX1963 D687X 1997 (LC)]
- Edward Mead Earle, with Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971). [CCL U39 E23 1971 (LC)]
- Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1996). [CCL U27 H36X 1995 (LC)]
- F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations Between States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) [CCL JX1944 H55]
- David Kaiser, *Politics and War: European Conflict From Philip II to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). [CCL D217 K34 1990]
- Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). [CCL U162 G68 1991 (LC)]
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987). [CCL D210 K46 1987]
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994). [CCL JX1662 K57X 1994 (LC)]
- Edward N. Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987). [CCL U162 L874 1987 (LC)]
- Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). [CCL U162 M254X 1994 (LC)]
- Allan R. Millet and Williamson Murray, eds., *Military Effectiveness*, 3 vols. (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987). [CCL U42 M55 1988 (LC)]
- Peter Paret with Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986). [CCL U162 M25 1986 (LC)]
- Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1992). [SML JX1305 W38X 1992 (LC)]

HISTORICAL ATLASES:

- Geoffrey Barraclough, ed., *The Times Atlas of World History*, 4th ed. edited by Geoffrey Parker (Maplewood, N.J.: Hammond Incorporated, 1993). [SML, Starr Main Reference, G1030 +T54 1993 (LC)]
- Hermann Kinder and Werner Hilgemann, translated by Ernest A. Menze, *The Anchor Atlas of World History*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.J.: Anchor Books, 1974-78). [CCL, Reference, upper level, Ref G1030 K5513 (LC)]
- Colin McEvedy, ed., Penguin Atlas series: *The Penguin Atlas of Ancient History* (1986); *The Penguin Atlas of African History* (1995); *The New Penguin Atlas of Medieval History* (1992); *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History (To 1815)* (1986); and *The Penguin Atlas of Recent History (Europe since 1815)* (1987).
- Geoffrey Parker, ed., *Random House Compact Atlas of World History* (New York: Random House, 1999).
- William R. Shepherd, *Shepherd's Historical Atlas* (1964), 9th ed, rev. and updated (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1980). [SML, Starr Main Reference, G1030 S53 1980 (LC)]

Discussion Leader: Charles Hill

In this session we will concentrate on the internal logic of Thucydides's classic history of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.). Particular emphasis will be placed on certain events: the archaeology that opens the book; the crisis over Epidamnus; the debate at Sparta; the speeches of Pericles; the plague; the stasis at Corcyrae; the Melian dialogue; Alcibiades and the Hermæ; and the Sicilian campaign. Certain themes also will be stressed: nature, history, the polis, culture and human disaster. The aim will be to explore the 'grand' aspect of grand strategy as in 'all-inclusive' or 'comprehensive', more than the aggregation of the decisions and actions of leaders.

CORE READING:

- *Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (c.400 B.C.), translated by Richard Crawley, edited by T.E. Wick (New York: The Modern Library Hill, 1982; distributed by McGraw-Hill). [CCL DF229 T5 C73 1982]
 Book I: §1-23, 66-88, 118-146 (pp. 1-14, 37-51, 66-86)
 Book II: §1-25, 34-65 (pp. 87-103, 106-127)
 Book III: §1-15, 25-28, 35-50, 70-86 (pp. 154-161m 166-168, 171-181, 193-202)
 Book IV: §1-41 (pp. 220-244)
 Book V: §84-116 (pp. 349-367)
 Book VI: §1-105 (pp. 358-423)
 Book VIII: §17-19 (pp. 491-492).

Isaiah Berlin, "The Hedgehog and the Fox," in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 436-98. [CCL B1618 B454 H47 2000 (LC)]

Robert D. Kaplan, "A Historian For Our Time," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January-February 2007. (handout)

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- Laurie Bagby, 'The Use and Abuse of Thucydides', *International Organization* 48, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 131-53.
 G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Duckworth, 1972). [CCL DF229.2 D46 1972B]
 Victor Davis Hanson, *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and the Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War*. (New York: Random House, 2005).
 Victor Davis Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (New York: Knopf, 1989). [CCL U33 H36 1989 (LC)]
 Tom Holland, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire and the Battle for the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2006) [Entire work available from the Yale University Library online book collection – see Orbis]
 Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Viking Press, 2003). [SML DF229 .K34 2003]
 Donald Kagan, 'Athenian Strategy in the Peloponnesian War', in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 2. [CCL U162 M254X 1994 (LC)]
 Clifford Orwin, *The Humanity of Thucydides* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994). [CCL DF229 T6 O7X 1994]
 Jacqueline de Romilly, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, translated by Philip Thody (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963). [CCL PA4461 R65]
 Chester G. Starr, *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). [SML DE61 N3 S737 1989 (LC)]

Notes:

- Readings marked with an asterisk (*) are from texts purchased by the students.
- Library call numbers are provided in [brackets]. Format: [Library Call number (system)].
- CCL is now the Bass Library

Discussion Leader: Charles Hill

In this session we will consider the Roman Empire as a unipolar world, a power configuration not to be seen again until the United States emerged as the world's only super-power after the Cold War ended. We will explore the question of whether Roman hegemony reflected the existence of what we would now consider to be a grand strategy and if so what it was. Emphasis will be placed on the reasons the empire rose and fell, and why it lasted as long as it did. We will also consider what if anything the United States, in its own 'unipolar moment', might learn from the Roman precedent.

CORE READING:

*Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1980). [CCL DG241 P64213 1981] Full text.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- Edward N. Luttwak, *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979). Full text, pp. 1-200. [CCL U35 L8 (LC)]
- Michael W. Doyle, 'Rome', in his *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), chapter 4, pp. 82-103. [CCL JC359 D69 1986 (LC)]
- Brent Shaw, 'War and Violence', in G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar, eds., *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 130-169.
- Hugh Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). [SML DG59 A2 E44X 1996 (LC)]
- Hugh Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350-425* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). [SML U43 E95 E48X 1996 (LC)]
- Arther Ferril, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986). [CCL DG312 F47]
- Arther Ferril, *Roman Imperial Grand Strategy*, Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians, 3 Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991). [SML U35 F47X 1991 (LC)]
- Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), 2nd ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1990). [SML, L&B, AC1 G74 1990 37-38 (LC)]
- Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). [SML DG311 H43 2005 (LC)]
- Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). [SML DS62 I83 1990 (LC)]
- Josephus, *The Jewish War* (c. 75 A.D.), translated by H.St.J. Thackeray (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997). [CCL DS122.8 J6713 1997]
- Kimberly Kagan, *The Eye of Command* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). [SML DG205 .K17X 2006]
- A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). [SML DG312 L44X 1993 (LC)]
- Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). [SML DG271 M18X 1999 (LC)]
- Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Empire, 27 B.C.-A.D. 476 : A Study in Survival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). [CCL DG270 S67]
- B. H. Liddell Hart, *A Greater Than Napoleon: Scipio Africanus* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1928), chapter V: "The Battle of Ilipa," pp. 56-66.
- Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (New York: Modern Library), translated by John Dryden and edited and revised by Arthur Hugh Clough. "Fabius Maximus Cunctator," pp. 235-258.
- Polybius, *The Histories* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1922), translated by W. R. Paton. pp. 268-365.
- Julius Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1983), translated by S. A. Handford, chapter I: "Customs and Institutions of the Gauls and Germans" and chapter II: "The Military Occupation of Gaul," pp. 28-29, 39-45.
- Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1990), translated by A. S. L. Farquharson, book II, pp. 10-15.

SPECIAL SESSION: THE "NUTS AND BOLTS OF WAR"**Wednesday, 21 January**

Presentation by Paul Kennedy

6:00 – 8:00 p.m.

Discussion Leader: Minh A. Luong

This session will center on a modern translation of an ancient text, Sun Tzu's *Art of War* (6th century B.C.), and will highlight contemporary issues as the relationship of theory to actual practice, of strategy to structure, and the use of modern resources. The comparison of three more literal translations from both Eastern and Western scholars to the primary text will underscore the range of interpretations of this classic strategy work. We will close the session with a discussion of Sun Tzu's thought as applied to various wars, including the War on Terror.

CORE READING:

*Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (6th cent. B.C.), translated by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford UP, 1963). Full text.

SUPPLEMENTAL READING IN THE READING PACKET:

Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought, 3rd ed.*, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), charts and tables: "A Possible Organizing Concept for Sun Tzu's Theory of War," "Sun Tzu's Preferred Strategies in Conflict and War," "The Ideal Way of Waging War Compared with the Realities," "Sun Tzu and Clausewitz: A Broader and Narrower Concept of War," and "Sun Tzu, Clausewitz, and Jomini Compared."

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

Paul Bracken, 'Reshaping the Asian Military' and 'Is There an Eastern Way of War?', in his *Fire in the East: The Rise of Asian Military Power and the Second Nuclear Age* (New York: Harper Collins, 1999), chapters 3 and 5, pp. 71-93, 125-148. [CCL UA830 B63X 1999 (LC)]

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). [SML E183.8 C5 C558X 1996 (LC)]

Thomas J. Christensen, 'Chinese Realpolitik', *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1996): 37-52.

Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought, 2nd ed.* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), esp. chapters 2-3. [CCL U27 H36X 1995 (LC)]

Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). [CCL DS919.5 C4513 1994]

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

Alastair I. Johnston, 'China's New "Old Thinking": The Concept of Limited Deterrence', *International Security* 20, no. 3 (Winter 1995/96): 5-42.

Alastair I. Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). [SML DS753 J64X 1995 (LC)]

Stephen Peter Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and Its Armies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996). [SML UA840 R67X 1996 (LC)]

William W. Whitson with Chen-hsia Huang, *The Chinese High Command: A History of Communist Military Politics, 1927-71* (New York: Praeger, 1973). [CCL UA839.3 W452]

WORKSHOP: NOTETAKING, WRITING, AND SUMMER PROJECTS **26 January**

Workshop Leaders: Charles Hill and John Gaddis (note taking and writing) and
Minh A. Luong and Jeff Mankoff (internships/fellowships)

5:30 – 8:30 p.m.

This evening workshop covers two important subjects: the fundamentals of effective writing and notetaking and preparing for your summer Grand Strategy internship or research project. The workshop begins at 5:30 p.m.

In this session we will examine in its entirety *The Prince*, by Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), with a dual focus. On the one hand will be Machiavelli's angle of vision: why he and his classic text are associated with the rise of modern politics and the rise of the modern nation-state. On the other hand will be the precise formula Machiavelli elaborates for statecraft and the ideas from which it derives. Particular emphasis will be placed upon Machiavelli's philosophy of history; the use of history by leaders; the role of fate, fortune and chance; and the relationship between individual leaders and their specific historical contexts.

CORE READING:

*Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513-1514), translated and with an introduction by Harvey C. Mansfield, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Full text, pp. 1-111.

Isaiah Berlin's essay "The Question of Machiavelli," in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 269-325. [CCL B1618 B454 H47 2000 (LC)]

Jonathan Haslam, 'Reasons of State', in his *No Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations Since Machiavelli*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 17-88.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince, and The Discourses*, with an introduction by Max Lerner (New York: Modern Library, 1950). For the discourses, esp. Book II, §1-33. [SSL JC143 M38 19]

Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). [CCL JC143 M4 M355X 1996 (LC)]

J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975). [CCL JC143 M4 P63 (LC)]

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), edited and with an introduction by C.B. MacPherson (London: Penguin, 1968), esp. chapters 1-5, 10-22, 30. [CCL JC153 H65 1968 (LC)]

Leo Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis* (1936), translated by Elsa M. Sinclair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952). [CCL JC153 H6 S87 1952 (LC)]

John Vincent, 'The Hobbesian Tradition in 20th Century Thought', *Millenium* 10, no. 2 (1981).

Discussion Leader: Paul Kennedy

This session takes as its historical setting the positions of and relations between the European powers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Its key theme will be the connections between values, interests and ambitions; policies; strategies; and practice. More specifically, we will compare and contrast the grand strategies of Philip II and Elizabeth I, the first being the absolute monarch of a world-wide empire in Europe and Asia, with massive resources in land, troops and money, the second being Queen of a much smaller, poorer and far less populous island-state. How do we explain why the policies of the latter were so much more successful than those of the former? And what role did Philip's religious conviction and bureaucratic methods play in this story, along with those more traditional measures of national power such as budgets, navies/armies and geography?

CORE READING:

- *Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (New York: Mariner Books, Reprint Edition, 2005). Original edition: (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959) [CCL DA360 M38] Full text.
- Paul Kennedy, "The Early Years of English Sea Power", in his *Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: Macmillan, 1976). [CCL DA70 K44]
- R. B. Wernham, "Elizabethan War Aims and Strategy", in Bindoff, Stanley Thomas et. al. (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1961). [CCL DA355 B54]
- Geoffrey Parker, "Conclusion: Agent and Structure", *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998): 281-296. [CCL DP179 P375 1998]

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- J.H. Elliott, 'Managing Decline: Olivares and the Grand Strategy of Imperial Spain', in Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), chapter 6, pp. 87-104. [CCL U162 G68 1991 (LC)]
- David Kaiser, *Politics and War: European Conflict From Philip II to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). [CCL D217 K34 1990]
- *Paul Kennedy, 'The Hapsburg Bid for Mastery, 1519-1659' and 'Finance, Geography, and the Winning of Wars, 1660-1815', in his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), chapters 2-3, pp. 31-139. [CCL D210 K46 1987]
- Garrett Mattingly, *The Invincible Armada and Elizabethan England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963). [SML DA300 Z9 1963]
- Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). [CCL DP179 P375 1998]

Kant: We will consider peace-planning and international institution-building as subjects of grand strategy. We will concentrate mainly on the political writings of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Kant's own philosophy of history and its connection to the grand strategy he set forth. We will then begin to explore the legacy of such eighteenth century thought to the twentieth century by examining the constitutional documents of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Metternich: We will explore peace-planning and international institution-building in practice by examining the 1815 Congress of Vienna that put an end to the Napoleonic wars and the international system that it produced, embodied in the Concert of Europe. We will concentrate mainly upon the strategic approach of Clemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich (1773-1859) of Austria, giving some attention also to Viscount Robert Stewart Castlereagh (1769-1822) of Great Britain. Emphasis will be upon determining the features and foundations of the system envisioned and produced; its functioning; and its strengths and weaknesses, including its implications for both order and justice.

CORE READING ON KANT:

Immanuel Kant, 'Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose' (1784), 'An Answer to the Question: "What is the Enlightenment"' (1784), and 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch' (1795), in Hans Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings*, translated by H.B. Nisbet, 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 41-53; 54-60; 93-130. [CCL JC181 K3513 1991 (LC)]
Covenant of the League of Nations (1919), full text, esp. Art. 10 and Art. 19. URL: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/leagcov.htm>
Charter of the United Nations (1945), full text, esp. preamble and chapters 1-3, 6-7. URLs: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm> or <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

CORE READING ON METTERNICH:

Charles K. Webster, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815*, in *Peace Handbooks*, vol. 24, no. 153 (London: H. M. Stationery, 1920). Preface; 'Introductory', pp. 1-2; 'The Preparation of the Congress', part I, pp. 3-53; 'The Completion of the Congress', part IV, pp. 136-148; and 'Memorandum on the Treaties of 1814 and 1815 Submitted by the British Plenipotentiaries at the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 1918', appendix VIII, pp. 166-171. [SML Bf4 200 24]
 Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored* (New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1964). 'Introduction', 'The Continental Statesman', 'The Insular Statesman' and 'Metternich and the Definition of Political Equilibrium', chapters 1-4, pp. 1-61. [CCL D383 K57 1964]
 Paul W. Schroeder, 'The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815' in his *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), chapter 12, pp. 517-582. [CCL D295 T73 1994]

SUPPLEMENTARY READING ON KANT:

Francis A. Boyle, *Foundations of World Order: The Legalist Approach to International Relations, 1898-1922* (Place: Duke University Press, 1999). [SML KZ1242 B69X 1999 (LC)]
 Dorothy V. Jones, *Code of Peace: Ethics and Security in the World of the Warlord States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). [SML JX1255 J66X 1991 (LC)]
 George Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1984). [CCL E744 K45 1984 (LC)]
 Daniel George Lang, *Foreign Policy in the Early Republic: The Law of Nations and the Balance of Power* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985). [SML, Stacks, LC JX1412 L36 1985 (LC)]
 Daniel P. Moynihan, *On the Law of Nations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), esp. 'Peace', 'War' and ' "Pacta Sunt Servanda!" ', chapters 1-2 and 6. [CCL E744 M79 1990 (LC)]
 Bruce Russett, ed., *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). [CCL JC423 R824X 1993 (LC)]

SUPPLEMENTARY READING ON METTERNICH:

René Albrecht-Carrié, "The Settlement of Vienna," in his *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), pp. 9-58. [CCL D363 A42]
 F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European States System, 1815-1914* (New York: Longman, 1980). [CCL D363 B75]
 Edward Vose Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1955). [SML Bi40V 955G]
 Paul W. Schroeder, 'Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?', *American Historical Review* 97, no. 3 (Jun. 1992): 683-706.

'Paul W. Schroeder's International System', series of articles in *The International History Review* 16, no. 4 (November 1994): 663-757.

Charles K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822: Britain and the European Alliance* (London: G. Bell, 1958). [CCL D383 W43 1958]

Charles K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830-1841: Britain, the Liberal Movement, and the Eastern Question* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969). [CCL DA535 W43]

WEEK VII: CLAUSEWITZ

23 February

Discussion Leader: John Gaddis

In this session we will focus on the single most influential work of grand strategy, Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (1832). We will consider the circumstances that led Clausewitz (1780-1831) to write this book – chiefly on the rise of the European state system, the Napoleonic challenge to it and the lessons Clausewitz drew therefrom. We will pay particular attention to the concepts Clausewitz introduced in grand strategy: the subordination of war to statecraft, the idea of friction, the role of uncertainty and the function of planning. We will also discuss the particular difficulties of reading this work and the ways in which it has been interpreted – or misinterpreted – since its publication. Finally, we will consider the ways in which certain American leaders have used Clausewitz's ideas as well as the relevance of his thinking for the post-Cold War world.

CORE READING:

*Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (New York: Knopf, 1993). Introductory essays by Paret, 'The Genesis of On War', pp. 3-28; Howard, 'The Influence of Clausewitz', pp. 29-49; and Bernard Brodie, 'The Continuing Relevance of On War', pp. 50-65. Author's Preface, Comments and Notes, pp. 69-80.

'On the Nature of War', book I, chapters 1-8 (pp. 83-142)

'On the Theory of War', book II, chapters 1-6 (pp. 145-204)

'On Strategy in General', book III, chapters 1-18 (pp. 207-262)

'The Engagement', book IV, chapter 11 (pp. 306-311)

'Military Forces', book V, chapter 3, (pp. 335-337)

'Defense', book VI, chapters 1, 5, 23, 27 (pp.427-430, 443-444, 551-554, 585-588)

'The Attack', book VII, chapters 2-5, 22 (pp. 634-639, 684-693)

'War Plans', book VIII, chapters 1-9 (pp.697-771).

Alan Beyerchen, 'Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War', *International Security* 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992/93): 59-90.

Jon Sumida, 'History and Theory: the Clausewitzian Ideal and Its Implications', unpublished article (6 November 1999): 1-30.

John Lewis Gaddis, 'Living in Candlestick Park', *The Atlantic Monthly* 283, no. 4 (April 1999): 65-74

Joshua Bradley, "Vom Football," Grand Strategy essay, Spring, 2007.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

Campbell Craig, *Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). [SML UA23 C67224X 1998 (LC)]

Azar Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), esp. Part II: 'The German Movement, Clausewitz and the Origins of the German Military School'. [CCL U39 G38 1989 (LC)]

Michael I. Handel, ed., *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy* (London: Frank Cass, 1986). [CCL U102 C6643 C54 1986 (LC)]

Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1996), esp. chapters 2-3. [CCL U27 H36X 1995 (LC)]

Michael Howard, *Clausewitz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983). [CCL U21.2 H657 1983 (LC)]

Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960). [MUDD Uxq13 960K]

John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993). [SML U27 K38X 1993 (LC)]

Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). [CCL DD422 C5 P33]

Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991). [CCL U42 V36X 1991 (LC)]

WORKSHOP: ADAM SMITH

23 February

Workshop Leader: Paul Solman

5:30 – 8:30 p.m.

Discussion Leader: John Gaddis and Walter Russell Mead

This week's discussion focuses on the question of how the United States, which began its existence as an inexperienced weak state on the periphery of the international system, managed over the next century and a quarter to accumulate sufficient strength – both physical and ideological – not only to sustain itself, but to become one of the world's great powers.

CORE READING:

Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist*, with an introduction by Edward Mead Earle (New York: Modern Library College Editions, Read numbers 1 – 5 and 8 – 11.

*Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation* (New York: Knopf, 2006), Full text. [CCL E183.7.K34X 2006 (LC)]

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Edward Mead Earle, "Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 217-61.

Peter Maslowski, "To the Edge of Greatness: The United States, 1783-1865," in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Know, and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 205-41.

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (New York: Knopf, 2001), pp. 99-131, 174-263.

John Lewis Gaddis, 'The Nineteenth Century', in his *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

James H. Hutson, *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980).

Frederick W. Marks III, *Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1986).

Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1973).

Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1990)

Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox : An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1963), especially chapter 3, "The Pursuit of Happiness." Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984).

Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: Norton, 2005).

In this session we will explore the strategic approaches of two 19th century contemporaries confronting dramatically different circumstances, Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) and Robert Cecil (1830-1903), Marquess of Salisbury. We will focus particularly on the strategic outlook and approach of Bismarck before, during and after the wars of German unification, and the simultaneous efforts of Lord Salisbury to manage an empire covering one-quarter of the globe. Examination of these two grand strategists is a study in contrasts: Bismarck is Thomas Carlyle's "Great Man" personified while Lord Salisbury is an organization man engaged in a global juggling act forced to work through committees of ministers who hold differing opinions. Particular themes will include: strategy and belief systems; the use of and effects on the Concert of Europe; architectural design versus improvisational technique; the two sides of diplomacy, internal and external; and civil-military relations.

CORE READING:

- Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, vol. 1., *The Period of Unification*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), Introduction, pp. xvii-xxx; and 'The Years of Preparation, 1815-1858', book I, chapters 1-4, pp. 1-99. [CCL DD218 P45 1990]
- Henry Kissinger, 'The White Revolutionary: Reflections on Bismarck', *Daedalus* 97, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 888-924.
- Selected communications between Bismarck and von Moltke, in Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Scepter: The Problem of Militarism in Germany*, trans. by Heinz Norden (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1969-73). [CCL DD112 R5713]
- Selected statements of Lord Salisbury, in C.J. Lowe, *The Reluctant Imperialists: British Foreign Policy, 1878-1902*, vol. 2, *The Documents* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).
- J.A.S. Grenville, 'Salisbury and the Traditions of British Foreign Policy', in his *Lord Salisbury and Foreign Policy: The Close of the Nineteenth Century* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1964), chapter 1, pp. 3-23. [CCL DA564 S2 G74]
- Josef Joffe, "Bismarck" or "Britain?: Toward an American Grand Strategy after Bipolarity", *International Security* 19, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 94-117.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- John Charmley, *Splendid Isolation?: Britain, the Balance of Power and the Origins of the First World War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999). [SML no. FMR3026]
- Holger H. Herwig, 'Strategic Uncertainties of a Nation-State: Prussia-Germany, 1871-1918', in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 9. [CCL U162 M254X 1994 (LC)]
- Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1980). [CCL DA47.2 K45]
- Paul Kennedy, 'The Coming of a Bipolar World and the Crisis of the "Middle Powers", Part One, 1885-1918', in his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), chapter 5. [CCL D210 K46 1987]
- Henry Kissinger, 'Two Revolutionaries: Napoleon III and Bismarck', 'Realpolitik Turns on Itself', and 'A Political Doomsday Machine: European Diplomacy Before the First World War', in his *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), chapters 5-7. pp. 103-200. [CCL JX1662 K57X 1994 (LC)]
- Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999).
- Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: the Official Mind of Imperialism* (1961) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963). [SML DT32 R63 1963]
- David Steele, *Lord Salisbury: A Political Biography* (London: UCL Press, 1999).
- A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). [CCL D359 T39 1971]
- Aaron L. Friedberg, *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988). [CCL DA570 F75 1988]

This session focuses on the rise of authoritarianism after World War I. We will emphasize in particular the gap between the aspirations that gave rise to these movements and their actual accomplishments; or, to put it in grand strategic terms, the extent to which means chosen turned out to be appropriate to ends envisaged.

CORE READING:

- *Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), pp.1-222. [CCL D421 H628 1996]
- Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (New York: Penguin, 2008) [SML DD256.5.M3955X (LC)] Introduction, pp. 1-12; Chapter 6, pp. 137-178; Chapter 17-18 pp. 553-604.
- Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the making of Modern Japan*. (New York: Harper Collins, 2000) [SML DS889.8.B59X (LC)]. Introduction, pp.1-18; Chapter 1, pp. 21-56; Chapter 5, pp. 171-204; Chapters 10-11, pp. 359-385.
- Karl Marx, 'On the Jewish Question' (1843), in David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), chapter 6, pp. 39-62.
- Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' (1848), in David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 221-246. [CCL HX39.5 A223 1977 (LC)]
- V.I. Lenin, 'The Withering Away of the State and Revolution by Force', in his *The State and Revolution* (1917), chapter 1, §4, in N. Lenin, *Imperialism. The State and Revolution* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1926), pp. 123-129. [CCL HB501 L4513 1927 (LC)]
- NKVD operational order, 'Concerning the Punishment of Former Kulaks, Criminals, and Other Anti-Soviet Elements', 30 July 1937, in J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, eds., *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), document 170, pp. 471-480.
- Generalissimo Stalin, 'Radio Broadcast, July 3, 1941', in his, *War Speeches and Orders of the Day*, July 3, 1941 – June 22, 1945 (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1945?), pp. 7-12.
- 'Decision Concerning the Cultural Revolution' (1966), in Edward J. Lazzerini, *The Chinese Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), Document 6, pp. 146-152.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- Plato, *The Republic*, in Allan Bloom, trans., *The Republic of Plato*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1991), book VII, §532a-541b, pp. 211-220.
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835), vol. 1, Vintage Classics Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), p. 434.
- John Lewis Gaddis, 'Cold War Empires: Europe', 'Cold War Empires: Asia' and 'Ideology, Economics, and Alliance Solidarity', in his *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, A Council on Foreign Relations Book (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), chapters 2-3, 7, pp. 26-84, 189-220. [CCL D843 G24X 1997]
- Michael Scammell, 'Where, When, and Why 85 Million People Died: The Price of An Idea', *The New Republic* (20 December 1999): 32-42.
- Vladimir O. Pechatnov and C. Earl Edmondson, 'The Russian Perspective', in Ralph B. Levering, Vladimir O. Pechatnov, Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, and C. Earl Edmondson, *Debating the Origins of the Cold War: American and Russian Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), pp. 85-151.
- Edward Mead Earle, 'Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin: Soviet Concepts of War', in Edward Mead Earle, with Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler* (1943; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 322-364. [CCL U39 E23 1971 (LC)]
- David Armstrong, *Revolution and World Order: The Revolutionary State in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). [CCL JX3091 A77X 1993 (LC)], esp. chapter 3-4.
- Robert Conquest, *Reflections on a Ravaged Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000). [D421 C595X 1999 (LC)]
- Stephane Courtois, et al, translated by Jonathan Murphy, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999). [SML HX44 L59X13 1999 (LC)]
- Francois Furet, *The Passing of an Illusion: The Idea of Communism in the Twentieth Century*, translated by Deborah Furet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). [CCL HX44.5 F87X13 1999 (LC)]
- Edward J. Lazzerini, *The Chinese Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999). [CCL DS774 L39X 1999].
- Margot Light, *The Soviet Theory of International Relations* (Brighton, Sussex: Wheatsheaf, 1988). [SML JX1555 Z5 1988 (LC)]
- Martin Edward Malia, *Russia Under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.) [CCL DK32 M18X 1999]

Stuart R. Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, rev. and enl. ed., (New York: Praeger, 1969). [CCL DS778 M3 A31 1969]
Karl Marx, 'Preface to A Critique of Political Economy', in David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 388-392. [CCL HX39.5 A223 1977 (LC)]

Discussion Leader: Ted R. Bromund

In this session we will consider the strategic debate between Sir John Seeley (1834-1895), the American Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914), Sir Basil Liddell Hart (1895-1970), and Sir Halford Mackinder (1861-1947), as reflected in the thought and experience of Winston Churchill (1874-1965). We will focus first on the strategic situation Britain faced in 1940, then consider the relevance of the views of the strategists on the British Empire, geopolitics, the question of sea versus land power, and the 'indirect approach' to the situation of 1940, and end by examining Churchill's grand strategic outlook during the First and Second World Wars and his conception of self-education and grand strategy.

CORE READING:

- J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (orig. pub. London, 1883), Course II, Lecture VIII.
- H.J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History", *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 6 (April 1904): pp. 421-423, 432-437, and commentary.
- H.J. Mackinder, "The Rivalry of Empires," in his *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction* (1919) (New York: Henry Holt, 1942), ch. 5.
- A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (1890) (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), "Introduction, pp. 1-12" and "Elements of Seapower", ch. 1, pp. 25-89.
- B.H. Liddell Hart, "The Historic Strategy of Britain," in his *The British Way in Warfare* (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), ch. 1.
- B.H. Liddell Hart, "The True Object in War" (21 December 1939), LH 11/1939/137, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, London.
- B.H. Liddell Hart, "War and Peace" (14 September 1940), LH 11/1940/87, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College London.
- Winston Churchill, "I Have Done My Best" (5 June 1915), from David Cannadine, ed., *The Speeches of Winston Churchill* (London: Penguin, 1989).
- Winston Churchill, "The Causes of War" (16 November 1934), from Robert Rhodes James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, Vol. V, 1928-1935 (New York: Chelsea House Publishers), pp. 5433-5436.
- Winston Churchill, "A Total and Unmitigated Defeat" (5 October 1938), from David Cannadine, ed., *The Speeches of Winston Churchill* (London: Penguin, 1989).
- Winston Churchill, *My Early Life: A Roving Commission* (1930) (London: Mandarin Paperbacks, 1990), "Education at Bangalore", ch. 9, pp. 123-132.
- Winston Churchill, *Painting as a Pastime* (New York: Cornerstone Library Publications, 1950, orig. pub. 1932 in Churchill, *Amid These Storms*).

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- Paul Kennedy, 'Mahan versus Mackinder: Two Interpretations of British Sea Power', in his *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945: Eight Studies* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), chapter 2, pp. 41-85. [CCL D397 K45]
- John Keegan, 'Churchill's Strategy', in Robert Blake and Wm. Roger Louis, *Churchill* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), chapter 19, pp. 327-352. [CCL DA566.9 C5 C487 1993]
- Michael Howard, *The British Way in Warfare: A Reappraisal*, Neale Lecture in English History, 1974 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1975), pp. 5-24.
- Brian W. Blouet, *Halford Mackinder: A Biography* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1987) [SML G69 M25 B58 1987 (LC)]
- Michael Howard, 'The Balance of Power, 1905-1914', 'The Triumph of Empire, 1914-1919' and 'The End of Empire, 1938-1942', in his *The Continental Commitment* (London: Ashfield Press, 1989), chapters 2-3, 6, pp. 31-73, 121-146. [SML UA647 H69X 1989 (LC)]
- Jon Sumida, 'Alfred Thayer Mahan, Geopolitician', *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Special Issue on Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy, vol. 22, nos. 2-3 (June/September 1999): 39-62. [on file in ISS GS files]
- David French, *The British Way in Warfare, 1688-2000* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990). [SML UA647 F75 1990 (LC)]
- John B. Hattendorf, ed., *The Influence of History on Mahan: The Proceedings of a Conference Marking the Centenary of Alfred Thayer Mahan's The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, 1991). [SML V25 I54X 1991 (LC)]
- Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: A. Lane, 1976). [CCL DA70 K44]

- Paul Kennedy, 'The Coming of a Bipolar World and the Crisis of the "Middle Powers", Part One, 1885-1918' and 'Part Two, 1919-1942', in his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), chapters 5-6. [CCL D210 K46 1987]
- Henry Kissinger, 'Three Approaches to Peace: Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill in World War II', in his *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), chapter 16. [CCL JX1662 K57X 1994 (LC)]
- Williamson Murray, 'The Collapse of Empire: British Strategy, 1919-1945', in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 13. [CCL U162 M254X 1994 (LC)]
- Jon Tetsuro Sumida, *Inventing Grand Strategy and Teaching Command: The Classic Works of Alfred Thayer Mahan Reconsidered* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). [SML V25 S85X 1997 (LC)]
- John Ehrman, 'The Origins of a System' and 'Consolidation, Rearmament and the Test of the Second World War, 1919-1940', in his *Cabinet Government and War, 1890-1940* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1969), chapters 1 and 4, pp. 1-33, 100-132. [CCL JN401 E37 1969 (LC)]

In this session, we will look at the democratic alternatives to authoritarianism, as exemplified in the grand strategies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. We will focus especially on the question of whether “idealism” or “realism” or some combination of both best characterizes their respective approaches to the world.

CORE READING:

- Henry Kissinger, ‘The Hinge: Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson’, in his *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), chapter 2, pp. 29-55. [CCL JX1662 K57X 1994 (LC)]
- Frank A. Ninkovich, ‘Roosevelt and Taft: The Emergence of Civilization as Policy Principle’, ‘Woodrow Wilson and the Historical Necessity of Idealism’ and ‘Herbert Hoover: Culture versus Civilization’, in his *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), chapters 1-3, pp. 1-98. [CCL D453 N56X 1994]
- John Lewis Gaddis, ‘Dividing the World’, in his *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, A Council on Foreign Relations Book (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), chapter 1, pp. 1-25. [CCL D843 G24X 1997]
- John Gerard Ruggie, ‘An American Dilemma’ and ‘The Postwar Compromises’, in his *Winning the Peace: America and World Order in the New Era*, A Twentieth Century Fund Book (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), chapters 1-2, pp. 7-49. [SML E840 R78X 1996 (LC)]

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- Barbara Rearden Farnham, ‘Roosevelt, the Munich Crisis, and Political Decision-Making’ and ‘Implications for History and Theory’, in her *Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis: A Study of Political Decision-Making* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapters 1 and 7, pp. 3-16, 228-243. [SML E183.8 G3 F37X 1997 (LC)]
- John Lewis Gaddis, ‘The Twentieth Century’, in his *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- George Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1984). Part I: ‘Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures’, pp. 1-103, and part III: ‘Grinnell Lectures’, pp. 157-179. [CCL E744 K45 1984 (LC)]
- Eliot A. Cohen, ‘The Strategy of Innocence? The United States, 1920-1945’, in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 14, pp. 428-465. [CCL U162 M254X 1994 (LC)]
- Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Wilsonian Statecraft: Theory and Practice of Liberal Internationalism During World War I* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1991). [CCL D619 A6495X 1991]
- John Milton Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983). [CCL E176.1 C57 1983 (LC)]
- Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). [CCL E806 D33 1995 (LC)]
- Henry Kissinger, ‘The New Face of Diplomacy: Wilson and the Treaty of Versailles’, ‘America Re-enters the Arena: Franklin Delano Roosevelt’, and ‘Three Approaches to Peace: Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill’, in his *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), chapters 9, 15-16. [CCL JX1662 K57X 1994 (LC)]
- Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as a Wartime Statesman* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991). [CCL E807 K48 1991 (LC)]
- Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest For a New World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). [CCL E767.1 K56X 1992 (LC)]
- Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990). [E744 K647 1990 (LC)]
- Frank Ninkovich, *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). [SML E744 N545X 1999 (LC)]
- Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: An Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945*, 1st ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). [CCL E744 R62 1982 (LC)]
- Gaddis Smith, *American Diplomacy During the Second World War, 1941-1945*. [CCL D753 S65]
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WEEK XIII : THE COLD WAR**20 April***Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis and Charles Hill*

In this session we will focus on the two most influential American grand strategists of the Cold War era from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s: George F. Kennan (1904-2005) and Henry A. Kissinger (1923-). We will examine their respective designs for waging the Cold War, as well as their ideas on how it might end. We will also consider the difficulties both statesmen had, as policy-makers, in implementing their ideas.

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- *John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War*, revised and expanded edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-341.
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- Ernest R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993) [SML UA23 A598X 1993 (LC)]
- Coral Bell, *The Diplomacy of Detente: The Kissinger Era* (London: M. Robertson, 1977). [CCL E840.8 K5 B45 (LC)]
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- George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967) and *Memoirs: 1950-1963* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).
- Paul Kennedy, 'Stability and Change in a Bipolar World, 1943-1980', in his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), chapter 7, pp. 347-437. [CCL D210 K46 1987]
- Henry A. Kissinger, *American Foreign Policy: Three Essays* (New York: Norton, 1969). [CCL E840 K57 (LC)]
- Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979). [CCL E840.8 K5 A35 (LC)]
- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982). [CCL E840.8 K5 A355 (LC)]
- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Renewal* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999). [CCL E840.8 K58 A3X 1999 (LC)]
- Henry Kissinger, 'The New World Order Reconsidered', in his *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), chapter 31, pp. 804-836. [CCL JX1662 K57X 1994 (LC)].
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We will spend this session discussing the how the Cold War ended, which is a contentious and politicized issue in and of itself. First interpretations attributed it to the vision, flexibility and courage of Mikhail Gorbachev (1931-). Later assessments argue that the United States in the 1980s ‘stumbled onto a successful strategy under Ronald Reagan’ (1911- 2004), comprised of support for anti-communist guerillas, missile deployments in Western Europe, arms reduction negotiations, and the strategic defense initiative. We will consider whether, why and how a congeries of ideas and events evolved into a grand strategy of historical significance.

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- George Shultz, ‘Realism, Strength and Diplomacy’, Address to the United Nations General Assembly, September 1982.
- Ronald Reagan, Address to both Houses of Parliament at the Palace of Westminster, London, 8 June 1982, excerpted in William Safire, ed., *Lend Me Your Ears: Great Speeches in History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), pp. 862-867.
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