

THE BRADY-JOHNSON PROGRAM IN GRAND STRATEGY

YALE UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING 2015

(2/12/15 version)

<i>Instructors:</i>	John Lewis Gaddis, Charles Hill, Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, David Brooks, John Negroponte, and Paul Solman with guest discussion leaders
<i>Course administrators:</i>	Dr. Jeremy Friedman <Jeremy.friedman@yale.edu> and Kathleen Galo <kathleen.galo@yale.edu>
<i>Course numbers:</i>	HIST 985 01: ID # 21097 MGT 984 01: ID # 20253 (this section only for SOM-MBA students)
<i>Spring meeting time:</i>	Mondays (including reading week), 3:30 – 5:20 p.m.
<i>Spring location:</i>	Locations: Athenians: 217B and Spartans: 220B

COURSE OBJECTIVES

This two-semester course examines the theory and practice of grand strategy in 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 two and a half millennia. Some 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 expect 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 consists of a two-semester interdisciplinary seminar and an individual summer project. The first semester ranges from Sun Tzu in the 6th century B.C. through the end of the Cold War. The second semester focuses on contemporary grand strategy with respect to such issues as 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, together with an end-of-semester crisis simulation exercise

Students must take both semesters of the seminar. They must also undertake a summer research project, internship, or odyssey, focusing on some particular aspect of strategy, whether of a historical or a contemporary character. They will also be expected to attend separately scheduled faculty workshops and lectures by distinguished guests.

SPRING SEMINAR

Requirements for the first semester include preparation for and participation in weekly discussion sessions, each involving substantial reading. Students will also write three essays on topics drawn from these, of which the first two are assigned and the third is to be negotiated with the instructors.

The essays must not exceed 2000 words in length. Each will be graded by a different set of instructors, so that by the end of the semester, all of them will have evaluated your work. Essays should be submitted both in hardcopy (deposited in the box outside room 209 at International Security Studies, 31 Hillhouse Avenue), and via email as an MS-Word attachment to Jeremy Friedman <jeremy.friedman@yale.edu> and Kathleen Galo <kathleen.galo@yale.edu>. Late papers will get lower grades. Submission deadlines are as follows:

- Monday, 9 February 2014 First paper due
- Monday, 23 March 2014 Second paper due
- Monday, 20 April 2014 Third paper due

First topic:

Consider the grand strategies discussed in Sun Tzu, Thucydides, and our readings on the Romans. Are there similarities of sufficient consequence to suggest the existence of grand strategic and economic principles that transcend time and place? If so, what are they? If not, what differences rule out making such generalizations? Be sure to cite specific examples from each of the three cases in making your argument.

Second topic:

Taking no more than a page, state your own understanding of Clausewitz's great principle that "war is a continuation of policy by other means." Then review what you have read by or about Machiavelli, Philip II, Elizabeth I and Adam Smith. To what extent did each of them anticipate Clausewitz's principle? This essay, together with the first and the third, must also reflect your instructors' great principle that "good writing is a continuation of clear thinking by means of ink or its modern equivalent."

Third topic:

This one is up to you. We especially encourage you, in this assignment, to connect your own personal experiences with the spring semester readings and discussions. Here are some suggested topics – feel free to choose one of these without consulting the GS faculty. If, however, you come up with one not on this list, please check with Professors Hill, Gaddis, or Dr. Friedman before proceeding.

1. Apply the concept of grand strategy, as you understand it, to one of the following: business, the arts, law, athletics, ambition, or romance.
2. To what extent have geography or culture or ideology affected the grand strategy one or more states?
3. Devise and defend a lexicon of key concepts in grand strategy.
4. Discuss the utility of distinguishing between the levels at which grand strategy operates, for example: political guidance, operational planning, and tactical improvisation. Cite specific cases to illustrate your argument.
5. To what extent can leaders plan for unexpected developments? Cite specific examples of those who have done so well or badly?
6. What must the grand strategist do in the face of limited resources or limited knowledge?
7. What's the difference between being focused, being balanced and being comprehensive? Assess the advantages and disadvantages of each approach.
8. To what extent do the requirements of leadership exempt the leader from personal standards of morality? If they do, to what other standards is the leader accountable?
9. Since the object in war is to obtain an acceptable peace, war must always be conducted with that goal in mind. Please discuss.
10. What are the strengths and weaknesses of planning versus improvisation?
11. What's the relationship between personal character, on the one hand, and the making of grand strategy, on the other?

12. Assume the existence of four major actors, three of whom conclude that grand strategies are impossible because their world is too complex. What opportunities – or problems – does that create for the fourth?
13. To what extent should one declare openly what one’s grand strategy is? To what extent should one keep it closely held? Assess the relative advantages of each approach.
14. Does hegemony generate its own resistance? If so, why should any state seek it?
15. What is the role of style – that is, a particular, distinctive, or characteristic manner of acting – in shaping grand strategy?

SUMMER RESEARCH PROJECT

During the spring semester, each student will be expected to consult individually with one or more of the GS faculty and with Dr. Friedman on a summer project. If approved, funding will normally be available for these projects averaging \$2,500 – 3,000 per student, and students are highly encouraged to seek out sources of supplementary funds. Please submit a one-page project outline by February **16**, 2014. The final application, including a budget, proposal, and CV, is due on March **23**, 2014 via studentgrants.yale.edu.

GRADING

Students from Yale College will receive a traditional letter 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 in-class contributions, 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 PDFs, beginning to read Freedman, 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 readings to be posted on the `classesv2` server, *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 any local bookstore.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING FOR THE SPRING SEMINAR

The syllabus includes supplementary material for each week *which you are not required to read for class.* You may find these lists helpful for future reference, however, or perhaps even for some of the writing you do for this course.

WORKSHOPS

The GS professors will, on certain Mondays after class – see below for specific details – run workshops on particular topics for the entire class. Your attendance at these sessions is *required*, so plan accordingly. We will provide a light dinner at these events.

LECTURES AND DINNER DISCUSSIONS

Throughout the year, there will be a number of special lectures and dinner discussions, often featuring distinguished visitors to campus. Your attendance at all such lectures is *expected*. Because seating is limited, attendance at dinner discussions is on a “first come, first served” basis. Kathleen Galo, ISS Program Coordinator, will take reservations for these, which tend to go quickly.

QUESTIONS

Please direct any course-related questions to Dr. Jeremy Friedman, Associate Director of The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, at <Jeremy.friedman@yale.edu> or Kathleen Galo, MA, ISS Program Coordinator, at <kathleen.galo@yale.edu>.

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING SYLLABUS

Required text:

Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy: A History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. This book, the first comprehensive history of strategy in modern times, is to be read on your own, but with the expectation that you'll have completed all of it by the end of the spring term.

Core reading: Available on the Classes V2 Server, to be read before the first class convenes.

- 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*).
- Hal Brands, *The Promise and Pitfalls of Grand Strategy*, (U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, August 2012) <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/>
- Scott A. Boorman, "Fundamentals of Strategy: The Legacy of Henry Eccles," *Naval War College Review* Vol. 62, No. 2 (Spring 2009), pp. 91-115.
- Scott A. Boorman, "A Different Kind of War for the 21st Century." Manuscript, August 16, 2012. 12 pp.
- John Lewis Gaddis, "Crossing the Hellespont," Manuscript, December 9, 2014. 19 pp.

General background reading: Optional reading, for further background.

- 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).
- 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, originally published in 1943).
- 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).

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).
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).

WEEKLY TOPIC SCHEDULE (PROVISIONAL)

DATE	ATHENIANS TOPIC/DISCUSSION LEADER(S) HGS 217B	SPARTANS TOPIC/DISCUSSION LEADER(S) HGS 220B
12 January <i>N.B. Special Workshop after class</i> Prospects for 2015: John Gaddis and Charles Hill	Topic 1: Sun Tzu Scott Boorman, Phil Haun, Jeremy Friedman	Topic 2: Thucydides Charles Hill, David Brooks
Friday, 16 January <i>(MLK holiday adjustment – no class sessions on 19 January)</i>	Topic 2: Thucydides Charles Hill, David Brooks	Topic 1: Sun Tzu Scott Boorman, Phil Haun, Jeremy Friedman
26 January <i>N.B.: Special Workshop after class</i> The Economic Point of View and Grand Strategy: Paul Solman	Topic 4: Machiavelli David Brooks, Bryan Garsten	Topic 3: The Romans John Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Solman
2 February <i>N.B.: Special Workshop after class</i> Note-taking, writing, and summer funding: Charles Hill, John Gaddis, Paul Solman, Jeremy Friedman	Topic 3: The Romans John Gaddis, Charles Hill Paul Solman	Topic 4: Machiavelli David Brooks, Bryan Garsten
9 February <i>N.B.: Paper #1 due today</i>	Topic 5: Philip II and Elizabeth I Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, Paul Solman	Topic 6: Kant and Constitutionalism Charles Hill, Bryan Garsten
16 February	Topic 6: Kant and Constitutionalism Charles Hill, Bryan Garsten	Topic 5: Philip II and Elizabeth I Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, Paul Solman
23 February <i>Special Workshop after class:</i> The Grand Strategist of Economics: Adam Smith: Paul Solman	Topic 7: Clausewitz John Gaddis, Phil Haun	Topic 8: Metternich and Bismarck Adam Tooze, Charles Hill
2 March	Topic 8: Metternich and Bismarck Adam Tooze, Charles Hill	Topic 7: Clausewitz John Gaddis, Phil Haun
23 March <i>N.B.: Paper #2 due today</i>	Topic 9: Lincoln and the Reunification of the United States John Gaddis, Bryan Garsten, David Brooks	Topic 10: Imperial Geopolitics Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, Jeremy Friedman
30 March	Topic 10: Imperial Geopolitics Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, Jeremy Friedman	Topic 9: Lincoln and the Reunification of the United States John Gaddis, Bryan Garsten, David Brooks
6 April <i>Special Workshop after class:</i> The Economic Appeal of Communism and Fascism: Paul Solman with Anand Toprani and Jeremy Friedman	Topic 11: Grand Strategy of Protest Movements Beverly Gage	
13 April	Topic 12: The Global Economic Order Adam Tooze, Paul Solman	
20 April <i>N.B.: Paper #3 due today</i> <i>Special Workshop after class:</i> Saving Capitalism: Keynes v. Hayek: Paul Solman	Topic 13: Grand Strategy of Insurgency Jeremy Friedman, Elizabeth Bradley	
27 April	Topic 14: The Cold War John Gaddis, John Negroponte, Jeremy Friedman	

TOPIC 1: SUN TZU

Discussion Leaders: Scott Boorman, Jeremy Friedman, Philip Haun

This session will center on Sun Tzu's *Art of War* (5th Century B.C.), which is the paramount treatise within the Ancient Chinese 'School of Strategy'. We will consider contemporary application of Master Sun's strategic theories to actual practice in politics, statecraft, diplomacy, intelligence, and war. Throughout the session, we will question the efficacy of Sun Tzu's central thesis that the means of manipulation and the ways of deception are essential for achieving the ends of supremacy and success.

Core reading:

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

Supplementary reading:

- Howard L. Boorman and Scott A. Boorman, "Strategy and National Psychology in China," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 370 (March 1967), pp. 143-155, esp. 149-53.
- Edward S. Boylan, "The Chinese Cultural Style of Warfare," *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 3, No. 4 (1982), pp. 341-364.
- John King Fairbank, "Varieties of the Chinese Military Experience," in *Chinese Ways in Warfare*, eds. Frank A. Kierman, Jr. and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 1-26.
- Francios Jullien, *A Treatise on Efficacy: Between Western and Chinese Thinking*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004). Ch. 2: "Relying on the Propensity of Things," pp. 15-30.
- Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin, 2011). Ch. 1: "The Singularity of China," pp. 5-32, esp. "Chinese Realpolitik and Sun Tzu's *Art of War*," pp. 22-32.
- D.C. Lau, "Some Notes on 'Sun Tzu' 孫子," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. 28, No. 2 (University of London, 1965), pp. 319-335.
- Mark Edward Lewis, "Warring States Political History," *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, eds. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 587-650.
- Michael Loewe and Krzysztof Gawlikowski, "Sun Tzu Ping Fa 孫子兵法," in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographic Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe (University of California, Berkeley, 1993), pp. 446-455.
- Douglas M. McCready, "Learning from Sun Tzu," *Military Review* Vol. 83, No. 3 (May/June 2003), p.85-88.
- Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Tao of Deception: Unorthodox Warfare in Historic and Modern China* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), esp. Ch. 3: "Sun-Tzu's Definitive Formulation," pp. 55-68.
- Victoria Tin-bor Hui, *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Ch. 2: "The Dynamics of International Politics in Ancient China," pp. 54-108.
- Arthur Waldron and Edward O'Dowd, "Sun Tzu for Strategists," *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 10, No. 1 (1991), 25-36.
- Robin D. S. Yates, "New Light on Ancient Chinese Military Texts: The Development of Military Specialization in Warring States China," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 74, Livr. 4/5 (1988), pp. 211-248.
- Sun Zi, *The Art of War: Military Methods*, translated by Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
- Sun Tzu, *The Art of Warfare*, translated by Roger T. Ames (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), esp. pp. 101-171.

TOPIC 2: THUCYDIDES

Discussion Leaders: Charles Hill, David Brooks

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 Rex Warner, edited by M.I. Finley (Baltimore: Penguin Classics, 1954). [Gft66 Bg954]
Pages 72-87, 132-164, 212-223, 236-245, 265-290, 400-429, 437-442, 447-454, 496-516, 525-537.
John Lewis Gaddis, "Long Walls," Manuscript, December 9, 2014.

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, *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy* (New York: Free Press, 1991).
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 Leaders: John Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Solman

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:

*Anthony Everitt, *Augustus: The Life of Rome's First Emperor* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2007). Full text.

Supplementary reading:

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1990), translated by A. S. L. Farquharson, book II, pp. 10-15.

John Buchan, *Augustus* (Looe, UK: House of Stratus, 2008, first published in 1937).

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.

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).

Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), 2nd ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1990).

Adrian Goldsworthy, *Augustus: First Emperor of Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

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).

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).

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).

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.

Greg Woolf, *Rome: An Empire's Story* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

TOPIC 4: MACHIAVELLI

Discussion Leaders: Bryan Garsten, David Brooks

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.
- Niccolo Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, Book I (all); Book II, chs. 1-5, 13, 21, 29, 33; Book III, chs. 1-5, 35, 40-42, 48
- Isaiah Berlin "The Originality of Machiavelli," in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 269-325.

Supplementary reading:

- Philip Bobbitt, *The Garments of Court and Palace: Machiavelli and the World That He Made* (New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2013)
- 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', *Millenium* 10, no. 2 (1981).

TOPIC 5: PHILIP II and ELIZABETH I

Discussion Leaders: Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, Paul Solman

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), 1-28, 41-51, 69-81, 269-301, 342-351.
- 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.
- N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review*, Vol.107, No. 424 (Jul.1992), pp587-625.

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 AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

Discussion Leaders: Charles Hill, Bryan Garsten

We will consider the relation between war, commerce and constitution-building. We will concentrate on late eighteenth and early nineteenth century thought about progress and the relation between commercial activity, security strategy, and the construction of republican constitutionalism. We will also begin to explore the legacy of such thought to the twentieth century by examining the constitutional documents of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Core reading:

Immanuel Kant, "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. 93-130 (full text).

Benjamin Constant, "The Spirit of Conquest" (1814), in Biancamaria Fontana, ed., *Constant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 51-83.

Federalist #1-13, 23-25, 28, 30-31, 37, 49-51.

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/>

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 Constant:

Stephen Holmes, *Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

Biancamaria Fontana, *Benjamin Constant and the Post-Revolutionary Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

Helena Rosenblatt, *Liberal Values: Benjamin Constant and the Politics of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

TOPIC 7: CLAUSEWITZ

Discussion Leader: John Gaddis, Phil Haun

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.
- 'On the Nature of War', book I, chapters 1-8
 - 'On the Theory of War', book II, chapters 1-6
 - 'On Strategy in General: Strategy', book III, chapter 1
 - 'The Attack: The Culminating Point of Victory', book VII, chapter 22
 - 'War Plans: Introduction; Absolute War and Real War; War Is an Instrument of Policy', book VIII, chapters 1, 2, 6B
- Alan Beyerchen, 'Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War', *International Security* 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992/93): 59-90.
- 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).
- Hew Strachan, *Carl von Clausewitz's On War: A Biography* (London: Atlantic, 2007).
- Jon Tetsuro Sumida, "The Relationship of History and Theory in *On War*: The Clausewitzian Ideal and Its Implications," *Journal of Military History*, 65(April, 2001), 333-54.
- Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

TOPIC 8: METTERNICH AND BISMARCK

Discussion Leaders: Adam Tooze, Charles Hill

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. This will be contrasted with the revolutionary innovation in European international politics brought about by 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:

- 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.
- Paul W. Schroeder, 'Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (Jun., 1992), pp. 683-706
- 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).
- Extract from Bismarck *The Man, The Statesman*. Vol2, pp 231-296.

Supplementary reading on Bismarck:

- 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).

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 9: LINCOLN AND THE REUNIFICATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis, Bryan Garsten, David Brooks

This week's topic focuses on how the United States, a weak state on the periphery of the international system founded at the end of the 18th century upon a constitutional contradiction – that the rights of man could coexist with the legality of slavery – managed, if at great cost, not only to resolve that contradiction but also to emerge, by the end of the 19th century, as a unified state of such strength that the international system was reconfiguring itself to accommodate American leadership. Our emphasis is on the pivotal moment in that process – the Civil War – and on the equally pivotal grand strategy of Abraham Lincoln.

Core reading:

*Richard J. Cawardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (New York: Vintage, 2007).

Supplemental reading:

David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

Guelzo, Allen C. *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

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

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

James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

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).

Kevin Peraino, *Lincoln in the World: The Making of a Statesman and the Dawn of American Power* (New York: Crown, 2013).

Walter Stahr, *Seward: Lincoln's Indispensable Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012).

Harlow Giles Unger, *John Quincy Adams* (New York: De Capo, 2012).

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).

Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006).

John Fabian Witt, *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History* (New York: Free Press, 2012).

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

TOPIC 10: IMPERIAL GEOPOLITICS

Discussion Leaders: Adam Tooze, Paul Kennedy, Jeremy Friedman

By the end of the nineteenth century, the small archipelago of the United Kingdom—a multi-national “composite state”—dominated the world’s industrial production, possessed unchallengeable naval power, and controlled one-quarter of the world’s land surface. But as newer Great Powers emerged, Britain faced challenges in all corners of the globe: in the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Pacific; scrambling for new holdings in Africa; using its critical Indian base as a platform for further imperial interventions while jealously guarding British supremacy on the subcontinent. This week’s readings look at the complex relations between the British metropole and its diverse imperial holdings in the decades between the Crimean War and the First World War. Policy-makers had to treat the empire as an intricate ecology: actions taken in one colonial theater could prompt unexpected reverberations in distant hemispheres. Nor could those maintaining and expanding the “Pax Britannica” simply dictate policy to acquiescent possessions: colonial interests had to be balanced, local elites coopted, and the possibility of a new geopolitical structure, that of the “world state,” anxiously contemplated.

Core Reading:

John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-36, 255-417, 476-565.

Supplementary reading:

- Duncan Bell, *The idea of Greater Britain: empire and the future of world order, 1860-1900*, (Princeton, 2007), 92-119.
- John Darwin, “Imperialism and the Victorians: The dynamics of territorial expansion,” *English Historical Review* (1997) 614-642.
- John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The imperialism of free trade,” *Economic History Review*, 4:1 (1953), 1-15.
- E.H.H. Green, *The crisis of conservatism: the politics, economics, and ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880-1914*, (New York, 1995), 59-77, 159-206.
- J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A study* (London, 1902), esp. 76-99, 235-376.
- 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.
- Anthony Howe, “Free trade and global order: the rise and fall of a Victorian vision,” in Duncan Bell, ed., *Victorian Visions of Global Order*, (Cambridge, UK, 2007), 26-46.
- Paul Kennedy, *The Realities Behind Diplomacy: Background Influences on British Foreign Policy, 1865-1980*, (London, 1981), esp. 74-139.
- Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London, 1976).
- Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the global colour line: white men’s countries and the international challenge of racial equality* (Cambridge, UK, 2008).
- H.J. Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History”, *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 6 (April 1904), 421-423, 432-437, and commentary.
- A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (1890) (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), esp. 1-12, 25-89.
- Karuna Mantena, “The crisis of liberal imperialism” in Bell, ed., *Victorian visions of global order*, 113-135.
- Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, UK, 1994).
- Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean arena, 1860-1920*, (Berkeley, 2007), 68-101.
- Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London, 1999).
- Ronald Robinson, “Non-European foundations of European imperialism: sketch for a theory of collaboration,” in E.R.J. Owen and R.B. Rutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the theory of imperialism*, (London, 1972), 117-142.
- Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The official mind of imperialism* (London, 1961).

J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London, 1883), esp. II:VII.
Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and social reform: English social imperialism 1895-1914*, (Cambridge, MA, 1960).
Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: the empire in British politics, c. 1880-1932* (New York, 2000).
Andrew S. Thompson and Gary Magee, *Empire and globalization: networks of people, goods and capital in the British world, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge, UK, 2010).
Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption and Civil Society in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2008).

TOPIC 11: THE GRAND STRATEGY OF PROTEST MOVEMENTS

Discussion Leader: Beverly Gage

Core reading:

Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, “The Purpose,” “Of Means and Ends,” “In the Beginning,” “Tactics,” (New York: Vintage/Random, 1971).

Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

“Freedom Riders,” documentary film, directed by Stanley Nelson (2010), available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/freedomriders/watch> .

(supplementary reading to come)

TOPIC 12: THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Discussion Leaders: Adam Tooze, Paul Solman

In the twentieth century both the national economy and the global economy took on a new central significance in grand strategy. Indeed, reconnecting the economy, which had been set free of state interference in the 19th century, with military power was for many definitional of grand strategy in the twentieth century. There were many ways of thinking this connection. Autarchic national economics in the case of fascism, Stalin's socialism in one country and insurgent land reform as a slogan of agrarian revolution were three modes. But all of these strategies had to contend with one overwhelming reality: the dominance in the field of economic power of the liberal powers, first Britain and then the United States. Indeed, for those dedicated to insurgency against those powers, whether from the right or the left, their reliance on economics, their attempt to hide political power behind the operations of a "neutral" economics sphere was what truly set liberal grand strategy apart. This unit will address the role of economics in America's dominance by sketching a history of international political economy from World War I down to the present. But the question that is implied is an urgent one of the present: when America's economic dominance wanes, when its power is defined more and more in military terms, has a fundamental tipping point been reached?

Core reading:

- Bruce Cumings, "Still the American Century," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25 (Dec. 1999), pp.271-299.
- Barry Eichengreen, *Exorbitant Privilege: The Rise of the Dollar and the Future of the International Monetary System*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), Chapters 3 and 7.
- Barry Eichengreen, "The Dollar Dilemma: The World's Top Currency Faces Competition," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 88 No.5, pp.53-68.
- John G. Ikenberry, "Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony," *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 104 No.3 (Autumn 1989), pp.375-400.
- Harold James, "International Order After the Financial Crisis," *International Affairs* 87:3 (2011), pp.525-537.
- John Maynard Keynes, "Proposals for an International Currency (or Clearing) Union," in *The International Monetary Fund, Volume III: Documents*, (Washington: The International Monetary Fund, 1969), pp.3-18.
- Charles S. Maier, "The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy After World War II," *International Organization* Vol.31 No.4 (Autumn 1977), pp.607-633.
- Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* pp53-79.
- Carl Schmitt, *Nomos of the Earth*, pp240-258.
- Zhou Xiaochuan, "Zhou Xiaochuan's Statement on Reforming the International Monetary System,"

Supplementary reading:

- Phillip Armstrong, Andrew Glyn, and John Harrison, *Capitalism since 1945*, (Blackwell, 1991).
- Alan S. Blinder, *After the Music Stopped. The Financial Crisis, the Response and the Work Ahead*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2013).
- Barry Eichengreen, *Golden Fetters. The Gold Standard and the Great Depression 1919-1939*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp3-28.
- _, *Globalizing capital. A history of the International Monetary System*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press,
- D.Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America and Postwar Reconstruction*, (Longman Group, UK: 1992).
- Peter Alex Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).
- Mark Harrison ed., *The Economics of World War II*, (Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Michael J. Hogan, , *The Marshall Plan. America, Britain, and the reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*, (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp1-25, 427-445.

- Bruce Kent, , *The Spoils of War. The Politics, and Diplomacy of Reparations 1918-1932*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp1-16, 373-390.
- John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, (London, 1919).
- John Killick, *The United States and European Reconstruction 1945-1960* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998).
- Charles P. Kindleberger, , *The World in Depression 1929-1939*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
- Charles S. Maier, *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy*, (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Charles S. Maier and G. Bischof, eds. *The Marshall Plan and Germany*, (Bloomsbury Academic, 1992).
- Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, (Routledge, 2000), pp21-45.
- _, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*, (Routledge, 1987).
- _, "Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?," *Diplomatic History* 13 (1989), pp. 231-253.
- Raghuram G. Rajan, , *Faultlines. How Hidden Fractures Still Threaten the World Economy* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011).
- Stephen A. Schuker, *The End of French Predominance in Europe: the Financial Crisis of 1924 and the Adoption of the Dawes Plan*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).
- Peter Temin and David Vines, *The Leaderless Economy: Why the World Economic System Fell Apart and How to Fix It*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).
- Martin Wolf, *Fixing Global Finance (Forum on Constructive Capitalism)*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).
- Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy*, (Free Press, 2002).
- Charles S. Maier, "The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy After World War II," *International Organization* Vol.31 No.4 (Autumn 1977), pp.607-633.

TOPIC 13: THE GRAND STRATEGY OF INSURGENCY

Discussion Leaders: Jeremy Friedman, Elizabeth Bradley

How is the conduct of grand strategy different without the resources of a state at one's disposal? By the second half of the twentieth century, the combination of technological improvements in transport, media, and arms, combined with ideological struggle and the collapse of empires, made asymmetric conflict perhaps the dominant mode of warfare. This session will examine questions of organization, personnel, ideology, diplomacy, and military strategy and tactics from the perspective of insurgent movements.

Core reading:

V.I. Lenin, "What is to Be Done?" in *Essential Works of Lenin*, Ed. by Henry M. Christman, (Dover Publications, 1987), pp.136-175.

*Mao Zedong, *On Guerilla Warfare*, Trans. by Samuel B. Griffith, (BN Publishing, 2007), all.

Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, *Guerilla Warfare*, (Bison Books, 1998), pp.7-79.

Robert K. Brigham, *Guerilla Diplomacy: The NLF's Foreign Relations and the Viet Nam War*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp1-39, 94-112.

Supplementary reading:

Pierre Asselin, *Hanoi's Road to the Vietnam War, 1954-1965*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

Paul Thomas Chamberlain, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Matt Connolly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Trans. by Richard Philcox, (Grove Press, 2005).

David French, *The British Way in Counterinsurgency, 1945-1967*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Mark Galeotti, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Last War*, (Routledge, 2001).

Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Abbie Hoffman, *Steal This Book*, (Da Capo Press, 2002).

Andrew F. Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

Artemy Kalinovsky, *A Long Goodbye: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins*, (Basic Books, 2002).

Mark Moyar, *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954-1965*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Kenneth Slepyan, *Stalin's Guerillas: Soviet Partisans in World War II*, (University of Kansas Press, 2006).

Lewis Sorley, *A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and Final Tragedy of America's Last Years in Vietnam*, (Harvest, 2007).

TOPIC 14: THE COLD WAR

Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis, Jeremy Friedman, John Negroponte

In this session we will focus on the Cold War as a whole, the three previous topics having dealt with more specific aspects of it. This then will provide a foundation for our more detailed analysis of the post-Cold War world during the first four weeks of the fall semester.

Core reading:

*John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005).
_____, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), II, 1-21.
Tony Judt, "A Story Still to be Told," *New York Review of Books*, March 23, 2006.

Supplementary reading:

Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944-1956* (New York: Doubleday, 2012).
Hal Brands, *Latin America's Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
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, *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).
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).
_____, and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), three volumes.
Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
Alexander V. Pantsov and Steven I. Levine, *Mao: The Real Story* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012).
Daniel J. Sargent, *A Superpower Transformed: The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
Ezra Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).
Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Makings of Our Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
James Graham Wilson, *The Triumph of Improvisation: Gorbachev's Adaptability, Reagan's Engagement, and the End of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
Vladislav Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).