Grand Strategy:

Interests, Choices, Decisions, Consequences

Global Securities Studies Program

Course No. 470.677, Section 51

Room: 100B Professor: Dr. Steve Cambone

Time: M 5:45-8p Office hours: By appointment

Office: 826 E-mail: [**scambon1@jhu.edu**](mailto:scambon1@jhu.edu)

Introduction

Course Description:

The course will address the subject of grand strategy as the expression of a nation’s understanding of its interests, the choices it faces in securing those interests, the decisions required to implement the choices made and the consequences of having done so on the putative interests in whose name action was taken. Following an introductory section on the theory and literature around the concept of grand strategy the course examines the derivation and practice of grand strategy by the US and the PRC and considers the consequences of grand strategy as they are made manifest in military campaigns. The course will rely heavily on historical experience to assist theory in framing a definition of grand strategy to be employed by students in preparing for class discussion and in writing the required papers.

Course requirements

1) Active and timely participation in seminar discussion (20%)

2) Review essays (30%)

Write two essays of 3-5 pages providing a critical (i.e., analytic) appreciation for the issues addressed in sections of the course addressing US and PRC grand strategy. Each essay should cite texts and other materials referred to in class and students are encouraged to cite any of the additional readings listed in the syllabus. These review essays should form the basis for the final research paper.

The review essays are due February 29th and April 4th .

3) Research paper (50%)

Write an analytical research paper of 10-15 comparing and contrasting the grand strategic approaches of the United States and China. Place those strategies in the context of the “higher theory” of grand strategy discussed in class, but provide historical context for the application of such theories. You should reflect on what you consider the success or failure of those strategies. The paper must conclude with your analysis of the likely future evolution of the grand strategy of either the US or the PRC.

Due by May 4, 2016.

Course material

The only texts students are required to purchase are:

John Lewis Gaddis, Surprise, Security and the American Experience, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2005;

Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich, eds., Successful Strategies: Triumphing in War and Peace from Antiquity to the Present, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014

The remaining materials listed in the syllabus will be available either through <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/shib/ares.dll>.or by direct download as cited in the syllabus.

Material marked with an asterisk (\*) is suggested as additional, but not required, reading.

Additional material will be made available during the course of the semester as an aid to, or in response to, class discussion. That material will be posted on BlackBoard.

Grading

**Letter Grade**             **Percentage**

A+                               97% to 100%

A                                 93% to 96.99%

A-                                      90% to 92.99%

B+                               87% to 89.99%

B                                 83% to 87.99%

B-                                80% to 82.99%

C                                 70% to 79.99%

F                                  0% to 69.99%

Policies:

**Dropping the Course**: You are responsible for understanding the university’s policies and procedures regarding withdrawing from courses found in the current catalog. You should be aware of the current deadlines according to the [Academic Calendar](http://advanced.jhu.edu/current-students/academic-calendar/).

**Electronics in Class:** The use of cell phones is not permitted during class time. Students may use computers or tablets to take or retrieve notes related to the class in session.

**University Code of Conduct:**Students should familiarize themselves with the universities policies and procedures for academic misconduct at this website <http://advanced.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/AAP1101_CodeofConduct.pdf>   The primary takeaway of the policy:

“The strength of the university depends on academic and personal integrity.  In this course, you must be honest and truthful.  Ethical violations include cheating on exams, plagiarism, reuse of assignments, improper use of the Internet and electronic devices, unauthorized collaboration, alteration of graded assignments, forgery and falsification, lying, facilitating academic dishonesty, and unfair competition. Report any violations you witness to the instructor.”

**Special accommodations:**Any student who has or may have a disability or need for special accommodation should familiarize themselves with the JHU policy for special accommodations:  <http://advanced.jhu.edu/current-students/current-students-resources/disability-accommodations/>. The primary takeaway of the policy:

“The Johns Hopkins University is committed to providing reasonable and appropriate accommodations to students with disabilities. Students in Advanced Academic Programs (AAP) who are in need of accommodations must notify, Briggs Rolfsrud ([brolfsrud@jhu.edu](mailto:brolfsrud@jhu.edu)) at [202-452-1941](tel:202-452-1941).

Syllabus

Jan 25. Introduction to Grand Strategy

Christopher Flannery, “Geography and Politics,” in Christopher C. Harmon and David Tucker, eds., Statecraft and Power: Essays in Honor of Harold W. Rood, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994

Robert D. Kaplan, The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate, New York: Random House, 2012: Chapters 2-4.

Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich, eds., Successful Strategies: Triumphing in War and Peace from Antiquity to the Present, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: Introduction

Feb 1. US Grand Strategy: Origins

John Lewis Gaddis, Surprise, Security and the American Experience, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2005: Ch. 1-2 (pp. 1-35)

Bradford Perkins, The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865, The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. I: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, Ch. 1

Stratfor: “The Geopolitics of the United States, Parts I & II,” <https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/geopoliticsunitedstatespart1inevitableempire>

Map of Claims to North America: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/40/Non-Native-American-Nations-Territorial-Claims-over-NAFTA-countries-1750-2008.gif>

\* Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement, New York: Knopf, 1978: Ch. 8, 9, 13

\* Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy, New York: Simon & Schster, 1994, Ch 2 (p. 29-55)

Feb 8. US Grand Strategy Explored: Antebellum Period

Michael Lind, The American Way of Strategy: US Foregin Policy and the American Way of Life, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006: Ch.4, “Averting a Balance of Power in North America.”

George Dangerfield, The Awakening of American Nationalism: 1815-1828, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965: Ch. 2, 6.

Ray Allen Billington, The Far Western Frontier: 1830-1860, New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1956, Ch. 6-7.

James Knox Polk, “Inaugural Address,” <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/polk.asp>

\*Bradford Perkins, The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865, The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. I: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, Ch. 6-7

\* Merk, op cit: Ch. 18, 19, 20, 30-39

Feb 15. US Grand Strategy Explored: 19th -20th Century

Halford J. Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History,” The Geographical Journal, No.4, April 1904) pp 421-437; (The Royal Geographic Society) [http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0016-7398%28190404%2923%3A4%3C421%3ATGPOH%3/e2,0.CO%3B2-O](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0016-7398%28190404%2923%3A4%3C421%3ATGPOH%253/e2,0.CO%3B2-O)

Allan Westcott, ed., Mahan on Naval Warfare: Selections from the Writings of Rear Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1918: Ch. 11; <https://books.google.com/books?id=tEcSAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA108&lpg=PA108&dq=Mahan+and+Cuba&source=bl&ots=4KPVCgmZ5Y&sig=Xe1LUr1zaN0qgD4pseD1VWKhfxY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CDEQ6AEwBGoVChMIxv2u28zbxwIVDD0-Ch3jBAe5#v=onepage&q=Mahan%20and%20Cuba&f=false>

Ivan Musicant, Empire by Default: The Spanish American War and the Dawn of the American Century, New York: Henry Holt, 1998: Ch. 1

Peter Mansoor, “US Grand Strategy in the Second World War,” in Williamson, ed., op.cit., Ch. 11

\*Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier In American History, New York: Henry Holt And Company, 1921: Ch. 1; <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22994/22994-h/22994-h.htm>

\* Merk, op. cit.: Ch. 31, 32, 33, 34, 39

Feb 22. US Grand Strategy Explored: 20th-21st Century

Bradford A. Lee,” American Grand Strategy and the Unfolding Cold War,” in Williamson, op.cit.: Ch. 12

Thomas G. Mahnken, “The Reagan Administration’s Strategy Toward the Soviet Union,” Williamson, op.cit.: Ch. 13

John Lewis Gaddis, Surprise, Security and the American Experience, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2005: Ch. 3-4

Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations>

\* “What Should be the Purpose Of American Power,” *The National Interest*, Sep/Oct 2015, <http://nationalinterest.org/issue/september-october-2015>

Feb 29. China and Grand Strategy: 18-19th Centuries

**First Review Essay Due**

Peter C. Perdue, China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005: Ch. 4-7, 16.

Ray Huang, China: A Macro History, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1988: Ch.18

S.C.M. Payne, The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, Ch. 1

William T. Rowe, China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, Ch. 6-7

Stratfor: “The Geopolitics of China,” 25 March 2012, <https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/geopolitics-china-great-power-enclosed>

\*H.P. Willmott, Empires in the Balance: Japanese and Allied Strategies to April 1942, Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 1982: Ch. 1-2

Mar 7. China and Grand Strategy: pre-WW I-WW II

William T. Rowe, China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, Ch. 8-9

Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy: Past, Present and Future, Washington, DC: RAND Project Air Force, 2000 (available as a free download from RAND: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1121.html>), Ch. 1-2 (pp. 1-20)

\*S.C.M. Payne, The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, Ch. 5

Mar 21. China and Grand Strategy: Post WW II

Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy: Past, Present and Future, Washington, DC: RAND Project Air Force, 2000 (available as a free download from Rand: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1121.html>), Ch. 3 (pp. 21-95)

Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, 5th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, Ch. 25, 27, 30

Mar 28. China and Grand Strategy: Contemporary Era

Michael D. Swaine, “Xi Jinping on Chinese Foreign Relations: The Governance of China and Chinese Commentary,” Hoover Institution, *China Leadership Monitor*, Fall 2015: Issue 48, <http://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/clm48ms.pdf>

Xi Jinping, “New Asian Security Concept For New Progress in Security Cooperation,” Remarks at the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia, Shanghai Expo Center, 21 May 2014, <http://www.chinausfocus.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Xi-01.pdf>

David Cohen, “A Clash of Security Concepts: China’s Effort to Redefine Security,” The Jamestown Foundation, *China Brief* Volume: 14 Issue: 11 June 4, 2014, <http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=42465&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=25&cHash=5ee65ce47c7de7887706adc4f6056fb9#.Ve4HvBHBzRZ>

\* Eric Heginbotham, et. al., The US-China Military Scorecard: Forces, Geography and the Evolving Balance of Power, 1996-2017, Santa Monica: RAND Corp, 2015, <http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR300/RR392/RAND_RR392.pdf>

Apr 4. Summary and Conclusions

**Second Review Essay Due**

*Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, National Intelligence Council, December 2012, Executive Summary, <https://globaltrends2030.files.wordpress.com/2012/11/global-trends-2030-november2012.pdf>

David Kennedy, “*Thinking Historically About Grand Strategy*,” Hoover Institution, Foreign Policy Working Group, <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/Kennedy_ThinkingHistorically.pdf>

Mariano-Florentino Cuellar, “*The Domestic Foundations of American Grand Strategy*,” Hoover Institution, Foreign Policy Working Group, <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/Cuellar_DomesticFoundations.pdf>

Amy B. Zegart, “Complexity and the Misguided Search for Grand Strategy,” Hoover Institution, Foreign Policy Working Group, <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/Zegart_ComplexityAndMisguidedSearch.pdf>

Wang Jisi, “*China's Search for a Grand Strategy****:*** *A Rising Great Power Finds Its Way*,” Foreign Affairs, March/April 2011, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2011-02-20/chinas-search-grand-strategy>

Xi Jinping, "Build a New Model of Major-country Relationship Between China and the United States” June 7, 2013, Main points of the speech when meeting the press with US President Barack Obama, <http://amzn.to/1TId7Qu>

Xi Jinping, "Diplomacy with Neighboring Countries Characterized by Friendship, Sincerity, Reciprocity and Inclusiveness,” October 24, 2013, Main points of the speech at a seminar on the work of neighborhood diplomacy, <http://amzn.to/1NN2dbT>

Apr 11. Grand Strategy Applied:

Wayne Hsieh, “The Strategy of Lincoln and Grant,” in Williamson Murray, et. al., eds, Successful Strategies: Triumphs in War and Peace from Antiquity to the Present, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: Ch.7

U.S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, Caleb Carr, Series Editor, New York: Modern Library, 1999: Ch. 47

William T. Sherman, Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2nd Edition, 1889, Volume II, Part 3, Ch. 16:

Correspondence with US Grant on Campaign of 1964: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/4361/old/orig4361-h/p3.htm#ch16>

Sherman and Hood: Correspondence, September 1864: <http://www.civilwarhome.com/hoodshermancorrespondence.html>

Alistair Horne, The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916, New York: Penguin Books, 1978, Ch. 1, 3, 4, 27

Falkenhayn to Kaiser Wilhelm, c. Christmas, 1915, in General Erich von Falkenhayn, General Headquarters 1914-1916 and its Critical Decisions, London: Hutchinson & Co. :: Paternoster Row. E.C. , 1919: pp. 209-213 <https://archive.org/stream/generalheadquart00falk/generalheadquart00falk_djvu.txt>

Maurice Matloff and Edwin M. Snell, Strategic Planning For Coalition Warfare 1941-1942, Center Of Military History United States Army Washington, D. C., 1990, Ch. 3: “Rainbow 5,” <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/sp1941-42/index.htm#Contents>

Michael D. Doubler, Closing with the Enemy: How GIs Fought the War in Europe, 1944-45, Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1994, Ch. 7 and Table 9.1

Apr 18. Grand Strategy: Reflections

Donald Kagan, On the Origins of War, New York: Doubleday, 1995

Introduction: pp. 1-11

Ch. 1: The Peloponnesian War: “The Causes of War,” pp. 68-74

Ch. 2: The First World War: “The Causes of the War,” pp. 205-14

Ch. 4: The Second World War, “The Causes of the War,” pp. 413-436

Christopher Flannery, “Geography and Politics,” in Christopher C. Harmon and David Tucker, eds., Statecraft and Power: Essays in Honor of Harold W. Rood, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994

Apr 25. Guest Lecture

May 4. Research Paper Due