

## First Draft of Recommended Readings

Doug Stuart

Undergraduate Seminar on US Grand Strategy

### Background / foundational readings on Strategy

Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994),

B.H. Liddell Hart, 'Fundamentals of Strategy and Grand Strategy', in his *Strategy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Faber & Faber, 1967).

Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) Faber, 1967)

Edward N. Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 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).

Philip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peac, and the Course of History* (New York, Random House, 2002).

Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (New York, Penguin, 2011).

Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (Nw York, Penguin, 2005).

### Course Themes

#### Power

Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York, Public Affairs Books, 2011)

#### Civil-Military Relations

H.R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty* (New York, Harper, 1998).

Dale Herspring, *The Pentagon and the Presidency* (Lawrence, KA, University of Kansas Press, 2005).

Charles Stevenson, *Warriors and Politicians* (New York, Routledge, 2006).

Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2003).

Suzanne Nielsen and Don Snider, eds, *American Civil-Military Relations* (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn, eds, *Soldiers and Civilians* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2001).

### Leadership / Statesmanship

Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command* (New York, Free Press, 2002).

Michael Howard, ed., *Restraints on War: Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1979).

Murray, Williamson, and Jim Lacey, eds. *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

### Theory / Theorists / Practitioners

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (6th cent. B.C.), translated by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford UP, 1963).

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).

Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513-1514), translated and with an introduction by Harvey C. Mansfield, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Full text, pp. 1-111.

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

Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), edited and with an introduction by C.B. MacPherson (London: Penguin, 1968),

Hans Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings*, translated by H.B. Nisbet, 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (New York: Knopf, 1993).

Azar Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Michael I. Handel, ed., *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy* (London: Frank Cass, 1986).

Michael Howard, *Clausewitz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, vol. 1., *The Period of Unification*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Henry Kissinger, 'The White Revolutionary: Reflections on Bismarck', *Daedalus* 97, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 888-924.

### Geopolitics

- H.J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History", *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 6 (April 1904): pp. 421-423, 432-437.
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- A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (1890) (New York: Dover Publications, 1987).
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- Harm de Blij, *Why Geography Matters: Three Challenges Facing America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2005)
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- Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *Naval Strategy Compared and Contrasted with the Principles and Practice of Military Operations on Land*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1915

### Decision Points / Foreign Policy Decision Making

Jeffrey Record, *Making War, Thinking History* (Annapolis, MD, Naval Institute Press, 2002).

Douglas Stuart, "Foreign Policy Decision Making," in Oxford Handbook of International Relations (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008) edited by Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal.

### Principles and Foundations of Grand Strategy: Thucydides

Strassler, Robert B., ed. *The Landmark Thucydides*. New York: The Free Press, 1996.

Plutarch. *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives*. Translated with an introduction by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York and London: Penguin, 1960.

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (c.400 B.C.), translated by Richard Crawley, edited by T.E. Wick (New York: The Modern Library Hill, 1982)

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).

Laurie Bagby, 'The Use and Abuse of Thucydides', *International Organization* 48, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 131-53.

Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Viking Press, 2003)

Donald Kagan, *Thucydides: The Reinvention of History* (New York: Viking Press, 2009)

Robert D. Kaplan, "A Historian For Our Time," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January-February 2007.

### Principles and Foundations: Historical Surveys

Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1979).

Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994).

Julius Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1983), translated by S. A. Handford

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)

Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

Kalevi Holsti, *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order 1648-1989* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

David Kaiser, *Politics and War: European Conflict From Philip II to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987).

Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Paul Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: Macmillan, 1976).

Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored* (New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1964).

Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

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

René Albrecht-Carrié, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958).

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

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

Kenneth Bourne, *The Foreign Policy of Victorian Britain: 1830-1902* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

C.J. Lowe, *The Reluctant Imperialists: British Foreign Policy, 1878-1902*, vol. 2, *The Documents* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).

Michael Howard, *The Continental Commitment* (London: Ashfield Press, 1989).

John Charmley, *Splendid Isolation?: Britain, the Balance of Power and the Origins of the First World War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999).

Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: A. Lane, 1976).

B.H. Liddell Hart, *The British Way in Warfare* (London: Faber & Faber, 1932)

David French, *The British Way in Warfare, 1688-2000* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

Aaron L. Friedberg, *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

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

Rothenberg, Gunther E. *The Napoleonic Wars*. New York: Collins, 2006.

Craig, Gordon A. *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Kennedy, Paul M., ed. *The War Plans of the Great Powers, 1880-1914*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.

Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace*. New York: Henry Holt, 1989.

Murray, Williamson, and Allan R. Millett, eds. *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996

## Principles and Foundations of Grand Strategy: Domestic Contexts

Amy Zegart, *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC* (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1999).

Harold Hongju Koh, *The National Security Constitution* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1990).

Joel Aberbach and Mark Peterson, *The Executive Branch* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2005).

Douglas Stuart, *Creating the National Security State* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2008).

## American Revolution and Post-evolutionary Transition

Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist*, with an introduction by Edward Mead Earle (New York: Modern Library College Editions, no date).

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

John Lewis Gaddis, 'The Nineteenth Century', in his *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

James H. Hutson, *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980).

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

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (New York: Knopf, 2001), pp. 99-131, 174-263.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pearlman, Michael D. *Warmaking and American Democracy: The Struggle over Military Strategy, 1700 to the Present*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999.

### Civil War to World War I

McPherson, James M. *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief*. New York: Penguin, 2008.

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

### World War I and its Aftermath

E. Pendleton Herring, *The Impact of War: Our American Democracy Under Arms* (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941).

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

George Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1984).

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



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

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

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).

### Creation of Post WWII Liberal Order / Cold War Strategy

John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan* Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 2011).

Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2005.

Nitze, Paul. —United States Objectives and Programs for National Security, NSC-68 report to the President through the National Security Council, 14 April 1950, reprinted in *Naval War College Review* (May-June 1975).

May, Ernest R. *The Truman Administration and China, 1945-1949*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975.

Chen, Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Aaron Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Stueck, William. *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

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).

Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

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).

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Ernest R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993)

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Makings of Our Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War*, (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2009).

John Lewis Gaddis, *George F. Kennan: An American Life* (New York, Penguin Press, 2011).

Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War* (New York, Routledge, 1995).

Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power* (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1992).

Robert McNamara, *In Retrospect : The Tragedy and lessons of Vietnam* (New York, Random House, 1995).

Michael Hogan, *A Cross of Iron* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Henry Kissinger, three volume memoirs: *White House Years*, (New York, Little, Brown, 1979), *Years of Upheaval* (New York, Little, Brown, 1982), *Years of Renewal* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1999).

George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Knopf, 1998).

Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1969).

Walter Millis, ed. *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York, Viking Press, 1951).

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Lewy, Guenter. *America in Vietnam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Robert O'Neill and D. M. Horner, eds, *New Directions In Strategic Thinking* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1981).

### Post-Cold War Transition

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

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).

Henry Kissinger, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 2001).

Suri, Jeremi. —Explaining the End of the Cold War: A New Historical Consensus?| *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4:4 (Fall 2002). Pages 60-92.

Pollack, Kenneth M. *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America*. New York: Random House, 2005.

Robert Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2003).

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York, W.W. Norton, 2003).

### Post-9/11 Strategic Choices: Afghanistan and Iraq

Gordon, Michael R., and Bernard E. Trainor. *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.

Ricks, Thomas. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. New York: Penguin Books, 2007.

Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2004.

Kilcullen, David. *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

### Contemporary Issues: Changing Power Relationships

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* (New York, Basic Books, 2012).

Van Tol, Jan, with Mark Gunzinger, Andrew Krepinevich, and Jim Thomas. *AirSea Battle: A Point-of-Departure Operational Concept*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2010.

U.S. Department of Defense. *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities*

*for 21st Century Defense*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, January 2012.  
[http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense\\_Strategic\\_Guidance.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf)

Emily Goldman, *Power in Uncertain Times: Strategy in the Fog of Peace* (Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 2011).

Stephen Flanagan and James Schear, *Strategic Challenges* (Washington D.C., National Defense University Press, 2008).