

**DIPL 6132: American Grand Strategy**  
School of Diplomacy and International Relations  
Seton Hall University  
Spring 2016

**Professor:** Sara Bjerg Moller  
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**Office:** McQuaid Hall, 101C  
**Office House:** M 12:30-2:00 and W 4:00-5:00 pm

**Time:** Th 5:00-7:10 pm  
**Location:** Seminary Bldg, 121

### **Course Description**

This course examines the formulation, implementation, and outcomes of American grand strategy. Because grand strategies are never constructed in isolation of past experiences, however, the first third of the course explores the ways in which other great powers have traditionally “done” grand strategy, with special attention given to the case of Great Britain. The remaining two-thirds of the course explores patterns of continuity and change in American grand strategy, from its early founding through the Cold War and containment, to the post-Cold War debates on strategies of engagement, primacy, democracy promotion, and offshore balancing. Core questions explored in this course include: How are grand strategies chosen? What constitutes a successful/failed grand strategy and how can we tell? What should be the grand strategy of the United States for the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

### **Prerequisites**

There are no formal prerequisites. However, students are expected to be familiar with the main theories and core concepts of the international relations literature. Students who have not taken or are currently taking *DIPL 6000: International Relations Theory* should discuss with the instructor whether this course is appropriate.

### **Course Requirements**

- **Attendance and Participation.** All students must attend and actively participate in class discussion.
- **Complete the Readings.** Students must complete the readings *prior* to the class meeting.
- **Complete all Assignments.** The major assignment for the course is a research paper. Students will pick a US administration and (1) identify the grand strategy of the administration (including alternative strategies that were not selected but may have been under consideration); (2) the principal influences on the strategy; and (3) the political and military consequences of the adopted strategy. In addition to this, students will also write two short response papers analyzing the core themes of two different weeks’ readings (one each from Parts II and III).

## Textbooks and Readings

There are four required textbooks for this class:

- *The Making of Strategy; Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- \*Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).
- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?: Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- \*William C. Martel, *Grand Strategy in Theory and Practice: The Need for an Effective American Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Note: Titles with an asterisk (\*) can also be accessed via Blackboard.

Additional readings will be made available on the Blackboard site that has been established for this course.

## Assignments and Evaluation

Course grades will be based on the following criteria:

- **Class Participation** (20%) Students are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the weekly readings and actively participate in class discussions.
- **Response Papers** (20%) Students will write **two 5-page response papers** (each worth 10%) summarizing the core themes from **one** of the weeks in **Part II** and **one in Part III**. Students are free to choose which weeks they write on provided they choose one from each section. Papers are to be handed in **at the start of the class** in which the topic will be covered.
- **Research Paper** (60%) The major assignment for the course is a 25-page research paper assessing the grand strategy of any U.S. administration since 1945. **NB:** Students should schedule an appointment with the instructor in the first three weeks of the class to discuss their proposed topic.
  - *Proposal* (15%) A 5-page proposal detailing the presidential administration you will examine, why you chose it, the major grand strategic debates of the period, along with a bibliography of primary and secondary sources you will use in your paper. **Due Feb. 11.**

- *Final Paper* (40%) A 25-page paper analyzing the failures and successes of your chosen administration's grand strategy. **Due May 5.**

## **Policies and Resources**

- **Accommodations.** Under the Americans with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, students at Seton Hall University who have a disability may be eligible for accommodations in this course. Should a student require such accommodation, he or she must self-identify at the **Office of Disability Support Services (DSS), Room 67, Duffy Hall**, provide documentation of said disability, and work with DSS to develop a plan for accommodations. The contact person is Ms. Diane Delorenzo at **(973) 313-6003**.
- **Counseling.** The **Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)** offers assistance to students in need of support. CAPS is located in Mooney Hall and can be reached at **(973) 761-9500**.
- **Absences.** Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate in discussions. If a medical situation or other emergency arises students should inform the professor via email at the earliest possible opportunity as to the reason for their absence. Unexcused absences will bring down your participation grade.
- **Late or Incomplete Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (this includes those handed in at the end of class or emailed to me during class) will be penalized by one-third letter grade per day (i.e., an A paper turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical or family emergency.

*Reminder:* Response papers must be turned in **at the start of the class** in which the topic will be covered.

- **Plagiarism, Cheating and Academic Integrity.** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:
  - <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm>
  - <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.
- **Technology.** Technology can be beneficial as well as harmful to learning. Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class sessions for the purposes of note taking only. All other activities (email, internet, Facebook, etc.) are prohibited during class. Students who violate this policy will forfeit their laptop privileges.

- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may make a formal appeal. All appeals should be made in writing and sent to the professor via email.
- **Email.** Before emailing the professor students should consider the following: First, always check the syllabus. Often, the answer has already been provided for you. Second, students should include the name and section number of the course in the subject line of the email, e.g., **Subject: DIPL 6132 NA: Question about Reading**. Doing so will enable me to locate your email more quickly and hence respond more promptly. Third, students should communicate professionally, avoiding informal salutations, casual language, and emoticons. Fourth, please keep your communications brief. Complicated questions or issues are best discussed in person in office hours or by appointment. Finally, please be aware that I am usually “offline” on the weekends. Emails sent after Friday, 5:00 pm will generally not be answered until the following Monday.
- **Weather/Closures.** The University may cancel class due to inclement weather. Information on University closings can be found on the University website or by listening to the message on the main University phone number, (973) 761-9000.
- **Disclaimer.** The instructor reserves the right to make changes (e.g., addition of readings) to the syllabus in the course of the semester. Students will be given ample warning of any changes.

**Course Calendar**  
**Part I: Introduction**

**1. Introduction and Course Overview (Jan. 14)**

- Peter Feaver “What is grand strategy and why do we need it?” *Foreign Policy* (April 8, 2009) and Peter Feaver, “8 Myths about American grand strategy,” *Foreign Policy* (Nov. 23, 2011)
- Walter A. McDougall, “Can the United States do grand strategy,” *Orbis* vol. 54, no. 2 (2010):165-184.

**2. Defining Grand Strategy (Jan. 21)**

- Paul Kennedy, “Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition,” in *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* ed. Paul Kennedy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 1-7.
- Barry Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 1-5.
- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?: Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 1-16.
- Williamson Murray, “Thoughts on Grand Strategy,” in *The Shaping of Grand Strategy: Policy, Diplomacy, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich and James Lacey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-33.
- Arnold Wolfers, “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol,” *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 67, no. 4 (Dec., 1952): 481-502.
- H.W. Brands, “The Idea of the National Interest,” *Diplomatic History* vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 239-261.

**Part II: Great Power Grand Strategy Through the Ages**

**3. The Ancients (Jan. 28)**

- Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 22-41.
- Donald Kagan, “Athenian strategy in the Peloponnesian War,” in *The Making of Strategy; Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 24-55.

- Alvin H. Bernstein, “The strategy of a warrior-state: Rome and the wars against Carthage, 264-201 B.C.” in *The Making of Strategy; Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 56-84.
- Kimberly Kagan, “Redefining Roman Grand Strategy,” *Journal of Military History* vol. 70, no. 2 (April 2006): 333-362.

#### 4. Grand Strategies of the Early Modern Era (Feb. 4)

- Arthur Waldron, “Chinese strategy from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century,” in *The Making of Strategy; Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 85-114.
- John A. Lynn II, “The grand strategy of the *grand siècle*: Learning from the wars of Louis XIV,” in *The Shaping of Grand Strategy: Policy, Diplomacy, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich and James Lacey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34-62.
- Marcus Jones, “Strategy as Character: Bismarck and the Prusso-German question, 1862-1878,” in *The Shaping of Grand Strategy: Policy, Diplomacy, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich and James Lacey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 79-110.
- William C. Martel, *Grand Strategy in Theory and Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 89-120.

#### 5. The Rise and Fall of Pax Britannica (Feb. 11)

- John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-36, 649-655.
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), pp. 194-274.
- Williamson Murray, “The collapse of empire: British Strategy, 1919-1945” in *The Making of Strategy; Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 393-422.

**Feb. 11:** *Proposal due at the start of class.*

### Part III: U.S. Grand Strategy from 1776 to 1945

#### 6. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1776-1914 (Feb. 18)

- McDougall, pp. 15-76.
- Peter Maslowski, "To the edge of greatness: the United States, 1773-1865," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 205-234.
- Martel, pp. 167-208.

#### *Documents:*

- Washington's Farewell Address:  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/washing.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp)
- Monroe Doctrine:  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/monroe.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp)

#### 7. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1914-1944 (Feb. 25)

- McDougall, pp. 122-146.
- Frank Ninkovich, *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. foreign policy since 1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 48-77.
- Eliot A. Cohen, "The strategy of innocence? The United States, 1920-1945," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 428-465.
- Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 7-19, 83-105.
- Brands, pp. 17-58.
- Martel, pp. 209-243.

#### *Documents:*

- Wilson's Fourteen Points:  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/wilson14.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp)

## Part IV: The Cold War

### 8. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1945-1968 (March 10)

- Wilson D. Miscamble, “Roosevelt, Truman and the Development of Postwar Grand Strategy,” *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 553-570.
- Steven Metz, “Eisenhower and the planning of American grand strategy,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 14, no. 1 (1991): 49-71.
- William Stueck, “Reassessing U.S. Strategy in the Aftermath of the Korean War,” *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 571-590.
- John Lewis Gaddis, “Grand Strategies in the Cold War,” in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), II, 1-21.

#### Documents:

- The Truman Doctrine:  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/trudoc.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp)
- The Marshall Plan:  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1947marshallplan1.html>
- George Kennan’s Long Telegram:  
[https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf](https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf)
- NSC 68:  
<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm>

### 9. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1968-1989 (March 17)

- Mark Moyar, “Grand Strategy after the Vietnam War,” *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 591-610.
- Brands, pp. 59-143.
- TBD.

### 10. U.S. Grand Strategy after the Cold War (March 31)

- Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 70, no. 1 (Winter 1990/1991): 23-33 or William C. Wohlforth, “The Stability of a Unipolar World,” *International Security* vol. 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 5-41.



- Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, “Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy,” *International Security* vol. 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/1997): 5-53.
- Robert J. Art, “Geopolitics Updated: The Strategy of Selective Engagement,” *International Security* vol. 23, no. 3 (Winter 1998/1999): 79-113.
- Christopher Layne, “From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America’s Future Grand Strategy,” *International Security* vol. 22, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 86-124.
- Jeremi Suri, “American Grand Strategy from the Cold War’s End to 9/11,” *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 611-627.

*Documents:*

- Excerpts from the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance:  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/wolf.html>
- Bush 1991 National Security Strategy:  
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>
- Clinton 1994 National Security Strategy:  
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>
- Clinton 2000 National Security Strategy:  
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>

**11. U.S. Grand Strategy after 9/11 (April 7)**

- John Lewis Gaddis, “A Grand Strategy of Transformation,” *Foreign Policy* no. 133 (Nov./Dec. 2002): 50-57 and John Lewis Gaddis, “Grand Strategy in the Second Term,” *Foreign Affairs* 84 (Jan/Feb 2005): 2-15.
- *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffrey W. Legro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): pp. TBD.
- Martel, pp. 330-338.
- Brands, pp. 144-189.
- Colin Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-33.

*Documents:*

- Bush Address to Congress, September 20, 2001 (“Bush Doctrine I”):  
<http://www.september11news.com/PresidentBushSpeech.htm>

- Bush 2002 National Security Strategy:  
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>
- Bush Graduation Speech at West Point (“Bush Doctrine II”):  
<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/06/print/20020601-3.html>
- Obama National Security Strategy 2010:  
<http://nssarchive.us>
- Obama National Security Strategy 2015:  
<http://nssarchive.us>

## **Part V: U.S. Grand Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

### **12. ISIS and the Middle East-North Africa (April 14)**

- Christopher Layne, “America’s Middle East Grand Strategy after Iraq: The Moment for Offshore Balancing Has Arrived,” *Review of International Studies* vol. 34, no. 1 (Jan., 2009): 5-25.
- Niall Ferguson, “Wanted: A Grand Strategy for America,” *Newsweek* 157.8 (Feb. 21, 2011)
- Chas Freeman et al., “U.S. Grand Strategy in the Middle East: Is there one?” *Middle East Policy* vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 1-29.
- Martin Indyk, “Obama and the Arab Awakenings: U.S. Middle East Strategy in a Time of Turmoil,” in *The Arab Revolutions and American Policy*, eds. Nicholas Burns and Jonathon Price (Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 2013), pp. 71-86.
- Daniel Byman and Sara Bjerg Moller, “The United States and the Middle East: Interests, Risks, and Costs” in *Sustainable Security* eds. Jeremy Suri and Benjamin Valentino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 436-491.
- Alan J. Vick et al., “Grand Strategy and Counterinsurgency,” in *Air Power in the New Counterinsurgency Era: The Strategic Importance of USAF Advisory and Assistance Missions* (Washington, DC: RAND, 2004): 53-64.

### **13. U.S.-China Relations (April 21)**

- Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, *Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future* (Washington, DC: RAND, 2000), pp. 1-20.

- J.W. Legro, “What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power,” *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 5, no. 3 (2007): 515-534.
- Alastair I. Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 33-49, 248-266.
- Feng Zhang, *Chinese Hegemony: Grand Strategy and International Institutions in East Asian History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-46.
- Wang Jisi, “China’s Search for a grand strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 90 (March/April 2011): 68-79.
- Robert D. Blackwell and Ashley J. Tellis, *Revising U.S. Grand Strategy toward China*, CFR Special Report No. 72 (March 2015): 3-39.

#### **14. Contending Visions and the Future of Grand Strategy (April 28)**

- Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 82-120.
- Barry S. Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014) pp. 69-134.
- Stephen G. Brooks, Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, “Don’t Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment,” *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 3 (Winter 2012/13), pp. 7–51.
- Williamson Murray and Peter Mansoor, “U.S. Grand Strategy in the 21st Century: The Case for a Continental Commitment,” *Orbis* vol. 59, no. 1 (2015): 19-34.
- Martel, pp. 339-364.

**May 5: Final paper due by 5:00 pm.**  
Papers should be emailed to [mollersb@shu.edu](mailto:mollersb@shu.edu)