

THE BRADY-JOHNSON PROGRAM IN GRAND STRATEGY

YALE UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING 2013

(3/11/13 version)

Instructors:	John Lewis Gaddis, Charles Hill, Paul Kennedy, David Brooks, John Negroponte, and Paul Solman with guest discussion leaders
Course administrators:	Dr. Jeremy Friedman <Jeremy.friedman@yale.edu> and Kathleen Murphy <kathleen.murphy@yale.edu>
Course numbers:	HIST 985: Section 01 ID # 20661 and Section 02 ID# 23204 PLSC 715: Section 01 ID # 20660 and Section 02 ID# 23203 MGT 984: Section 01 ID # 20253 and Section 02 ID# 23200 (only for SOM-MBA students)
Spring meeting time:	Mondays (including reading week), 3:30 – 5:20 p.m.
Spring location:	Locations: Athenians: HGS 217B and Spartans: HGS 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 some 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 must also attend separately scheduled lectures by distinguished guests during the Spring and Fall terms.

SPRING SEMINAR

Requirements for the first semester of the seminar 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 Murphy kathleen.murphy@yale.edu. Late papers will get lower grades. Submission deadlines are as follows:

- Monday, 11 February 2013 First paper due
- Monday, 25 March 2013 Second paper due
- Monday, 22 April 2013 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 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 and 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 them 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 up to roughly \$5,000. Please submit a one-page project outline by February 18, 2013. The final application, including a budget, proposal, and CV, is due on March 25, 2013 via studentgrants.yale.edu. Preliminary reports on the summer project are to be submitted in draft form by Monday, 10 September and final form (5,000 – 8,000 words) by no Monday, 12 November 2013.

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 in-class discussion 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 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 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 Murphy, 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 Murphy, MA, ISS Program Coordinator, at <kathleen.murphy@yale.edu>.

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY

SPRING SYLLABUS

INTRODUCTION (TO BE READ DURING WINTER 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*).
- 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.

General background reading (to be read on your own if you desire):

- 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).

WEEKLY TOPIC SCHEDULE

DATE	ATHENIANS TOPIC/DISCUSSION LEADER(S) HGS 217B	SPARTANS TOPIC/DISCUSSION LEADER(S) HGS 220B
14 January <i>N.B.: Special Workshop after class</i> Note-taking, writing, and summer funding: Charles Hill, John Gaddis, Paul Solman, Jeremy Friedman	Topic 1: Sun Tzu John Gaddis, Scott Boorman David Howell	Topic 2: Thucydides Charles Hill, David Brooks
Friday, 18 January <i>(MLK holiday adjustment – no class sessions on 21 January)</i>	Topic 2: Thucydides Charles Hill, David Brooks	Topic 1: Sun Tzu John Gaddis, Scott Boorman, David Howell
28 January <i>N.B.: Special Workshop after class</i> The Economic Point of View and Grand Strategy: Paul Solman	Topic 4: Machiavelli Bryan Garsten, David Brooks	Topic 3: The Romans John Gaddis, Charles Hill
4 February	Topic 3: The Romans John Gaddis, Charles Hill	Topic 4: Machiavelli Bryan Garsten, David Brooks
23 February <i>N.B.: Paper #1 due today February 11</i>	Topic 5: Philip II and Elizabeth I John Gaddis, Paul Solman, Paul Kennedy	Topic 6: Kant and Constitutionalism Charles Hill and Bryan Garsten
18 February <i>Special Workshop after class:</i> Adam Smith: Paul Solman	Topic 6: Kant and Constitutionalism Charles Hill and Bryan Garsten	Topic 5: Philip II and Elizabeth I John Gaddis, Paul Solman, Paul Kennedy
25 February <i>Special Workshop after class:</i> Karl Marx: Paul Solman	Topic 7: Clausewitz John Gaddis	Topic 8: Metternich and Bismarck Charles Hill and Adam Tooze
4 March	Topic 8: Metternich and Bismarck Charles Hill and Adam Tooze	Topic 7: Clausewitz John Gaddis
25 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 Paul Kennedy, Stuart Semmel, and Amanda Behm
1 April <i>Special Workshop after class:</i> Keynes and Hayek: Paul Solman	Topic 10: Imperial Geopolitics Paul Kennedy, Stuart Semmel, and Amanda Behm	Topic 9: Lincoln and the Reunification of the United States John Gaddis, Bryan Garsten, David Brooks
8 April	Topic 12: Democratic Geopolitics John Gaddis, John Negroponte, David Brooks	Topic 11: Communist Grand Strategy Adam Tooze and Jeremy Friedman
15 April	Topic 11: Communist Grand	Topic 12: Democratic Geopolitics

	Strategy Adam Tooze and Jeremy Friedman	John Gaddis, John Negroponte, David Brooks
22 April <i>N.B.: Paper #3 due today</i>	Topic 13: The Cold War John Gaddis, Charles Hill, and Jeremy Friedman	
29 April	Topic 14: The End of the Cold War John Gaddis, John Negroponte, David Brooks, Jeremy Friedman	

TOPIC 1: SUN TZU

Discussion Leaders: John Gaddis, Scott Boorman, David Howell

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, such 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*, translated by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford UP, 1963). Full text.
Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 3rd ed., (London: Frank Cass, 2001). Ch. 2: "Comparing Sun Tzu and Clausewitz," pp. 19-32 and Ch. 3: "The Definition of War: A Question of the Level of Analysis," pp. 33-39. Also, charts: "Possible Organizing Concept," and "Preferred Strategies."
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.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING:

- Paul Bracken, *Fire in the East: The Rise of Asian Military Power and the Second Nuclear Age* (New York: Harper Collins, 1999), Ch. 5, "Is There an Eastern Way of War?" pp. 125-48.
Howard L. Boorman & 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.
Scott A. Boorman, *The Protracted Game: A Wei-Ch'i Interpretation of Maoist Revolutionary Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). Introduction and Ch. 1: "The Game of Wei-Chi," pp. 3-37.
Edward S. Boylan, "Appendix D: The Chinese Style of Warfare," in *Nuclear Strategy and National Style - National Strategic Style: Country Studies* Vol. II, Appendices (New York: Hudson Institution, 1981), pp. 95-126.
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.
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.
Alastair I. Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). Ch. 3 and Ch. 4 on "Chinese Strategic Culture," pp. 61-108 and pp. 109-54.
Alastair I. Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China" in *The Culture of National Security*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 216-68.
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. 319-35.
Mark Edward Lewis, "Warring States Political History," *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* Vol. 1, eds. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 587-650.
Douglas M. McCready, "Learning from Sun Tzu," *Military Review* Vol. 83, No. 3 (May/June 2003), pp. 85-88.
Edward O'Dowd & Arthur Waldron, "Sun Tzu for Strategists," *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 10 (1991), pp. 25-36.
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.
Sima Qian 司馬遷, "The Biographies of Sun Tzu and Wu Ch'i 孫子吳起烈傳," in *Shi Ji* 《史記》 no. 65 (c. 97 BC).
Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, translated by Burton Watson (Columbia University Press, 1961). "Biographies of General Wei Qing and the Swift Cavalry General Huo Qubing," pp. 163-84.
Sun Tzu, "The Art of War," translation and commentary by Ralph D. Sawyer with Mei-chun Lee Sawyer, in *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), pp. 145-86.
Sun Tzu, *The Art of Warfare: The First English Translation Incorporating the Recently Discovered Yin-Ch'ueh-Shan Texts*, translated by Roger T. Ames (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), esp. pp. 101-71.
Sun Zi, *The Art of War: Sun Zi's Military Methods*, translated by Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), esp. "Appendix: The Pseudo-Biography of Sun Wu," pp. 133-36.
Sun Zi 孫子, *The Art of War* 《孫子兵法》 in *Classic Readings in International Security* 《国际安全理论经典导读》 ed. with commentary Yan Xuetong 阎学通 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2009), pp. 207-12.
Michael D. Swaine & Ashley J. Tellis, *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2000). Ch. 3: "The Historical Context," pp. 21-96, esp. pp. 45-65.
Arthur Waldron, "More Than Just Semantics," *Naval War College Review* Vol. 47, No. 4 (Autumn 1994), pp. 113.
William W. Whitson, *The Chinese High Command: A History of Communist Military Politics, 1927-71* (New York: Praeger, 1973). Intro: "Origins of the Chinese Communist Military Ethic and Style," pp. 3-23.
Robin D. S. Yates, "New Light on Ancient Chinese Military Texts," *T'oung Pao* Vol. 64, L. 4/5 (1988) pp. 211-48.

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

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 LEADERS: JOHN GADDIS, CHARLES HILL

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

Core reading:

- *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.
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, 1977).
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 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:

- 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: JOHN GADDIS, PAUL SOLMAN, PAUL KENNEDY

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

Core reading:

- *Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (New York: Mariner Books, Reprint Edition, 2005). Original edition: (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 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.

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: COMMERCE, WAR, 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

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: CHARLES HILL AND ADAM TOOZE

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).

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: STUART SEMMEL AND AMANDA BEHM

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, “Imperialism and the Victorians: The dynamics of territorial expansion,” *English Historical Review* (1997) 614-642.

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.

Duncan Bell, *The idea of Greater Britain: empire and the future of world order, 1860-1900*, (Princeton, 2007), 92-119.

Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean arena, 1860-1920*, (Berkeley, 2007), 68-101.

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.

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.

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 Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The imperialism of free trade,” *Economic History Review*, 4:1 (1953), 1-15.

Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The official mind of imperialism* (London, 1961).

Karuna Mantena, “The crisis of liberal imperialism” in Bell, ed., *Victorian visions of global order*, 113-135.

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).

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).

J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London, 1883), esp. II:VII.

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.

J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A study* (London, 1902), esp. 76-99, 235-376.

Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London, 1999).

Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and social reform: English social imperialism 1895-1914*, (Cambridge, MA, 1960).

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the global colour line: white men’s countries and the international challenge of racial equality* (Cambridge, UK, 2008).

Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, UK, 1994).

Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption and Civil Society in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2008).

TOPIC 11: COMMUNIST GRAND STRATEGY

DISCUSSION LEADERS: ADAM TOOZE AND JEREMY FRIEDMAN

This session focuses on the rise of Communism from the early twentieth century to World War II. We will emphasize in particular the political construction of the Soviet state as well as the revolutionary ideals of Communism and the global political strategy of the Communist International. We will examine the successes and failures of the efforts to put this strategy into practice both within the USSR and on the international scene, including Soviet strategy towards Nazi Germany and the upcoming war.

Core reading:

- Richard Pipes, "Building the One-Party State," in *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp150-165.
- "Report on the International Situation and Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International," Second Comintern Congress, July 19, 1920 and "Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions," Second Comintern Congress, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jul/x03.htm>
- Arthur Koestler, *The God that Failed* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp15-75.
- Rosenfeldt, "The 'Consistory of the Communist Church': The Origins and Development of Stalin's Secret Chancellery," *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, 9/2-3 (1982): 308-24.
- Giuseppe Boffa, *The Stalin Phenomenon*, Trans. by Nicholas Fersen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp76-90.
- R.W.Davies, Mark Harrison, S.G.Wheatcroft eds., *The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1913-1945* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pdf of economic charts.
- Richard Overy, *Russia's War: A History of the Soviet War Effort: 1941-1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), pp1-72.

Supplementary reading:

- Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971).
- Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 3-22, 445-498.
- 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).
- Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917-1991* (New York: Free Press, 1995).
- Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919-1927*(Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000).
- 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.
- Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, Trans. by Harold Shukman (London: Wiedenfield and Nicolson, 1991).

TOPIC 12: DEMOCRATIC GEOPOLITICS

DISCUSSION LEADERS: JOHN GADDIS, DAVID BROOKS, 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:

*Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century*. (Expanded Edition) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 1-176.

John Lewis Gaddis, “Ending Tyranny: The Past and Future of an Idea,” *The American Interest*, 4(September/October 2008), 6-15.

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).

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

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*.

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

TOPIC 13: THE COLD WAR

DISCUSSION LEADERS: JOHN GADDIS, CHARLES HILL, JEREMY FRIEDMAN

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

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:

From Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), three volumes. Please read in the following order:

- David C. Engerman, "Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1962, vol. I, pp. 20-43.
- Vladimir O. Pechatnov, "The Soviet Union and the World, 1944-1953," vol. I, pp. 90-111.
- Melvyn P. Leffler, "The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952," vol. 1, pp. 67-88.
- David Holloway, "Nuclear Weapons and the Escalation of the Cold War, 1945-1962," volume I, 376-97.
- Charles S. Maier, "The World Economy and the Cold War in the Middle of the Twentieth Century, vol. I, pp. 44-66.
- Niu Jun, "The Birth of the People's Republic of China and the Road to the Korean War," vol. I, pp. 221-243.
- Mark Philip Bradley, "Decolonization, the Global South, and the Cold War, 1919-1962," vol. 1, pp. 464-85.
- Vojtech Mastny, "Soviet Foreign Policy, 1953-1962," vol. I, pp. 312-33.
- Frédéric Bozo, "France, 'Gaullism,' and the Cold War," vol. II, pp. 158-78.
- Michael E. Latham, "The Cold War in the Third World," vol. II, 258-80.
- Sergei Radchenko, "The Sino-Soviet Split," vol. II, 349-72.
- Christopher Andrew, "Intelligence in the Cold War," vol. II, 417-37.
- Marc Trachtenberg, "The Structure of Great Power Politics, 1963-1975," vol. II, 482-502.

Supplementary reading:

- Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944-1956* (New York: Doubleday, 2012).
- 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, *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).
- 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).
- Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 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: JOHN GADDIS, JOHN NEGROPONTE, DAVID BROOKS, JEREMY FRIEDMAN

[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:

From Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), three volumes. Please read in the following order:

- Jeremi Suri “Counter-Cultures: The Rebellions Against the Cold War Order, 1965-1975,” vol. II, pp. 460-81.
- Robert D. Schulzinger, “Détente in the Nixon-Ford Years, 1969-1976,” vol. II, pp. 373-94.
- Giovanni Arrighi, “The World Economy and the Cold War, 1970-1990,” vol. III, 23-44.
- Vladislav M. Zubok, “Soviet Foreign Policy from Détente to Gorbachev, 1975-1985,” vol. III, 89-111.
- Amin Saikal, “Islamism, the Iranian Revolution, and the Invasion of Afghanistan.” vol. III, 112-35.
- Olav Njølstad, “The Collapse of Superpower Détente, 1975-1980,” vol. III, 135-55.
- Chen Jian, “China and the Cold War After Mao,” vol. III, 181-200.
- John H. Coatsworth, “The Cold War in Central America, 1975-1991,” vol. III, 201-220.
- Rosemary Foot, “Human Rights and the Cold War,” vol. III, pp. 445-65.
- David Reynolds, “Science, Technology, and the Cold War,” vol. III, pp. 378-99.
- Beth A. Fischer, “US Foreign Policy under Reagan and Bush,” vol. III, pp. 267-88.
- Archie Brown, “The Gorbachev Revolution and the End of the Cold War,” vol. III, 244-66.
- John Lewis Gaddis, “Grand Strategies in the Cold War,” II, 1-21.

Supplementary readings:

Hal Brands, *Latin America’s Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

- George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Knopf, 1998).
- Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York: Public Affairs, 2000).
- Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Anatoly Chernyaev, *My Six Years with Gorbachev*, translated and edited by Robert English and Elizabeth Tucker (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
- Robert D. English, *Russia and the Idea of the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).
- Ryan M. Irwin, *Gordian Knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Stephen M. Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Paul Lettow, *Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Random House, 2005).
- James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War*. (New York: Viking, 2009).
- Jack F. Matlock, Jr., *Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended* (New York: Random House, 2004).
- Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, *Hanoi’s War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
- 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).
- Ezra Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).