I encourage all students to make use of additional instruction (AI) and to contact me frequently by email with any questions or concerns about the course. These are valuable ways to clarify confusing concepts, ask questions about readings, or receive feedback on classroom performance. It is also often easiest to reply to longer or more detailed questions in person.

**OVERVIEW**

To say that a state has a “grand strategy” is to claim that its leaders pursue large-scale political objectives within the broader world, and that they mobilize, coordinate and deploy a range of their state’s resources in ways that should logically lead to the goals they seek. States and statesmen, from the ancient polities of Greece and Rome to the great powers of the modern era, have found grand strategy both alluring and elusive. Successful grand strategies have propelled states to greatness, while failure has relegated governments to the dustbin of history. Despite the challenges and complexities inherent to the development and execution of a successful grand strategy, most scholars studying this topic acknowledge that there is no substitute for acting and thinking strategically if there are large-scale political interests to defend and advance. This seminar takes up this challenge by exploring the central elements of grand strategy, in both theory and practice through history.

Block I begins by wrestling with core conceptual issues: How is grand strategy defined? What is the relationship between ends and means? Where does grand strategy come from? How do the international system, domestic political processes, and individual leaders contribute to the development of grand strategy?

Block II explores the concept of power, how different elements of national power—military, economic, political, technological—could be used as grand strategic tools, and the risks and tradeoffs associated with prioritizing one element of national power over others. It also examines
several great strategic thinkers, like Carl von Clausewitz, Sun Tzu and B. H. Liddle Hart, who wrestled with big strategic questions in their own time period.

Block III examines the development and the execution, the successes and the failures, of the grand strategies pursued by some of the key great powers through history: from Athens and Sparta in the ancient Greek world to the European and Asian powers of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, as well as the United States after World War II. It also considers strategies of asymmetry pursued by insurgent and terrorist groups.

Block IV assesses contemporary challenges for making and implementing grand strategy, from the “unipolar moment” after the Cold War, to asymmetric challenges form terrorists and non-state groups, to the potential return of great power competition. It covers important debates, from the perspectives of those who encourage continued global activism and those who champion some form of retrenchment in how America engages the rest of the world.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

Through their studies in SS457, each cadet will:

1. Develop a framework for defining, identifying, and critically assessing the formation and execution of grand strategies across history.
2. Further develop his/her ability to understand and articulate the logic behind theoretical arguments, as well as the application of theory to explain historical examples.
3. Learn how to infer policy prescriptions from theoretical arguments and assess the conditions under which academic theories provide better or worse recommendations for policymaking.
4. Further develop his/her critical reading, research, writing, and communication skills.
5. Acquire an academic foundation to pursue further, complementary coursework as part of the Grand Strategy Minor.

REQUIREMENTS

This course adopts the standard SOSH department grading scale, ranging from A+ to F. Grades will be based on the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cadet seminar leadership</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Analysis Paper #1 (Due 7 FEB)</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Analysis Paper #2 (Due 3 APR)</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simulation Background Paper (Due 10 APR)</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simulation Participation (In Class)</td>
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Participation
This course is taught in a seminar style. Therefore, participation is critical to facilitate active learning. Grand strategy is a complex, rigorous, and often divisive field of study and each lesson will provide ample opportunity for debate and discussion. Students are expected to come to class having read and critically engaged with the assigned reading, and ready to express their reasoned thoughts and opinions during class. Students will be evaluated on the quality (not necessarily quantity) of their participation. Quality participation includes—but is not limited to—answering tough questions, responding thoughtfully to classmates’ comments, and asking relevant questions.

To prepare for class, be sure to take notes while you read. I have provided lesson objectives for each class topic. The readings provide guidance for answering these questions, so you should read with these in mind and come to class ready to cite arguments from the readings to support your answers. While reading, pay attention to key arguments. Often, the authors will describe other people’s arguments (often called a “literature review”) before describing their own contributions. You should know both the author’s original ideas/critiques/theories and the “state of the literature” or alternative explanations they describe. Think about how the authors, topics, and historical cases relate to each other, and whether you agree with their arguments and descriptions. Remember, authors are presenting their own ideas: I encourage you to disagree, challenge, or extend them.

While cadets come to this class with different levels of familiarity with the topics, all cadets have the ability to ask questions of the authors, the instructor, and each other; if you have any concerns at all about how to do this, please come and talk to me—the sooner, the better.

Cadet Seminar Leadership
Each cadet will choose one class for which they will serve as the principal discussion leader. This means that the cadet will begin the lesson with a brief overview of the readings and the themes to focus on for the day (4-5 minutes). The presentation should not be a lengthy summary of the readings, but rather a brief statement of their arguments, purpose, and how they fit together. In addition, the cadet seminar leader will provide discussion questions to guide the day’s lesson that do not replicate the lesson objectives. The goal of seminar leadership is for you to give your classmates interesting approaches to the readings that they may not have thought of; you want to get our conversation started and ensure the class has relevant things to think about while introducing the class to your own ideas. Students will be evaluated based on the quality of the leadership, to include the accuracy of their summary, the relevance and difficulty level of
their questions/ideas, and the frequency with which they are able to guide/respond to points raised throughout the lesson.

**Analysis Papers 1 & 2**
These are medium-length papers that ask students to think critically and evaluate different arguments and readings we have discussed in class. Additional information about these papers will be provided closer to the due dates. You will need to use both readings from class and some outside sources to succeed on these papers, though the emphasis of each paper should be on your own critical analysis of ideas and readings we have tackled in class; outside research should be used as evidence to bolster your own argument when necessary, rather than as the primary goal of the papers.

**Simulation Assignments**
There is no better way to learn than through practice! To facilitate this, we will run one of the Council on Foreign Relations’ National Security Council simulation at the end of the course. More information on the simulation and the assignment will be provided later in the semester. All cadets must submit the simulation background paper, which will require them to research their assigned role and prepare arguments for the simulation in advance, as well as the AAR, to synthesize lessons learned. All cadets must also participate in the simulation itself: *If you have a conflict that you think might prevent you from participating in the simulation, you MUST tell me AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.*

**TEE**
The TEE for this class will be open note: you may use any handwritten notes that you take during class or while doing the readings.
LESSON SCHEDULE
Note: Some lesson dates and readings may change based on guest speaker availability and other targets of opportunity. I will provide you as much notice as possible when making changes. Assigned readings are available on Blackboard. New readings will be added there as well.

BLOCK I: FOUNDATIONS

1) 9 JAN: Introduction: The Study of World Politics and Thinking about Grand Strategy
Lesson Objectives: Does Carr think it is better to be a Realist, Idealist, both, or neither? What does Gaddis mean when he talks about leaders being foxes or hedgehogs? How does he think about these characterizations in terms of their utility for grand strategy?

2) 13 JAN: What is Grand Strategy?
Lesson Objectives: What are the three different ways that scholars and practitioners think about grand strategy, according to Silove? Which one of these, if any, does Brands’ concept fit into? Which definition do you think is most useful or most realistic?

3) 16 JAN: How Do States Choose Grand Strategies?
Lesson Objectives: Do international factors or domestic factors have a greater impact on a state’s grand strategy? How enduring must a grand strategy be, and is it easy to change grand strategies?

4) 21 JAN: Does China have a Grand Strategy? Guest Speaker: Prof. Sarwar Kashmeri
Lesson Objectives: What are China’s goals in international politics today? What explains these goals? How should the United States respond?
   - TBD

5) 24 JAN: Does the US have a Grand Strategy? Guest Speaker: TBD
Lesson Objectives: What does grand strategy look like in practices? How can we evaluate whether grand strategy is good or appropriate? What aspects of President Trump’s foreign policy seem consistent with grand strategy?
• National Security Strategy of the United States, December 2017 (Choose only one of the four pillars). (16+)

6) 28 JAN: What Difference Does Individual Leadership Make?
Lesson Objectives: To what extent can leaders shape grand strategy? What characteristics of a leader might best explain their preferred approach to grand strategy?

7) 30 JAN: Critiquing Grand Strategy
Lesson Objectives: Why are some scholars skeptical of the need for grand strategy? Is grand strategy inherently good? How does Popescu’s “emergent strategy” differ from grand strategy?

Block II: The Instruments of Grand Strategy

8) 4 FEB: What is Power?
Lesson Objectives: What are the differences between hard and soft power? Which one do you think is more useful today? What makes a country powerful?
• Joseph S. Nye, Jr., The Future of Power (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), chapter 1. (22)

9) 6 FEB: Military Force and Grand Strategy
Lesson Objectives: What are the different ways Art says countries can use military force? Which ways are most important/useful for current American goals? Which are most difficult to use?
10) 10 FEB: **Carl von Clausewitz On War.**
Lesson Objectives: Why does it mean to say “War is the continuation of policy by other means?” Is Clausewitz’s approach to war still applicable today? Is Clausewitz a grand strategist?

11) 14 FEB: **An Alternative View on the Role of Force: Sun Tzu and Liddell Hart**
Lesson Objectives: What does it mean to “Win the peace?” How do these thinkers approach war differently from Clausewitz? Can we reconcile their arguments about the use of military force?

12) 19 FEB: **Diplomacy and Grand Strategy**
Lesson Objectives: Why was Nixon’s opening to China so important, and why do we view his triangular diplomacy as so successful? What trade-offs were involved in initiating a détente with China? Can this type of diplomatic move be replicated today?

13) 21 FEB: **The Economic Dimensions of Grand Strategy**
Lesson Objectives: How have wealth and economic policies contributed to state power? How important do we think economics are for power today? When should security drive economic policy?
- Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis*, pp.113-120. (8)

**BLOCK III: LEARNING FROM HISTORY: THE EXECUTION OF GRAND STRATEGY**

14) 25 FEB: **The Peloponnesian War (Beginnings)**
Lesson Objectives: What are Athens’ strategic goals, and what is the logic that drives their decision to intervene in the Corinth-Corcyra conflict? What strategic mistakes, if any, did Athens make? What alternative strategies do the city-states described here use to secure themselves, and what explains these different approaches?
15) 27 FEB: The Peloponnesian War (Ending and Outcomes)
Lesson Objectives: Why are the Athenians so easily persuaded to go to war? What does this say about how they view their role in the world? How can a weaker actor, like the Sicilians, win against Athens? Which of the three Athenian generals offers the best strategy?
   • Strassler, Landmark Thucydides, pp. 361-390, 395-423, 549-554. (64)

16) 3 MAR: Grand Strategy of Ancient Rome
Lesson Objectives:
   • Selections from Polybius’s The Histories (TBD)

17) 5 MAR: The Grand Strategy of a Continental Great Power: France under Louis XIV
Lesson Objectives: What were Louis XIV’s goals? What mistakes, if any, do you think Louis XIV made? How well were his foreign policy decisions catered to the international environment of the day? Was French security improved at the end of his reign?

18) 17 MAR: Maritime Empire: British Grand Strategy
Lesson Objectives: How do Kennedy and Darwin differ in their understanding of what made the British empire in the nineteenth century so successful? How do great powers provide stability to ensure their continued success? Do you agree with Kennedy’s assertion that Great Britain was “a different kind of great power?”

19) 19 MAR: Grand Strategy and Alliances during War
Lesson Objectives: How should allies balance divergent preferences and interests during war? How did these tradeoffs impact the course and outcome of World War II?

20) 24 MAR: Japanese Grand Strategy. Guest Speaker: TBD
Lesson Objectives: Why do Katzenstein and Okawara think structural factors do not explain Japan’s grand strategy? What domestic factors best explain Japan’s choices, and why? Why did
Japan and China follow such different paths from the 19th into the 20th century? How do states behave as their power increases?


21) 26 MAR: COURSE DROP FOR READING

22) 30 MAR: American Grand Strategy after WWII
Lesson Objectives: What were the key American interests after World War II, and what threatened those interests? What strategy did the United States adopt, and was this the best one? Does NSC-68 reflect American grand strategy?


**BLOCK IV: CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES**

23) 3 APR: Cyber Warfare and Grand Strategy
Lesson Objectives: How well has the United States incorporated cyber tactics/strategies into its grand strategy, and do you agree with Weber’s policy recommendations? Does the United States need a cyber strategy? How well do Art’s uses of force apply in the cyber realm?


24) 7 APR: Russian Grand Strategy in the 21st Century
Lesson Objectives: How do Graham and Person differ in their account of Russian grand strategic interests and behavior? Whose account do you agree with? How successful has Russia been with its grand strategy?


25) 10 APR: Asymmetric Conflict and Grand Strategy I
Lesson Objectives: What is asymmetric warfare, and how does it differ from conventional conflict? To what extent should the United States focus on asymmetric conflict versus peer-competition today? How might a state best respond to asymmetric threats?

26) 14 APR: Asymmetric Conflict and Grand Strategy II. Guest Speaker: Dr. Dana Burde (New York University, Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development)
Lesson Objectives: TBD
- TBD

Lesson Objectives: How do Presidents use the National Security Council to create and implement grand strategy? What are the pros and cons of different national security policymaking organizations?
- David Rothkopf, “Inside the Committee that Runs the World,” Foreign Policy (March/April 2005). (10)

28) 21 APR: NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SIMULATION
Lesson Objectives: Understand the challenges of finding policy solutions to national security crises while applying the principles and goals of national grand strategies.
- Review your simulation instruction and background materials

29) 24 APR: Simulation Wrap up and AAR
Lesson Objectives: Understand the challenges of finding policy solutions to national security crises while applying the principles and goals of national grand strategies.
- Review your simulation instruction and background materials

30) 5 MAY: Looking Ahead for American Grand Strategy
Lesson Objectives: What should American grand strategy be, given modern challenges and interests? Does the United States need a grand strategy? What are the challenges facing the United States?
- Rebecca Friedman Lissner and Mira Rapp-Hooper, “The Liberal Order is More than a Myth,” Foreign Affairs, July 31, 2018. (4)