

THE BRADY-JOHNSON PROGRAM IN GRAND STRATEGY

YALE UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING 2010

16 JANUARY 2010 UPDATE

Instructors: Professors John Lewis Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Kennedy, Walter Russell Mead, John Negroponte, and Paul Solman with guest discussion leaders

Course administrator: Dr. Minh A. Luong <minh.a.luong@yale.edu>

Course numbers: HIST 985: Section 01 ID #21037 and Section 02 ID# 26435
PLSC 715: Section 01 ID # 21038 and Section 02 ID# 26437
MGT 984: Section 01 ID # 20361 and Section 02 ID# 26436

Spring meeting time: Mondays (including reading week), 3:30 – 5:20 p.m.

Spring location: Locations: Team A (Athenians): HGS 217B and Team B (Spartans): HGS 218

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 12:00 noon) 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):

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|---|--------------------------|-----------------|
| → | Monday, 15 February 2010 | Paper one due |
| → | Monday, 22 March 2010 | Paper two due |
| → | Monday, 19 April 2010 | Paper three due |

Summer research project

Each student will be asked to submit – in class on Monday, 5 April – 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, 13 September and final form no later than Monday, 15 November 2010.

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 Sun Tzu or 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 Murphy 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 Kathleen Murphy, 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.
- Isaiah Berlin, "The Hedgehog and the Fox," in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 436-98.
- 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*).

General background reading:

- Edward Hallett Carr (1939), *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, reprint (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).
- Ian Clark and Iver B. Neumann, eds., *Classical Theories of International Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).
- Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Ludwig Dehio, *The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle*, translated by Charles Fullman (New York: Knopf, 1962).
- Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).
- 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).
- Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1996).
- F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations Between States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).
- David Kaiser, *Politics and War: European Conflict From Philip II to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).
- Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987).
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).
- Edward N. Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987).
- Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Allan R. Millett and Williamson Murray, eds., *Military Effectiveness*, 3 vols. (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).
- 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).
- Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

Historical atlases:

Geoffrey Barraclough, ed., *The Times Atlas of World History*, 4th ed. edited by Geoffrey Parker (Maplewood, N.J.: Hammond Incorporated, 1993).

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).

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).

WEEKLY TOPIC SCHEDULE

DATE	TEAM A: ATHENIANS TOPIC/DISCUSSION LEADER(S)	TEAM B: SPARTANS TOPIC/DISCUSSION LEADER(S)
11 January	Topic 1: Sun Tzu Minh A. Luong	Topic 2: Thucydides Charles Hill
Friday, 15 January	Topic 2: Thucydides Charles Hill	Topic 1: Sun Tzu Minh A. Luong
25 January	Topic 4: Machiavelli Charles Hill	Topic 3: The Romans Walter Russell Mead
1 February	Topic 3: The Romans Walter Russell Mead	Topic 4: Machiavelli Charles Hill
8 February	Topic 5: Philip II and Elizabeth I Paul Kennedy and Carlos Eire	
15 February	Topic 6: Kant vs. Metternich Charles Hill and Paul Kennedy	
22 February	Topic 7: Clausewitz John Gaddis	Topic 8: Rise of the United States Charles Hill and Walter Mead
1 March	Topic 8: Rise of the United States Charles Hill and Walter Mead	Topic 7: Clausewitz John Gaddis
22 March	Topic 9: Bismarck and The German Problem Charles Hill and Adam Tooze	
29 March	Topic 10: Imperial Geopolitics Charles Hill and Walter Mead	
5 April	Topic 12: Democratic Geopolitics Walter Mead and John Negroponte	Topic 11: Authoritarian Geopolitics John Gaddis and Adam Tooze
12 April	Topic 11: Authoritarian Geopolitics John Gaddis and Adam Tooze	Topic 12: Democratic Geopolitics Walter Mead and John Negroponte
19 April	Topic 13: The Cold War John Gaddis and Walter Mead	
3 May	Topic 14: The End of the Cold War Charles Hill and John Negroponte	

SPECIAL WORKSHOPS

DATE	WORKSHOP DESCRIPTION / LEADER
Tuesday, 19 January, 6:00-8:00 pm Location: Luce Hall, Room 202	Note taking, Writing, and Summer Experience / <i>Charles Hill and John Gaddis</i> (note taking and writing) <i>Minh A. Luong and Jeff Mankoff</i> (summer experience and funding)
Monday, 25 January, 6:00-8:00 pm	The Nuts and Bolts of War / Paul Kennedy
Monday, 22 February, 5:30-8:30 pm	<i>Adam Smith</i> / Paul Solman
Monday, 29 March, 5:30-8:30 pm (Date to be confirmed)	<i>The Appeal of Communism and Fascism</i> / Paul Solman
Monday, 12 April, 5:30-8:30 pm	<i>John Maynard Keynes</i> / Paul Solman

Note: Readings marked with an asterisk () are from texts purchased by the students.*

TOPIC 1: SUN TZU

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.

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

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.

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

Stephen Peter Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and Its Armies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

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

TOPIC 2: THUCYDIDES

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 Corcyra; 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).

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).
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).
Tom Holland, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire and the Battle for the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2006)
Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Viking Press, 2003)
Donald Kagan, *Thucydides: The Reinvention of History* (New York: Viking Press, 2009).
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.
Robert D. Kaplan, "A Historian For Our Time," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January-February 2007.
Clifford Orwin, *The Humanity of Thucydides* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).
Jacqueline de Romilly, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, translated by Philip Thody (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963).
Chester G. Starr, *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

TOPIC 3: THE ROMANS

Discussion Leader: Walter Russell Mead

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*, translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1979). [BASS DG241 P64213 1981]
Book III: §1-118 (pp. 178-276)
Book VI: §2-58 (pp. 302-352)
Book VII: §2-14 (pp. 353-363)
Book VIII: §3-34 (pp. 364-385)
Book IX: §1-26 (pp. 386-403)
Book X: §2-40 (pp. 404-423)
Book XI: §1-3; 19 (pp. 424-429).
- Plutarch, "Fabius", *Plutarch's Lives*, Volume 1, translated by John Dryden, edited by Arthur Hugh Clough (New York: Modern Library, 2001), pp. 235-256. Also available as an e-book from Yale University Library Collection via NetLibrary, "Fabius", pp. 172-187.
- Livy, "Book I: 1.55-1.60", "Book II: 2.9-2.13", and "Book III: 3.26-3.29", *The History of Rome*, Books I-V, translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt, (New York: Penguin Books, 1960), pp. 94-101, 114-121, 212-217.
- Edward Gibbon, "Chapter I: The Extent and Military Force of the Empire in the Age of the Antonines" and "Chapter II: Of the Union and Internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire, in the Age of the Antonines", *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994).

Supplementary reading:

- Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1990), translated by A. S. L. Farquharson, book II, pp. 10-15.
- 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.
- Michael W. Doyle, 'Rome', in his *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), chapter 4, pp. 82-103.
- Hugh Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).
- Hugh Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350-425* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Arther Ferril, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).
- Arther Ferril, *Roman Imperial Grand Strategy*, Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians, 3 Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991).
- Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), 2nd ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1990).
- Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Adrian Goldsworthy, *How Rome Fell: Death of a Superpower* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Josephus, *The Jewish War* (c. 75 A.D.), translated by H.St.J. Thackeray (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).
- Kimberly Kagan, *The Eye of Command* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).
- A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- 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.
- Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- 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.

Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

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.

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.

Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Empire, 27 B.C.-A.D. 476 : A Study in Survival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

TOPIC 4: MACHIAVELLI

Discussion Leader: Charles Hill

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 "The Originality of Machiavelli," in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 269-325.

Supplementary reading:

- 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.
- 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.
- Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975).
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), edited and with an introduction by C.B. MacPherson (London: Penguin, 1968), esp. chapters 1-5, 10-22, 30.
- Leo Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis* (1936), translated by Elsa M. Sinclair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).
- John Vincent, 'The Hobbesian Tradition in 20th Century Thought', *Millennium* 10, no. 2 (1981).

TOPIC 5: PHILIP II and ELIZABETH I

Discussion Leader: Paul Kennedy and Carlos Eire

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) Full text.
- Paul Kennedy, "The Early Years of English Sea Power", in his *Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: Macmillan, 1976).
- 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).
- Geoffrey Parker, "Conclusion: Agent and Structure", *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998): 281-296.

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.
- David Kaiser, *Politics and War: European Conflict From Philip II to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 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.
- Garrett Mattingly, *The Invincible Armada and Elizabethan England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963).
- Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

TOPIC 6: KANT vs. METTERNICH

Discussion Leaders: Charles Hill and Paul Kennedy

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 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.

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:

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton UP, 2001 paperback), chapter four, "The Settlement of 1815", pp. 80-116.

Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems Of Our Time*, 2nd Ed (Oxford UP, 1990), Chapter Three, "Balance of Power, 1815-1914: Three Experiments", pp. 28-48.

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.

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.

Supplementary reading on Kant:

Francis A. Boyle, *Foundations of World Order: The Legalist Approach to International Relations, 1898-1922* (Place: Duke University Press, 1999).

Dorothy V. Jones, *Code of Peace: Ethics and Security in the World of the Warlord States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

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).

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.

Bruce Russett, ed., *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

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.

F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European States System, 1815-1914* (New York: Longman, 1980).

Edward Vose Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1955).

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 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.
- Charles K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822: Britain and the European Alliance* (London: G. Bell, 1958).
- Charles K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830-1841: Britain, the Liberal Movement, and the Eastern Question* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).

TOPIC 7: CLAUSEWITZ

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 Tetsuro Sumida, 'History and Theory: the Clausewitzian Ideal and Its Implications', unpublished article (6 November 1999): 1-30.
- John Lewis Gaddis, "War, Peace, and Everything: Reflections on Tolstoy," unpublished article.

Supplementary reading:

- Campbell Craig, *Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
- 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'.
- Michael I. Handel, ed., *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy* (London: Frank Cass, 1986).
- Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1996), esp. chapters 2-3.
- Michael Howard, *Clausewitz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).
- John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993).
- Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
- Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

TOPIC 8: THE RISE OF THE UNITED STATES

Discussion Leader: Charles Hill 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. Text available from The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy at Yale Law School – URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp

*Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation* (New York: Knopf, 2006), Full text.

Supplemental reading:

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).

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

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).

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.

Robert W. Merry, *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War, and the Conquest of the American Continent* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009).

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

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

Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic 1789-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

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

TOPIC 9: BISMARCK AND THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Discussion Leaders: Charles Hill and Adam Tooze

In this session we will explore the strategic approaches of one of the greatest figures of nineteenth century history, Otto von Bismarck (1810-1898). Though widely regarded as a wild, irresponsible Junker, he was brought into power in 1862 to solve the Prussian constitutional crisis, led Prussia into three successful wars (vs. Denmark, Austria, and France), created the Second German Empire in 1871, and was the dominant force in European politics for the next two decades. A conservative revolutionary? A genius who, alas, groomed no competent successor? A harbinger of Germany's later, demonic fate?

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.

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).

Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire: 1871-1918*, (Warwickshire, UK: Berg Publishers, 1985), pp. 9-31, 52-62, 232-246.

Supplementary reading:

Josef Joffe, "Bismarck" or "Britain?: Toward an American Grand Strategy After Bipolarity", *International Security* 19, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 94-117.

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.

Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1980).

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.

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.

A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

TOPIC 10: IMPERIAL GEOPOLITICS

Discussion Leader: Charles Hill and Walter Mead

In the second half of the nineteenth century the small island-state of Britain was the world's industrial leader, possessed unchallengeable naval power, and either already controlled or was expanding into one-quarter of the land surface of the globe. Yet the maintenance of the "Pax Britannica" meant that, as newer Great Powers emerged, it faced challenges in all corners of the globe, the Americas, Europe, the Mediterranean and Turkey, Africa, and across Asia from India to China. This week's readings look at the private letters, dispatches and Cabinet memoranda of top policy-makers ("the Official Mind") as they wrestled with grand-strategic priorities, and reluctantly moved from isolationism to the 1914 commitment to war in Europe.

Core Reading:

- Selected documents from Kenneth Bourne, *The Foreign Policy of Victorian Britain: 1830-1902* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- 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).
- Paul Kennedy, *The Realities Behind Diplomacy: Background Influences on British Foreign Policy, 1865-1980*, (London: Fontana paperback, 1981), pp. 74-139.
- 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.
- Michael Howard, 'The Defence of Empire, 1900-1907' and 'The Balance of Power, 1905-1914', in his *The Continental Commitment* (London: Ashfield Press, 1989), chapters 1-2, pp. 9-52.

Supplementary reading:

- John Charmley, *Splendid Isolation?: Britain, the Balance of Power and the Origins of the First World War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999).
- Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: A. Lane, 1976).
- 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.
- 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).
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- David French, *The British Way in Warfare, 1688-2000* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990).
- Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999).
- David Steele, *Lord Salisbury: A Political Biography* (London: UCL Press, 1999).
- Aaron L. Friedberg, *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

TOPIC 11: AUTHORITARIAN GEOPOLITICS

Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis and Adam Tooze

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:

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 3-22, 445-498.

Richard Overy, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia* (New York: Norton, 2004), pp. 635-651.

Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (New York: Penguin, 2007), pp. 1-33, 285-325, 461-485.

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 39-72.

Supplementary reading:

Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the making of Modern Japan*. (New York: Harper Collins, 2000).

Jung Chang and John Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

Stephane Courtois, et al, translated by Jonathan Murphy, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

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.

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).

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 26-84, 189-220.

Christopher Hibbert, *Mussolini: The Rise and Fall of Il Duce* (New York: Macmillan, 2008).

Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996).

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.)

Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (New York: Penguin, 2008).

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.

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.

Michael Scammell, 'Where, When, and Why 85 Million People Died: The Price of An Idea', *The New Republic* (20 December 1999): 32-42.

Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835), vol. 1, Vintage Classics Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), p. 434.

TOPIC 12: DEMOCRATIC GEOPOLITICS

Discussion Leaders: Walter Russell Mead and John Negroponte

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:

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

Supplementary reading:

John Milton Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 2009).

John Milton Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983).

Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

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).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), chapters 2, 9, 15-16.

Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as a Wartime Statesman* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest For a New World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Frank Ninkovich, *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: An Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

Gaddis Smith, *American Diplomacy During the Second World War, 1941-1945*.

Tony Smith, *America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, rev. ed. (New York: Dell, 1962).

TOPIC 13: THE COLD WAR

Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis and John Negroponte

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.

Core reading:

- *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), all.
- John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," forthcoming in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*.
- John Lewis Gaddis, 'Rescuing Choice From Circumstance: The Statecraft of Henry Kissinger', in Gordon A. Craig and Francis L. Loewenheim, *The Diplomats, 1939-1979* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), chapter 19, pp. 564-592.

Supplementary reading:

- Aaron Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005).
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- William I. Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945-2002* (New York: Doubleday, 2003).
- George Kennan, 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct', *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 4 (July 1947): 566-582, reprinted in his *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1984).
- Melvyn P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).
- Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Ernest R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993).
- Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- Nicholas Thompson, *The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War*. (New York: Henry Holt, 2009).
- Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Makings of Our Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Vladislav Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

TOPIC 14: THE END OF THE COLD WAR

Discussion Leaders: Charles Hill and Walter Russell Mead

[Note: Class will meet in an alternate location for this session]

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.

Core readings:

- *James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War*. (New York: Viking, 2009).
John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), pp. 237-266.

Supplementary readings:

- George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Knopf, 1998).
Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991).
Anatoly Chernyaev, *My Six Years with Gorbachev*, translated and edited by Robert English and Elizabeth Tucker (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
John Patrick Diggins, *Ronald Reagan: Fate, Freedom, and the Making of History* (New York: Norton, 2007).
John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).
Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Pantheon, 1984).
Paul Lettow, *Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Random House, 2005).
Charles S. Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
Jack F. Matlock, Jr., *Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended* (New York: Random House, 2004).
John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (New York: Basic, 1989).
Mary Elise Sarotte, *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
George Shultz, *Turmoil and Tradition: My Years as Secretary of State* (New York: Scribner's, 1994).
Philip Zelikow and Condoleeza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).