Some possible modules for

US Grand Strategy Course #1

Introduction

- What is Strategy? Why is strategy necessary?
- Grand strategy versus strategy
- Why is strategy difficult?

IR theory (and Illustrative cases)

- Power
- Geopolitics
- First level analysis
- Balancing and bandwagoning
- Power transition
- Hegemony and Hegemonic decline
- Alliances and coalitions
- Changes in the nature of warfare
- Democratic peace and second level analysis

Theorists and Practitioners (and illustrative cases)

- Leadership
- Theorists
- Practitioners

Historical survey of US Grand Strategy

- Unique aspects of US Grand Strategy (Rise to globalism)
- Change and continuity – founding to present
- Empires – UK transition to US
- The creation, expansion and sustainment of a liberal international order.
- Current situation – US transition to China?

Determinants of US Grand Strategy

- American interests (problems of definition, etc.)
- Geography, history, culture
- Constitutional and political factors
- Institutions (bureaucratic politics)
- Interagency process
- Civil-military relations and militarization of US foreign policy
- Constraints on policy makers: Economic problems

Strategic choices for America: Challenges and opportunities

- Liberal leviathan
- Rise of global peer competitors
- Non-traditional security threats

Other things I heard yesterday:

- A module on citizenship
- A module on international law and ethical constraints on international behavior

Some possible topics for

US Grand Strategy Course #2

Introduction

Characteristics of the current US situation

Does America need a grand strategy?

America's rise to globalism

"The world America made" (can it be sustained?)

An audit of US strengths and weaknesses

Issues for American strategists

Preparing for the next generation of global peer competitor

Liberalism (economic and political) as basis for new international order

Military strategy in an era of limitations

Alliances, coalitions and burden sharing

Geopolitics and geoeconomics

Terrorism, piracy, non-state actors

Redefining national security: Terrorism, energy access, natural resources, environmental degradation

Interactive component

Conclusion

American statesmanship in a post-American world

Questions for discussion
During the first day of the
Mellon Strategy Seminar

What is the difference between grand strategy and strategy? (John Coats)

What types of structures and topics work best for military audiences and what types of structures and topics work best for civilian audiences? When are joint sessions most likely to be productive? (Jonny Cristol)

How do the goals and content of a graduate level course on grand strategy differ from the goals and content of an undergraduate level course on grand strategy? (Marybeth Ulrich)

To what extent (if at all) should the study of U.S. grand strategy be distinguished from a more general study of grand strategy? (Ike Wilson)

What are the sources of U.S. grand strategy – ideas, institutions, events, trends, national character/culture/tradition, domestic politics, etc.? (Andy Wolff)

What is the role of economics in U.S. grand strategy? (Michael Fratantuono)

To what extent should a course on U.S. grand strategy address nontraditional security issues? How should these issues be integrated into a grand strategy course? (Doug Stuart)

How much historical context is needed? How much comparative analysis is needed? How much IR theory is needed? (Scott Silverstone)

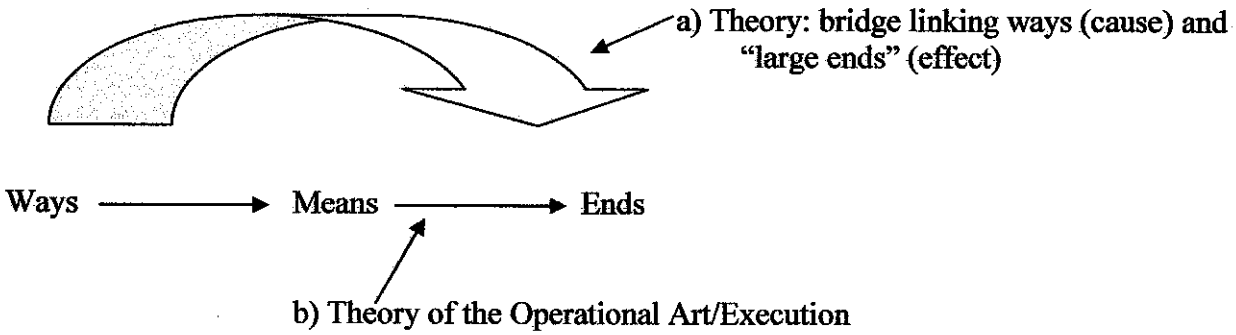
Should grand strategy focus on one issue or many? (John Garofano)

Mellon Grand Strategy Workshop:
IR Theory, History and Comparative Analysis

Discussion questions:

- How much (what) IR theory is needed for the study of grand strategy?
- How much (what) historical context is needed?
- How much (what) comparative analysis when studying American grand strategy?

Premise #1: it is impossible to understand or develop strategy without knowing the alternative theoretical/logical claims that strategy might be based on. The very idea of strategy hinges on predictive claims about cause and effect. What types of actions/conditions will likely produce what kinds of outcomes?



Premise #2: Theory is necessary at two levels:

a) Logical bridge linking ways (cause) and "large ends" (effect).
b) Theory of the Operational Art/Execution (how to actually generate, organize and use diplomatic, economic, and military means to produce desired political effects/ends)

Premise #3: the role of theory and historical analogy remains contested in the study and development of strategy.

"Theory exists so that one need not start afresh each time sorting out the material and plowing through it but will find it ready to hand and in good order."

Clausewitz

"Is strategy an Illusion?"

Betts

Professional-Intellectual tension, a challenge we can't avoid:

Policy makers/practioners tend to downplay generalizable theory (and the scholars who produce it) as unhelpful when faced with the complexity of real world problems. Theorists/scholars stress that purposeful action is impossible without some logical, generalizable claims about cause and effect. "Everyone has a theory," whether they know it or not. We must be (and our students must become) self-conscious about the logical claims within our thinking.

But theorists also warn about the hazards of prediction, particularly when trying to predict cause and effect over longer periods of time and as variables multiply. Strategic action unavoidably depends on the predictive power of theory and historical analogy.

No matter how challenging this problem is, true strategy is impossible without theory at the two levels noted above.

To answer our broad question on theory and the study of grand strategy, we need to ask several subordinate questions.

What theories do students need to study in order to:

a) understand debates on American strategy, past and present?
b) understand the actual choices made by American leaders?
c) understand/explain the consequences/outcomes of past choices?
d) explain other states'/actors' behavior?
e) anticipate/predict other states'/actors' behavior?

What theories are appropriate for "Grand Strategy," defined as the pursuit of "Large Ends", or the shaping of large-scale political order?

Alternatives:

System Level:

- Offensive Realism, Defensive Realism, Neoclassical Realism, Balance of Power, Balance of Threat, security dilemma, deterrence
- Hegemonic Stability Theory
- Neoliberal Institutionalism
- Geopolitics (Mahan, Mackinder, Spykman)
- Globalization
- Culture and Identity theories

Domestic Level:

- Democratic Peace
- Culture and Identity
- Decision making theories
- COIN

Individual Level:

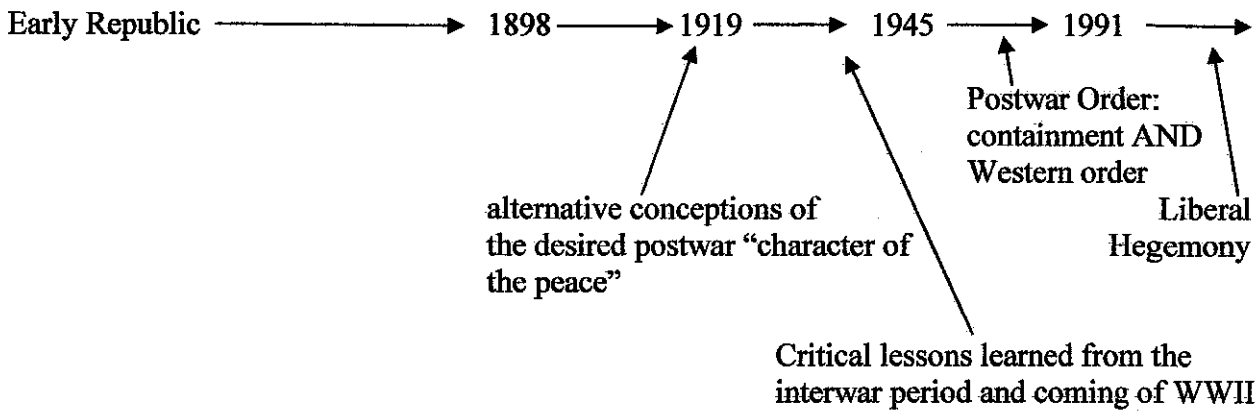
- Cognition, Perception

<u>Premise #4</u>: the role of historical context and comparative analysis is to:

a) illustrate the logic of different theories in action (tease out theoretical cause and effect claims motivating behavior in historical cases).
b) offer understanding of how earlier strategic choices and outcomes affected current conditions.
c) spot patterns in behavior over time that might help predict future behavior.

d) offer empirical data for testing alternative theories of cause (ways) and effect (ends). Were leaders in historical cases able to achieve their desired ends according to the logic motivating their behavior? If not, were there problems with the theories motivating strategic choices, or with the execution of the strategy? What do the outcomes of historical cases suggest about theoretical cause and effect claims, and about theories of the operational art?

American strategy as important historic context:



Potential shortcomings in teaching American historic-strategic context:
1) ignoring what happened before 1945
2) post-1945 history that fixates on Cold War balancing, too little attention to the institutional logic of western order as a distinctly American approach to shaping "large ends" of the international political system. Continuity of Western institutional logic/liberal hegemony before and after 1991.

Comparative cases as alternative strategic models:

- Athens versus Sparta, Rome, Middle Kingdom, Netherlands and Venice, British empire, Louis XIV and Napoleon, Concert of Europe, Bismarck versus Wilhelm II, USSR

Potentially valuable question of pedagogy on the use of history:

- How to select and apply historical analogies, criteria for evaluating validity of analogies for contemporary strategic problems?

Thoughts about Economics and Grand Strategy,
Michael Fratantuono
Based on: "Guidelines for Strategy Formulation, Appendix I"
USAWC, National Security Policy and Strategy: Course Directives & Course Readings (AY 2012)

NATIONAL PURPOSE
Values, Beliefs: Legal/Philosophical/Moral Basis for American System
What is the relationship between state and market?
How does the legal and institutional framework enable market processes?

NATIONAL INTERESTS
Defense of the Homeland
How does economics contribute to our understanding of the elements of power—for examples, a vibrant industrial sector is essential to the military force (see below)? As another example, economic planning was a critical element to success during World War II
Economic Prosperity
How do we measure? Oil - access to oil, resources, etc.
Growth, equity, absence of extreme cycles, long-run fiscal sustainability
What contributes?
R&D; education (human capital); a sophisticated financial system; infrastructure; knowledge about macro-economic management
Promotion of Values
Does economic success contribute to the credibility of our system?
Market capitalism versus State Capitalism
Favorable World Order (In National Strategy, May 2010; Not in USAWC Statement of Interests)
To what extent do economic forces contribute to issues of "international security"?
Water-Food-Energy-Climate Change nexus

GRAND STRATEGY/STRATEGIC VISION
Ideological contributions from International Relations: Different schools are fundamental to different articulations of grand strategy —

International Political Economy
Following Robert Gilpin, are the perspectives from IPE (Economic Liberalism, Economic Nationalism, Marxism) and the associated Theories (Dual Economy, Hegemonic Stability, Modern World System) relevant to a discussion of Strategic Vision?

NATIONAL POLICY
Broad Guidelines on America's Global Role

STRATEGY FORMULATION
U.S. Interests in a Particular Region /Level of Intensity of Interests/Evaluate Threats (*these can be economic in nature*) and Opportunities/Then, transition to Ends, Concepts (Ways), and Means (Elements of Power) Framework (Via the Way selected, an Element of Power becomes an Instrument of Power)
How do economic considerations enter our thinking about ends, ways, and means?
[Where shall we incorporate a whole of government approach in our conversation?]
[Where shall we incorporate a cross sector collaboration approach in our conversation?] – NGOs, individuals, etc.

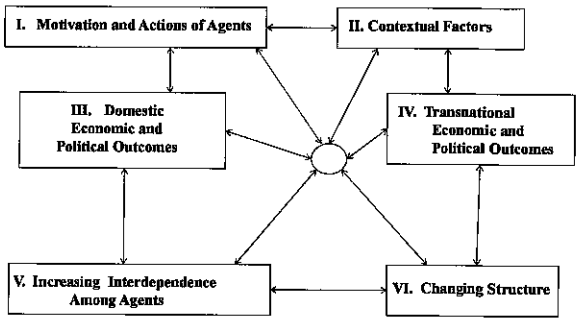
? Is capitalism essential for democracy?

Global Political and Economic System: Framework for Analysis

Professor Michael J. Fratantuono

Workshop on Grand Strategy
August 6, 2012

Framework for Analysis



I. Agents in the Global Political and Economic System

- Nation state: a sovereign entity with well-defined borders
- Sub-state Actors: primarily residing and acting within the confines of nation; e.g., labor unions
- Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs); e.g., IMF; UN
- Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Civil Society); e.g., Green Peace, the Red Cross
- Quasi-governmental organizations—empowered by governments to perform various functions; e.g., U.S. Security and Exchange Commission
- Transnational Organizations
  - Legitimate: Multinational Enterprises
  - Illicit: Terrorist Organizations; Mafia

II. Contextual Factors

- Historical Experience
- Different geographic circumstances
- The dynamics of human population growth and demographic change
- The extensive nature of market mechanisms and the intensive nature of economic development
- The revolution in information technology and breakthroughs in basic science
- Dominant political-economic ideologies and cultural dispositions
- Existing Structure

III. Domestic Outcomes within each country

Economic outcomes

Growth/cyclicality/composition of output

Distribution of income

Balances in contemporary flows that have implications for future flows (e.g., earning/spending; saving/investment)

Political Outcomes

Respect for basic rights

Social Stability

Legal system based on justice

Legitimacy of leadership

IV. Transnational Outcomes

Economic
Growth

Globalization: The process of economic integration, reflected in the flows across national boundaries of:
- Goods and Services
- People
- Capital

Human development: health, education, literacy

Political
Peace

Human rights

Stability

V. Increasing Interdependence

Interdependent--the state of being mutually or reciprocally dependent with respect to:

•Existence
•Operation
•Cognition

This is a dictionary definition, but it begins to have a bit more relevance when we begin to think about the various agents in the global system that we just noted.

• Agents: entities that learn from experience, recognize their interdependence, and co-evolve over time in an "eco-system."

• Each agent has a reason for existence, a set of over-arching objectives.

VI. Changing Structure

A. Vertical (hierarchical) relations (configuration of power) among agents

B. Horizontal (location-based) relations among agents

C. Rules or norms governing the interaction of the agents

Features of a Complex Adaptive System—
based on John H. Holland, "The Global Economy as an Adaptive Process," Sainte Fe Institute Studies of Complexity, Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1988.

The overall direction of the economy [system] is determined by the interaction of many dispersed units [agents] acting in parallel. The action of any agent depends upon the state and actions of a limited number of other agents.

There are rarely any global controls on interactions— controls are provided by mechanisms of competition and cooperation between agents, mediated by standard operating procedures, assigned roles, and shifting associations

The economy [system] has many levels of organization and interaction. Agents at any given level typically serve as "building blocks" for agents at the next higher level. The overall organization is more than hierarchical, with all sorts of tangling interactions (associations, channels of communication) across levels.

Features of a Complex Adaptive System—
based on John H. Holland, "The Global Economy as an Adaptive Process," Sainte Fe Institute Studies of Complexity, Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1988. (continued)

The agents are recombined and revised continually as the system accumulates experience—the system adapts.

The arena in which the economy [system] operates is typified by many niches that can be exploited by particular adaptations; there is no universal super-competitor that can fill all niches (any more than would be the case in a complex ecology such as a tropical rain forest.)

Niches are continually created by new technologies and the very act of filling a niche provides new niches . . . Perpetual novelty results.

Because the niches are various, and new niches are continually created, the economy [system] operates far from an optimum (or global attractor). Said in another way, improvements are always possible, and, indeed, occur regularly.