

Duke University
Department of Political Science
PS 219/HIS220/PPS219: American Grand Strategy
Fall 2011

Course hours: Tuesday 3:05-5:25, Perkins 307

Hal Brands & Peter Feaver

Professor Hal Brands: 130 Rubinstein Hall, office hours: Thursday, 3-5PM or by appointment

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Overview of Course

The course examines the global challenges and opportunities confronting the United States and the efforts of U.S. policymakers to craft a grand strategy that adequately addresses them. The course covers key historical junctures in the development of American Grand Strategy, ranging from pre-World War II to the present. The class will examine both the theory and the practice of grand strategy, and will consider both defenses and critiques of the choices US leaders have made.

This course is designed to be the capstone course for advanced undergraduates who have had extensive preparation in international relations, international security, and American foreign policy. It is also designed to be an interdisciplinary seminar for graduate students, especially those in political science, history, and public policy.

The course will be augmented by a vigorous year-long colloquium, involving visiting speakers, workshops, and conferences. *For students enrolled in the course, attendance of these events is mandatory and will be factored into your grade for class participation.* Students are strongly encouraged to continue attending these events even after the course is over.

Requirements and Grading

There are two tracks through this course: one for undergraduate/masters students and one for Ph.D. students.

Undergraduates/Masters

Class contribution	25%
Book Review	10%
Analytical précis	15%
Research paper	
- Oral presentation	10%
- Written paper	40%

Ph.D. Candidates

Class contribution	25%
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Book Review	10%
Analytical précis	15%
Major Written Work	50%

Note—Students taking this course should expect to be graded rigorously. While we do not adhere strictly to a curve, you should expect the normal distribution of grades to be something approximating the following: 25% in the A range, 50-60% in the B range, and 15-25% in the C range.

Class Contribution

Class contribution refers to the preparation, participation, and quality of input each student gives to the course. Students should attend every class having read all the assigned material. Students should also participate vigorously, through active listening and engagement in class discussions. Students also should participate actively in the associated year-long speakers' colloquium run by the AGS program.

Book report: For the second week of the term, all of the students in the class will read one of three assigned books (see below). To facilitate class discussion, students must write a short book review (no more than 1000 words) of their assigned book, and circulate that to the rest of the class by 8 am the morning of the class, 6 September. The book review must briefly summarize the main argument and evidence in the book. It must also critically evaluate the book's theory and evidence, coming to some overall assessment of the book's contribution to our understanding of American grand strategy. The book review should be more substantive than "I liked this" or "I found it boring." If you have never written such a review, look at any issue of *Perspectives in Politics* or *Diplomatic History* to find many samples of quality book reviews.

Short analytical précis: Students will also write a short paper which we call an "analytical précis." The "analytical précis" takes that week's readings and accomplishes two tasks. First, it summarizes them, identifying common themes and suggesting critiques or questions raised by the readings. Second, it interrogates them using one of the readings from an earlier week. For instance, an analytical précis might take the readings for the public opinion week and investigate whether they explain what was left hanging in the earlier week on the "critics of grand strategy" or perhaps the "rise of American power." The overall paper must not be longer than 4000 words, of which no more than half should be pure summary. The précis is due at 8:00 a.m. the morning of class and should be distributed to everyone via email. Each student will write only one analytical précis on an assigned date, to be determined during the first week of class.

A couple of notes on written assignments: Clear and concise prose is essential to effective presentation and analysis. Students will be graded not simply on the content of their papers, but also on the clarity with which they convey that content. Accordingly, all papers should be edited and proofread thoroughly before submission. Being pithy is also a skill worth developing, so do not submit assignments that exceed word limits—on the book reviews, for instance, we will stop reading after 1000 words.

On-time completion of assignments is also essential. Because the analytical précis often serves as a point of departure for our weekly discussions in class, these papers must be submitted so that the rest of the class has a chance to read and digest them. *Any analytical précis or book review turned in after 8:00 am on the morning of class will be penalized one full letter grade.* Longer papers submitted late will be penalized one-half letter grade every 24 hours.

Outside Speakers: The American Grand Strategy program will bring to Duke a range of visiting speakers. Attendance will be open to a wider group but is mandatory for students in the AGS course. We will also arrange for students to meet with visitors in smaller groups and will make every effort to match students up with visitors of particular interest to them.

Field trips: Students are expected to participate in the Fredericksburg staff ride, scheduled for 15 October. We will distribute more information in the first weeks of class, but for now block off Friday afternoon through Saturday night, 14-15 October. Students are also encouraged to go on the field trip to Ft. Bragg, which is tentatively scheduled for 24 September.

Research Papers

We will assign undergraduate and master's students into groups of four to write original research papers on a topic selected by the students and approved by the professors. The paper length is roughly 30-50 pages. The groups will present drafts of their papers and lead a class discussion on the topic on either 15 or 22 November. Everyone in the class will provide written feedback to their peers based on the drafts of the papers.

The schedule of deadlines for this project:

6 September	Topics proposed to professors
13 September	Outline submitted for approval
14 November	Rough draft handed in NOTE: THIS IS A MONDAY
8 December	Final paper due at noon

The Ph.D. candidates will not participate in the group project, but will write a major written work. Ph.D. candidates can choose among one of three options:

(1) original research papers on a topic approved by the professors. Paper length is roughly 20-30 pages.

The schedule of deadlines for the Ph.D. research papers is:

6 September	Topics proposed to professors
13 September	Outline submitted for approval
14 November	Rough draft handed in NOTE: THIS IS A MONDAY
8 December	Final paper due at noon

(2) a thematic bibliographical literature review based on the syllabus material. The goal here is to prepare a historiographical analysis of the readings in the course and explain how this literature intersects with the student's major field

13 September	Outline submitted for approval
21 November	Rough draft handed in
8 December	Final paper due at noon

(3) a mock-prelim-style final exam. The exam is modeled on the political science preliminary exam with an 8 hour open-book, take-home written test and a separate oral test. The written test will take place on 8 December, and the orals will be scheduled for the following week.

Readings

The reading load is heavy. There is no single text for this course; nor is it feasible to buy all the books and journals used in the course. That means we will rely heavily on reserves. Sorry. The books listed below are on order at the Book Store but students are free to rely on the reserve system for them as well.

We strongly recommend you buy these two books since we will read most of them:

- Hal Brands, *From Berlin to Baghdad* (University Press of Kentucky, 2008)
- Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World* (Routledge, 2002)

And we recommend that you buy these two:

- Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight and Civil-Military Relations* (2003). We will only read the first 95 pages of this so you may wish to just rely on the library copy.
- Samuel Huntington, *The Common Defense* (1961). This book is out of print, but we will read roughly 150 pages of it so you may wish to buy a used copy rather than rely on hard-copy reserves.

In addition, as described below in the plan for Week 2, each student will read one of four books. We will assign which book each student must read, so there is no need to purchase all three:

- Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power* (Princeton University Press, 1998)
- Kevin Narizny, *The Political Economy of Grand Strategy* (Cornell University Press, 2007)

- Peter Trubowitz, *Politics and Strategy: Partisan Ambition and American Statecraft* (Princeton University Press, 2011)

You should also stay abreast of current events. The best way is to read regularly a major newspaper (e.g. The New York Times). And a great resource focusing on Grand Strategy is <http://www.classicsofstrategy.com/> We encourage you to peruse the site and explore the treasures posted there.

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Course Outline

Theory of American Grand Strategy

1. What is Strategy and Grand Strategy

30 August

- Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, "Introduction: On Strategy," in Murray, Knox, and Bernstein, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (1994), pp. 1-23. *Available on E-Reserves.*
- Paul Kennedy, ed., "Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition," in Kennedy, *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 1-6. *Available on E-Reserves.*
- Carl von Clausewitz, Michael Howard, and Peter Paret, "The Influence of Clausewitz," Book I, and Book VIII in Clausewitz, Howard, and Paret, trans., *On War* (1976), pp. 29-49, 83-142, and 697-745. *Available on E-Reserves.*
- Richard Betts, "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security* 25(2), Fall 2000, pp. 5-50. *Available through E-Journals.*
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*. Compare your interpretation with: Kimberly Kagan, "Redefining Roman Grand Strategy," *The Journal of Military History* 70, Iss. 2 (April 2006), pp. 333-62.
 - Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*.

2. Debating the Formation of American Grand Strategy

6 September

Note: each student will be assigned to read just one of the following books. Students must also hand in a 750-1000 word book review to the rest of the class by 8 am on 6 September. Additionally, ALL students must read the Miller article.

- Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power* (Princeton University Press, 1998).
- Kevin Narizny, *The Political Economy of Grand Strategy* (Cornell University Press, 2007).
- Peter Trubowitz, *Politics and Strategy: Partisan Ambition and American Statecraft* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

- Benny Miller, "Explaining Change in U.S. Grand Strategy: The Rise of Offensive Liberalism and the War in Iraq," *Security Studies* 19, 1 (January 2010), 26-65. *Available on E-Journals.*
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions* (2006).

3. Rise of American Power

13 September

- George Washington, "Farewell Address," 1796, *The Avalon Project*.
- "Monroe Doctrine," 1823, *The Avalon Project*.
- John Hay to Andrew D. White, "Open Door Note," available for download here: <http://www.vlib.us/amdocs/texts/opendoor.html>
- "American Interests in China," 1898, and "American Policy Regarding China," 1900, in Ruhl J. Bartlett, *The Record of American Diplomacy* (New York: Knopf, 1959), pp. 408-409, 413.
- Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence*, Chapters 1,2, and 4-7, pp. 3-55, and 99-218. *Recommended Purchase.*
- Russell Weigley, "A Strategy of Sea Power and Empire: Stephen B. Luce and Alfred Thayer Mahan," in Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 167-91. *Available on E-Reserves.*
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Jon Tetsuro Sumida, *Inventing Grand Strategy and Teaching Command* (1999).
 - Warren Zimmermann, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power* (2002).

4. Planning the American Superpower

20 September

- X (George Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* 25, No. 4 (1947), pp. 566-582. *Available through E-Journals.*
- "A Report to the National Security Council – NSC 68," April 12, 1950. President's Secretary's File, Truman Papers. Available for download here: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/10-1.pdf

- Melvin Leffler, "The United States and the Strategic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan," *Diplomatic History* 12 (Summer 1988), pp. 277-306. ***Available through E-Reserves.***
- Samuel F. Wells, Jr., "Sounding the Tocsin: NSC 68 and the Soviet Threat," *International Security*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Autumn 1979), pp. 116-58. ***Available through E-Journals.***
- John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know* (Clarendon Press, 1997), Chapters 1, 2, and 10, pp. 1-53, and 282-295. ***Available on E-Reserves.***
- Wilson D. Miscamble, "Roosevelt, Truman, and the Development of Postwar Grand Strategy," *Orbis* 53, no. 4 (Fall 2009), pp. 553-570. ***Available through E-Journals.***
- John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton Press, 2001), Chapters 3 and 6, pp. 50-79 and 163-214. ***Available on E-Reserves.***
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Charles L. Mee, *The Marshall Plan and the Launching of the Pax Americana* (1984).

5. Civil-Military Relations and the Inter-Agency

27 September

- Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard Press 2003), pp. 1-95. ***Available on E-Reserves.***
- Eliot Cohen, "The Unequal Dialogue: The Theory and Reality of Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force," in Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 429-458. ***Available on E-Reserves.***
- Halperin, Morton H., and Arnold Kanter. 1973. "The bureaucratic perspective: A preliminary framework." In *Readings in American foreign policy*, ed. Morton H. Halperin and Arnold Kanter, 1-42. Boston: Little, Brown. ***Available on E-Reserves***
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important (Or Allison Wonderland)?" *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 7 (Summer 1972), pp. 159-179. ***Available through E-Journals.***
- Samuel Huntington, *The Common Defense* (1961), pp. 1-24, 123-196, 369-404. ***Available on E-Reserves.***
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:

- Risa Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (2008).
- Peter Rodman, *Presidential Command* (2009)

6. Solarium

4 October

- Project Solarium Task Force Reports, available at <http://images.library.wisc.edu/FRUS/EFacs2/1952-54v02p1/reference/frus.frus.195254v02p1.i0008.pdf>. Read pp. 399-431; skim pp. 397-398 and 443-455.
- H.W. Brands, "The Age of Vulnerability: Eisenhower and the National Insecurity State," *American Historical Review* 94 (1989), 963-989. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Marc Trachtenberg, "A Wasting Asset: American Strategy and the Shifting Nuclear Balance, 1949-1954," *International Security*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Winter 1988), pp. 5-49. *Available through E-Journals.*
- William Stueck, "Reassessing U.S. Strategy in the Aftermath of the Korean War," *Orbis* 53, no. 4 (Fall 2009), pp. 571-590. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Steven Metz, "Eisenhower and the Planning of American Grand Strategy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 14 (March 1991), pp. 49-71. *Available on E-Reserves.*
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Robert R. Bowie and Richard H. Immerman, *Waging Peace: How Eisenhower Shaped an Enduring Cold War Strategy* (1998).
 - Valerie L. Adams, *Eisenhower's Fine Group of Fellows* (2006).

7. Congress, Public Opinion, and Domestic Politics

18 October

- James M. Lindsay, 2003, "Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33(3), pp. 530-546. *Available Online.*
- William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, "Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force," *International Organization* 59, No. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 209-232. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Matthew Baum and Philip Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2008. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Ole R. Holsti, *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press (2004), pp. 23-56. *Available on E-Reserves*

- John Aldrich, Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thompson. "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection," *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006), pp. 477-502. Available through E-Journals.
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Douglas C. Foyle, *Counting the Public In: Presidents, Opinion, and Foreign Policy* (1999).

8. 1965 Simulation Exercise

25 October

- Murrey Marder, "Our Longest War's Tortuous History," in *A Short History of the Vietnam War*, Allan R. Millett, ed., (Bloomington, 1978), pp. 13-26 Available on E-Reserves.
- Memos by George Ball, June 29 and July 1, 1965, available at <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon4/doc258.htm> and <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon4/doc260.htm>.
- Memo from McGeorge Bundy to LBJ, February 7, 1965, available at: http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/learning_history/vietnam/escalate14.cfm
- Other readings and assignments will be handed out in class the week before.

9. 1964/65 Escalation Decision

1 November

- George C. Herring, Chapter 4 in *America's Longest War*, 3d ed., pp. 108-43. Available on E-Reserves.
- Loren Baritz, *Backfire: A History of How American Culture Led Us into Vietnam*, pp. 102-43. Available on E-Reserves.
- H. R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, The Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam*, pp. 217-61, and 300-334. Available on E-Reserves.
- Mark Moyar, Chapters 15-17 in *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954-1965* (2006). Available on E-Reserves.
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Leslie H. Gelb with Richard K. Betts, *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (1979).

10. Détente & Cold War II

8 November

- "US Relations with the USSR," National Security Decision Memo -75, 17 January 1983, available for download here: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdd/nsdd-075.htm>

- Jussi Hanhimaki, "An Elusive Grand Design," and Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, "Waging War on All Fronts: Nixon, Kissinger, and the Vietnam War 1969-1972," in Frederik Logevall and Andrew Preston, *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25-44 and 185-203. *Available through E-Reserves.*
- T. M. Nichols, "Carter and the Soviets: The Origins of the US Return to a Strategy of Confrontation," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 13 (June 2002), pp. 21-42. *Available through E-Journals.*
- James Graham Wilson, "How Grand Was Reagan's Strategy, 1976-1984?" *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 18 (December 2007), pp. 773-803. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Fareed Zakaria, "The Reagan Strategy of Containment," *Political Science Quarterly* 105 (Autumn 1990), pp. 373-95. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Mark Moyar, "History, the Lessons of History, and Grand Strategy After the Vietnam War," *Orbis* 53, no. 4 (Fall 2009), pp. 591-610. *Available through E-Journals.* Search for "Grand Strategy After the Vietnam War."
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War* (rev. ed. 2005).

11. Group Projects **15 November**

12. Group Projects **22 November**

13. Unipolar Moment **29 November**

- Draft Defense Planning Guidance for the Fiscal Years 1994-1999, excerpts available here:
http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb245/doc03_extract_nytedit.pdf
- U.S. National Security Strategy 1994. (Skim) *Available on Blackboard.*
- U.S. National Security Strategy 2002. *Available through e-reserves.*
- U.S. National Security Strategy 2006. Available for download here:
<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2006/>

- Brands, *From Berlin to Baghdad*, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-73; skim Chapters 3-8, pp. 74-262. **Recommended Purchase.**
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs* 70, No. 1 (Winter 1990/1991), pp. 23-33. ***Available through JSTOR.***
- Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," *International Security* 30, No. 1 (Summer 2005), pp. 77-108. ***Available through eJournals.***
- Stephen Biddle and Peter Feaver, "Assessing Strategic Choices in the War on Terror," ***draft book chapter, will be on Blackboard.***
- Jeremi Suri, "Clear Skies over the Hudson: The Promise and Failure of Grand Strategy from the End of the Cold War to the September 11 Terrorist Attacks," *Orbis* 53, no. 4 (Fall 2009), pp. 611-629. ***Available through E-Journals. Title change – try: "American Grand Strategy from the Cold War's End to 9/11"***
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - Derek Chollet and James M. Goldgeier, *America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11, the Misunderstood Years between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror* (2008).

14. Current Situation

6 December

- U.S. National Security Strategy 2010. Available for download here: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf
- President Obama, "Remarks by the President on a New Beginning" Cairo University, 4 June 2009, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>
- President Obama, "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan," United States Military Academy at West Point, 01 December 2009, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-address-nation-way-forward-afghanistan-and-pakistan>
- President Obama, "Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize" Oslo City Hall, 10 December 2009, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-acceptance-nobel-peace-prize>

- President Obama, "Obama Prague Speech on Nuclear Weapons" Prague, Czech Republic, 5 April 2009, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/04/05/obama-prague-speech-on-nu_n_183219.html
- President Obama, "Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa" State Department, Washington D.C., 19 May 2011, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-middle-east-and-north-africa>
- President Obama, "Remarks by the President on the War Forward in Afghanistan" 23 June 2011. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/06/22/remarks-president-way-forward-afghanistan>
- John Mearsheimer, "Imperial by Design," *The National Interest*, Jan-Feb 2011. *Available on-line.*
- Robert Kagan, "Price of Power: the Benefits of US Defense Spending far Outweigh the Costs," *The Weekly Standard* 16, No. 18, 24 January 2011. *Available on-line.*
- Aaron L. Friedberg "Hegemony with Chinese Characteristics," *The National Interest* (July-August 2011), pp. 1-10. *Available on-line.*
- Charles Glaser, "Will China's Rise Lead to War? Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism," *Foreign Affairs* 90, No. 2 (Mar/Apr 2011), pp. 80-91. *Available through E-Journals.*
- Thomas J. Christenson, "The Advantages of an Assertive China: Responding to Beijing's Abrasive Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 90, No. 2 (Mar/Apr 2011), pp. 54-67. *Available through E-Journals.*
- SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER OPTIONAL READING:
 - John Mueller, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (2009)