The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy

Studies in Grand Strategy, Fall 2018

Director: Beverly Gage

Associate Director: Ian Johnson (ian.johnson@yale.edu)

Instructors: Beverly Gage, Ian Johnson, and Nuno Monteiro

Practitioners: Victoria Nuland, Jake Sullivan, and Evan Wolfson

Course numbers: HIST 483J
PLSC 161
MGT 984 01: ID # 20253 (this section only for SOM-MBA students)

Office Hours:
Beverly Gage:
Location: 31 Hillhouse Avenue, Office 301
Tuesdays: 1:30-3:20

Ian Johnson:
Location: 31 Hillhouse Avenue, Office 307
Mondays: 10:00-12:00.
Tuesdays: By appointment.

Meeting time/place: Mondays, 3:30 – 5:20; room location will vary throughout the semester; please consult the syllabus below.

THE YEAR-LONG COURSE
The course consists of a two-semester interdisciplinary seminar and an individual summer project. The first semester examines key moments in history that illustrate how individuals and groups can accomplish large ends with limited means. The second semester focuses on contemporary challenges such as peace and security, political reform and social movements, geopolitics and transnational cooperation. This second semester includes team strategy briefs, as well as a crisis simulation.

Students must take both semesters of the seminar, which involves several evening meetings for required workshops and speaker events. They must conduct a summer research project or internship focusing on some aspect of strategy. They are also expected to attend separately scheduled faculty workshops and lectures by distinguished guests.

Fall 2018 Course Structure
The first week of the fall semester will provide an introduction to the fall semester. From weeks 2 to 7 six weeks, students will be divided into three modules led by faculty and practitioner teams. Weeks 8 through 11 of the course will center on student briefings on subjects of Grand Strategy. Weeks 12 and 13 will consist of a second, final round of
briefing presentations. During the weekend prior to Week 14, students will participate in a two-day crisis simulation. Week 14 will consist a final, concluding session.

**MANDATORY EVENTS**

**Dinners with Visiting Speakers**
**Monday Evenings Throughout The Semester**
There are six total dinners with policymakers, scholars and others throughout the semester. These will be held Monday nights at the Q Club and the Yale Graduate Club. Students are **welcome and encouraged to attend all of the dinners**. Students are required to attend the World Fellows Dinner on September 10, the dinner with the Grand Strategy Practitioners on October 15, and at least one other dinner over the course of the semester.

**Briefings Workshop**
**October 1, 6 PM (TBD)**
Ian Johnson will meet with students to discuss how to handle the preparation of a briefing. The forum will prepare students to brief different audiences and synthesize complex material into a concise presentation.

**Crisis Simulation**
**Saturday December 8, 9am-5pm and Sunday Dec. 9, 9am-noon, Linsly-Chittenden Hall**
Over the two days of the crisis simulation, faculty will prompt a set of crises for the students to manage using grand strategy and other tools they have encountered throughout the year.

**ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING**

**Individual work**
1) Class preparation and participation are vital to each module’s success. Students are expected to attend all class meetings and to be ready to discuss the week’s readings. At least five days before each class, module faculty will post questions for discussion and consideration on the module’s Canvas discussion board. **Each week, students will submit a 1-2 page reading response** considering at least one of these questions, and comparing and contrasting the week’s readings, in preparation for class discussion. **Reading responses should be posted to the appropriate Canvas discussion thread no later than 5 pm on the Sunday before each class.** Individual assignments will not be graded, but the overall level of effort and preparation will be assessed. Successful completion of the reading responses is worth 10% of the final grade.

2) Students will write a **15- to 20-page paper**, which must be individual, original work, **due Sunday, October 14, at midnight, uploaded to Canvas as a Word document.** Students should select one of three approaches: a **strategy briefing**, an **essay for a generalist audience**, or a **research paper for an academic audience**. In this paper, students are asked to present their research or insights from their summer project. All references should be appropriate, carefully researched, and properly cited. These are worth 30% of the course grade.
A **strategy briefing** should be prepared in the form of a briefing for top executives or government officials. The audience should be made clear. Strategy essays should have a one-page executive summary. The strategy essay should lay out the landscape in a detailed and nuanced way that leads to a **clear statement of the problem or threat, specify the objective or “end” in mind, and provide a strategy to achieve the desired end**. The essay should consider multiple strategies and explain why the recommended strategy is best. The limitations or risks of the selected strategy should be identified and addressed, and a high-level timeline for action should be included. The briefing should pay particular attention to long-term historical analysis, in addition to analyzing contemporary challenges.

An **essay for a generalist audience** should be prepared in the form of a submission to an outlet such as *Foreign Affairs*. The paper **need not include new primary sources or new data but should provide a novel analysis** about a problem or question of grand strategic importance. It should pay particular attention to long-term historical analysis, in addition to analyzing contemporary challenges.

A **research paper for an academic audience** should be prepared in the form of a submission to a peer-reviewed academic journal in which the student provides **primary data and original analysis** of a problem of grand strategic importance that has not been previously addressed in the literature. **Methods should be clearly specified**. The paper should pay particular attention to long-term historical analysis, in addition to analyzing contemporary challenges.

**Group work**

Students will be assigned to groups tasked with devising a grand strategy to address a given topic. Each group will prepare a **written brief** (10 pages maximum), including a 1-page executive summary. The brief will present a grand strategy for the given topic and targeted at the assigned audience. **The written brief is due 72 hours before each of the two oral presentations, uploaded to Canvas as a word document. Each group will revise their written brief** after the first presentation, and upload it to Canvas 72 hours before the second presentation.

Each group will also give **two oral presentations of their strategy proposals**. The first briefing will last a full class period. Each briefing team should prepare a twenty minute presentation, but should expect that frequent interruptions and clarifying questions will extend the length of each presentation. Following the briefing itself, students will receive feedback from the course faculty and their peers. These briefings will occur during class on October 22, October 29, November 5, and November 12.

The second presentation will be shorter, and more formal. It is expected that the final briefings will reflect the feedback received during the first round of briefings. The final briefing session will be held on November 26 and December 3. This will constitute most
of the grade for the briefings. 25% of the grade will be determined by the written briefs, and 25% by the oral presentations.

**Class Participation**
Students are expected to participate actively and productively in class discussions and related events. Participation is worth 10% of your grade.

**Reading Assignments**
Weekly readings during the module portion of the course will be available on Canvas, online, or in the required course books. The syllabus notes which readings are available where. An * denotes a reading assignment available on Canvas. All others will be available at the Yale University Bookstore or on reserve at Sterling Memorial Library. The following are the required books for the course:

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<td>Nuno Monteiro</td>
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<td>Beverly Gage</td>
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Studies in Grand Strategy, Fall Syllabus 2018

INTRODUCTION
Friday, 31 August
Introduction to the Fall Semester (WTS A74)

During this class, we will review the syllabus and discuss plans for the fall semester.

MODULE SESSIONS
Monday, 10 September

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Reading Assignments:

Reading Assignments:
- *George Herring, From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations from 1776, chapter 14 “A Novel Burden Far from Our Shores.”*
- *Paul Kennedy, Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations, chapter 1, 2, 6.*
- *Jeffrey Frieden, Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century, chapter 11-12.*

Reading Assignments
- *Mark Engler and Paul Engler, This is an Uprising: How Nonviolent Revolt is Shaping the Twenty-First Century* (2016), chapters 1, 4. (review from Spring 2018).
Monday, 10 September, 6 PM: Dinner with the World Fellows, Location TBD:
Yale’s Greenberg World Fellows Program brings 16 accomplished, mid-career, global leaders to Yale for a four-month immersive program. The fellows are leaders in human rights, journalism, business, art, and more. This year’s fellows include a South Korean army major, a Russian opposition party politician, and an Iraqi historian who bore witness to ISIS atrocities in Mosul. For a full list of this year’s fellows, see the World Fellows Website. The Monday night dinner will feature conversations with a number of the World Fellows, who will share their experiences and answer student questions. This dinner also serves as a chance to Grand Strategy students to meet the fellows with whom they will be serving as liaisons for the fall semester.

International Security Studies Speaker Series Dinner
Tuesday, 11 September, 6 PM: Daniel Kurtz-Phelan
Daniel Kurtz-Phelan became Executive Editor of Foreign Affairs in October 2017. He previously served as a member of the Secretary of State’s Policy Planning Staff and, before that, as a senior editor at the magazine. His writing has appeared in publications including The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The New Yorker, and his narrative history of George Marshall’s post–World War II mission to China, *The China Mission*, was published by WW Norton in April 2018. The Grand Strategy Program has ten reserved seats for this event.

Monday, 17 September

**Geopolitics and the Great Powers**
Nuno Monteiro
Jake Sullivan
(WTS A74)

“US Grand Strategic Options”

Reading Assignments:
• *Stephen Walt, “Taming American Power,” Foreign*

**Liberal Democracy and Populist Autocracy**
Ian Johnson
Victoria Nuland
(WTS B30)

“The Populist Autocrats and their Worldview”

Reading Assignments:
• *Vladimir Putin, Speech at the Munich Security*

**US Politics and Social Change**
Beverly Gage
Evan Wolfson
(WTS B60)

“The Limits and Possibilities of Protest”

Reading Assignments:
• Micah White, *The End of Protest*, chapters 1-4, 8, 11, 14.
**Monday, 17 September, 6 PM: Dinner with Micah White, Location TBD:**
Micah White co-created Occupy Wall Street, a global social movement that spread to 82 countries, while an editor of Adbusters magazine. He is the co-founder of Activist Graduate School, an online school taught by, and for, experienced activists. Micah is a Roddenberry Fellow, Voqal Fellow and the National Endowment for the Humanities / Hannah Arendt Center Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Bard College. He is the author of *The End of Protest: A New Playbook for Revolution.*

**Monday, 24 September**

*Geopolitics and the Great Powers*

Nuno Monteiro  
Jake Sullivan  
(WTS A74)

“US-China Relations”

*Reading Assignments:*
- Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics*  
(Cambridge: Cambridge)

*Liberal Democracy and Populist Autocracy*

Ian Johnson  
Victoria Nuland  
(WTS B30)

“The Clash: Why Liberal Democracy Outperformed Autocracy in the late 20th century—and Why Democracy is now in Retreat”

*Reading Assignments:*
- Diamond, Plattner, and Walker, ed., *Authoritarianism Goes*

**Third Module Session**

*US Politics and Social Change*

Beverly Gage  
Evan Wolfson  
(WTS B60)

“Labor, Populism, and Inequality”

*Reading Assignments:*
- Phillip Dray, *There is Power in a Union* (2010),
Univeristy Press, 2014), chapters 4-5.


* Excerpts of President Xi Jinping’s Speech to the 18th Chinese Communist Party Conference.


Global: The Challenge to Democracy, chapters 7-14.

* Joshua Kurlantzick, Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government, chapters 1-7.

* Samuel Huntington, Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, chapter 1.

* Bush, Second Inaugural Address.

* Trump, First Inaugural Address.


* Jane McAlevey, No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age (2016), chapters 1-2


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**Monday, 1 October**

**Geopolitics and the Great Powers**

**Liberal Democracy and Populist Autocracy**

**US Politics and Social Change**

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Nuno Monteiro  
Jake Sullivan  
(WTS A74)

“US-Russia Relations”

Reading Assignments:
- Address by President Vladimir Putin to the Valdai Discussion Club, October 2014.

Ian Johnson  
Victoria Nuland  
(WTS B30)

“Case Study: The War in Ukraine”

Reading Assignments:
- Andrew Wilson, Ukraine Crisis: What it Means for the West.
- Joseph Biden, 2015 Speech to the Rada.
- Joshua Yaffa, “Reforming Ukraine after the Revolutions,” The New Yorker, Sep 5, 2016
- Timeline of the War in Ukraine.

Beverly Gage  
Evan Wolfson  
(WTS B60)

“Civil Rights, Protest, and the Law”

Reading Assignments:
- NAACP Strategic Plan: Game Changers for the 21st Century.

Monday, October 1, 6 pm: Briefing Workshop (ROOM TBD)
Ian Johnson will meet with students to discuss how to handle the preparation of a briefing. The forum will prepare students to brief different audiences and synthesize complex material into a concise presentation.

Tuesday, October 2, 12 pm: Lunch with David Engerman
David C. Engerman is a scholar of twentieth-century international history at Yale University. Building on his dual training in American and Russian/Soviet history at the
University of California-Berkeley (where he received his Ph.D. in 1998), he wrote two books on the place of Russia and the USSR in American intellectual and political life: Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development (Harvard UP, 2003) and Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America’s Soviet Experts (Oxford UP, 2009).

**Monday, 8 October**

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**Geopolitics and the Great Powers**

Nuno Monteiro  
Jake Sullivan  
(WTS A74)

“Geopolitics and U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy”

Reading Assignments:
- *Elements of the Iran Nuclear Deal.
- *Kenneth N. Waltz, “Why Iran should get the bomb: Nuclear balancing would mean stability,”* Foreign Affairs, July/August 2012.

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**Liberal Democracy and Populist Autocracy**

Ian Johnson  
Victoria Nuland  
(WTS B30)

“Case Study: The War in Syria”

Reading Assignments:
- Christopher Philips, The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East
- *Vladimir Putin, 2015 Speech to the UN on Syria, September 28, 2015.
- *Bashar al-Assad, Interview, June 3, 2017
- *Borzou Daragahi, “Iran Wants to Stay in Syria Forever,”* Foreign Policy, 1 June 2018.

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**US Politics and Social Change**

Beverly Gage  
Evan Wolfson  
(WTS B60)

“Free Enterprise and the Modern Conservative Movement”

Reading Assignments:
- Kim Phillips-Fein, Invisible Hands, introduction, chapters 1-2, chapters 6-11, epilogue.
- Young America’s Foundation, “Advising Our Students about TPUSA.”
**Monday, 15 October**

**Geopolitics and the Great Powers**

Nuno Monteiro  
Jake Sullivan  
(WTS A74)

“The Future of the Liberal International Order”


**Liberal Democracy and Populist Autocracy**

Ian Johnson  
Victoria Nuland  
(WTS B30)

“The US, Russia, and Iran”

- *Ayatollah Khamenei, Summer Twitter Feed.
- *Timeline: Iran, 1935-Present.

**US Politics and Social Change**

Beverly Gage  
Evan Wolfson  
(WTS B60)

“Elections and Organizing in the Trump Age and Beyond”

- *Democratic Socialists of America, Resistance Rising: Strategy in the Age of Political Revolution.

**Monday, 15 October, 6 PM: Dinner with Practitioners, 6 pm, Location TBD**

This dinner will mark the conclusion of the module portion of the course. Toria Nuland, Jake Sullivan, and Evan Wolfson will attend and lead a closing discussion with students from all three modules over dinner. Attendance is mandatory.
EXAMINING THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21st CENTURY

The semester concludes with student groups developing and presenting grand strategies to address key challenges. Groups of four to five students will be assigned to topics in domestic and foreign policy. They will be briefing a range of organizations, from the White House to the AFL-CIO.

Each group will assume the role of a briefing team tailoring their briefings to their respective audiences. Presentations should set an 8-to-10-year vision and strategy, and recommend steps to be implemented. Students should consider and incorporate long term historical analysis into their work, not simply short-term policy prescriptions.

Groups will submit a written brief (10 pages maximum), including a 1-page executive summary. The brief will present a grand strategy for the given topic and targeted at the assigned audience. The written brief is due 72 hours before each of the two oral presentations, uploaded to Canvas as a word document. Each group will revise their written brief after the first presentation, and upload it to Canvas 72 hours before the second presentation. The oral and written components of the briefs are each worth 25% of the course grade.

Presentation One (Weeks 8 – 11)
For the first presentation, each briefing team should prepare a twenty minute presentation, but should expect that frequent interruptions and clarifying questions will extend the length of each presentation. Following the briefing itself, faculty will critique of the briefing before proceeding to lead a general discussion of the briefing in which all students will be expected to participate.

Presentation Two (Weeks 12 – 13)
The second round of presentations will be held on November 26 and December 3. It is expected that the final briefings will reflect the feedback received during the first round of briefings. Students will have exactly twenty minutes to present their final briefing. The briefing itself will be followed by a short question and answer period with faculty. This will constitute most of the grade for the briefings.

Briefing Audiences
Each briefing audience will be simulating a panel of decision-makers relevant to the topic in question. In your briefing assignment, we have suggested an appropriate default audience for the presentation. This will be the audience for the briefing unless the group – as a group – agrees upon an alternative preference and petitions for a change. For instance, students presenting on US-EU Relations could request to brief the Department of State, the European Council, or a relevant NGO, rather than the White House. To request a change to the default briefing audience, students must submit a one-page proposal in writing - to be emailed to Ian Johnson (ian.johnson@yale.edu) -indicating the reasons for their proposed change by October 7 at midnight.

Group Topics
Criminal Justice Reform (Oct. 22 and Dec. 3)
- Advisers: Beverly Gage, John Gaddis, and Evan Wolfson
- Default Briefing Audience: The Governor of New York

The Future of the U.S. Military (October 22 and Nov. 26)
- Advisers: Ian Johnson, Charlie Hill, and Kathleen Hicks
- Default Briefing Audience: The Office of the Secretary of Defense

US-China Relations (October 29 and December 3)
- Advisers: Ian Johnson, Charlie Hill, and Mira Rapp-Hooper
- Default Briefing Audience: The Trump White House

US-Africa Relations (November 5 and Nov. 26)
- Advisers: Beverly Gage, Charlie Hill, Harry Thomas, and General William Bowers
- Default Briefing Audience: The Trump White House

US-Russia Relations (November 5 and Nov. 26)
- Advisers: Ian Johnson, Charlie Hill, Toria Nuland
- Default Briefing Audience: The Trump White House

US-Iran Relations (Nov. 12 and Dec. 3)
- Advisers: Ian Johnson, John Gaddis, and Jake Sullivan
- Default Briefing Audience: US Department of State

The Future of Higher Education (Nov. 12 and Dec. 3)
- Advisers: Beverly Gage, Charlie Hill, and Richard Brodhead
- Default Briefing Audience: Department of Education

BRIEFING SCHEDULE

Monday, 22 October

Future of the US Military (WTS A74)
Advisers: Ian Johnson, Charlie Hill, and Kathleen Hicks

Criminal Justice Reform (WTS B60)
Advisers: Beverly Gage, John Gaddis, and Evan Wolfson

Monday, 22 October, 6 PM: Dinner with Kathleen Hicks
Kathleen Hicks is senior vice president, Henry A. Kissinger Chair, and director of the International Security Program at CSIS. She served in the Obama administration as principal deputy undersecretary of defense for policy and deputy undersecretary of
defense for strategy, plans, and forces. She led the development of the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance and the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review. She also oversaw Department of Defense contingency and theater campaign planning. Dr. Hicks served on the National Commission on the Future of the Army and currently serves on the Commission on the National Defense Strategy. She holds a Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an M.P.A. from the University of Maryland, and an A.B. magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from Mount Holyoke College.

**Grand Strategy Lunch Event - Tuesday, 23 October, 12 pm: Sam Moyn, Location TBD**

**Monday, 29 October**

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<td>Advisers: Ian Johnson, Charlie Hill, and Mira</td>
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<td>Rapp-Hooper</td>
<td>and Jane McAlevey</td>
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**Monday, 29 October, 6 PM: Dinner with Jane McAlevey**
Jane McAlevey is a labor organizer, author and scholar. During her time as a labor organizer, she served as Executive Director and Chief Negotiator for a union local, as National Deputy Director for Strategic Campaigns of the Healthcare Division of the SEIU, and as Campaign Director of one of the only successful multi-union, multi-year, geographic organizing campaigns of the national AFL-CIO. Her first book, *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell)*, published by Verso Press, was named the “most valuable book of 2012” by The Nation Magazine. Her second book, *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*, published by Oxford University Press, was released late in 2016. She is a regular commentator on radio and TV. She continues to work as an organizer on union campaigns, lead contract negotiations, and train and develop organizers.

**Monday, 5 November**

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<td>Advisers: Beverly Gage, John Gaddis, Harry</td>
<td>Advisers: Ian Johnson, Charlie Hill, and</td>
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<td>Thomas, and General William Bowers</td>
<td>Toria Nuland</td>
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**Monday, 5 November, 6 PM: Dinner with Ambassador Harry Thomas, Location TBD**

Ambassador Harry Thomas is a Kissinger Fellow at the Jackson Institute at Yale University. He joined the Foreign Service in 1984, after completing his undergraduate education at College of the Holy Cross. He has served as US Ambassador to Bangladesh (2003-2005), the Philippines (2010-2013), and has also held the posts of Director General of the Foreign Service and Director for Human Resources of the US State Department. Ambassador Thomas most recently served as the US Ambassador to Zimbabwe, a post to which he was confirmed by the US Senate in 2015.

**Tuesday, 6 November, 8:30 AM: Breakfast with General William Bowers, Location TBD**

Brigadier General William Bowers is the Commander of the Marine Corps University at Quantico. He was commissioned in 1990 after graduating with distinction from Virginia Military Institute with a B.A. in History. In August 2003, he reported to the Naval Command and Staff College in Newport, Rhode Island, then attended the School of Advanced Warfighting at Quantico, Virginia. He checked into III Marine Expeditionary Force in Okinawa, Japan in 2005 and served as the Operational Planning Team Branch Head for G-3, Future Operations. From Okinawa, he deployed to Iraq and served as a Plans Team Leader for Multi-National Force Iraq. From 2012-2015, he commanded the 6th Marine Corps District at Marine Corps Recruit Depot Parris Island, South Carolina. From 2015-2017, he served as the Military Assistant to the 33rd and 34th Assistant Commandants of the Marine Corps, before arriving at the Marine Corps University last year.

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**Monday, 12 November**

**Practice Briefings, Session 4**

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**Monday, 12 November, 6 PM: Dinner with Richard Brodhead, Location TBD**

Dr. Richard Brodhead is the former president of Duke University (2004-2017). He received his BA and PhD from Yale University. He has authored or edited more than a dozen books on major figures in American literature, including Louisa May Alcott, Charles W. Chestnutt, William Faulkner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and others. From 1972 to 2004, he taught at Yale University, where he also served as Dean of Yale College.

**Monday, 26 November**

**Final Briefings, Session 1**

- Criminal Justice Reform
- Labor and Inequality
- The Future of the US Military
- US-China Relations (WTS A74)
| Briefing Audience: Beverly Gage and Ian Johnson |

**Monday, 3 December**  
**Final Briefings, Session 2**

US-Africa Relations  
US-Russia Relations  
US-Iran Relations  
The Future of Higher Education  

(WTS A74)  
Briefing Audience: Beverly Gage and Ian Johnson  

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**Saturday/Sunday, December 8-9**  
Crisis Simulation (Linsly-Chittenden)  

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**Monday, 10 December**  
Wrap Up Class - All Sections Together (WTS A74)