

The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy

Studies in Grand Strategy II, Fall 2020

Director: Beverly Gage (beverly.gage@yale.edu)

Associate Director: Michael Brenes (michael.brenes@yale.edu)

Practitioners: Victoria Nuland (victorianuland@gmail.com)

Jake Sullivan (jake.sullivan@gmail.com)

Evan Wolfson (evan@freedomtomarry.org)

(Please email the practitioners in advance to schedule a day and time for office hours.)

Course numbers: HIST 483J, GLBL 344, PLSC 161

Office Hours: Beverly Gage:

Zoom office hours: Wednesdays 2:30-4:20 p.m.

In-person office hours: I walk my dog every day at 4:30. If you would like to join me (i.e. in-person office-hours consultation), please make an appointment. Walk leaves from the entrance to College Woods/East Rock Park at Orange and Cold Spring streets. To reserve a day, email Kaitlyn Wetzel at kaitlyn.wetzel@yale.edu. Masks must be worn, social distancing observed. Dog optional in cases of allergies and other concerns.

Michael Brenes:

Zoom office hours: Thursdays 4:00-6:00

In-person office hours: If you wish to meet me in person for office hours, please email me at michael.brenes@yale.edu in advance to schedule a consultation. If meeting in person, we will observe social distance guidelines, meet outside, and wear masks.

Meeting time/place: Mondays 2:30-4:20 (a Zoom invite will be sent one week in advance of the class) ** For weeks 4-9, the Sullivan/Gage group will meet on Fridays, 2:30-4:20 ** For week 5, the Nuland/Brenes group will meet on Friday, October 2nd from 2:30-4:20 **

THE YEAR-LONG COURSE

Studies in Grand Strategy is a year-long seminar intended for students interested in history, politics, and public service. Its goal is to equip students to think rigorously and historically about the category of grand strategy, and to apply their learning to large-scale problems in the contemporary world. The course emphasizes the study of history and humanistic thought, and promotes the sharing of knowledge between scholars and practitioners.

The fall semester centers on recent events and contemporary challenges of grand strategic dimension, with an emphasis on working with our three guest practitioners: Evan Wolfson, Victoria Nuland, Jake Sullivan. The semester includes team strategy briefs as well as individual work. We will focus on the strategic relationship between means and ends—how to implement the change you envision—while keeping in mind the role of history in shaping recent (and urgent) issues confronting the United States and the world. Students will explore the interrelationship between domestic and foreign affairs in problems of contemporary grand strategy, keeping in mind the importance of strategy from “above” and strategy from “below”—and how the intersection of the two shapes opportunities and limitations for strategic thinking. The semester is organized into three units:

- The first unit (three weeks) addresses large-scale themes and ideas (History, Morality, Leadership) introduced during the spring semester. Discussion will include roundtables with the practitioners, who will explore how they have grappled with these issues in their respective fields.
- The second unit (six weeks) features small-group module sessions co-taught by the practitioners and professors. For these six weeks, students will be distributed into three smaller groups for intensive discussion led by one of the visiting practitioners, partnered with either Professor Gage or Professor Brenes, on topics related to the practitioners’

professional expertise. The first three weeks of the module sessions will focus on broad topics and case studies related to the practitioners' expertise, while the second three sessions will focus on preparing students for the end-of-semester strategy briefings. Group 1 (Nuland/Brenes) will focus on "Autocracy and Democracy," in preparation for a final group briefing on contemporary challenges of cybersecurity. Group 2 (Wolfson/Gage) will explore "U.S. Political and Social Change," in preparation for a final group briefing on policing and criminal justice reform. Group 3 (Sullivan/Gage) will examine "Geopolitics and the Great Powers," with a final group briefing on U.S.-China relations. Students will be assigned to only one of the three modules, and will be surveyed about module preferences during Week 3 of the semester.

- The third unit (four weeks) will be dedicated to student group briefing presentations and an end-of-the year wrap up.

<p><u>Unit I:</u> <i>Grand Strategy: Ideas in Practice</i> Aug. 31-Sept. 14</p>	<p><u>Unit II:</u> <i>Module Sessions: Case Studies and Current Events in Grand Strategy</i> Sept. 21-Oct.26 <u>Modules:</u> Group 1: Nuland/Brenes: "Autocracy and Democracy" (Cybersecurity briefing group) Group 2: Wolfson/Gage: "Strategies of U.S. Social Change" (Policing briefing group) Group 3: Sullivan/Gage: "Geopolitics and the Great Powers" (U.S.-China briefing group)</p>	<p><u>Unit III:</u> <i>Strategy Briefings and Semester Wrap Up</i> Nov. 2- Nov 16, and Nov. 30 (outside experts may be asked to participate in each briefing session)</p>
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NOTES ON COURSE FORMAT

Per University guidelines and mandates for the Fall 2020 semester, all course sessions will be conducted over Zoom.

MANDATORY EVENTS

Briefings Workshop, September 28, 2020, 5pm

Michael Brenes will meet with the class to discuss preparation for the end-of-semester group briefings. The workshop will prepare students to brief different audiences and synthesize complex material into a concise presentation.

Virtual Events with Guest Speakers

Throughout the semester, there will be several special online lectures and discussions, often featuring distinguished visitors. These events will usually, though not always, be held on Monday nights at 6pm. **Students are required to attend all online events.** Students who are unable to participate in an online event should email Professor Brenes (michael.brenes@yale.edu) well in advance of the event date. More details on these events follow on page 22 of the syllabus.

Friday, August 28th, 2:30-4:30pm: “Welcome Back” discussion and syllabus review with Professors Gage and Brenes

Monday, September 14th, 6:00pm: Zoom event with Myra Jones-Taylor

Monday, September 21st, 6:00pm: Zoom event with Jake Sullivan

Monday, October 5th, 6:00pm: Zoom event with Trita Parsi

Friday, October 16th, 12:30pm: Zoom event with Anne Applebaum

Monday, November 2nd, 6:00pm: Zoom book discussion with Michael Brenes

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Individual work

- 1) Class preparation and participation are vital to the seminar's success. Students are expected to attend all class meetings and to be ready to discuss the week's readings. **Active participation in discussion is worth 10% of the final course grade.** Participation grades indicate evidence of adequate preparation, completion of the readings, and productive engagement with the class.
- 2) Prior to the class session, faculty will post questions for discussion and consideration on the Canvas discussion board. **Each week, students will submit a discussion response** (approximately 250 words) 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 day before each class.** Individual assignments will not be graded, but responses must reflect evidence of preparation and demonstrate a close, careful analysis of the readings. **Successful completion of the response papers is worth 10% of the final course grade.**

For Unit I (the first three weeks), we will follow the format established during the online portion of the spring semester: full-class discussion for approximately 60-75 minutes, followed by three-person discussion in a virtual format of your choosing (i.e. WhatsApp, Gchat, Zoom). **Each three-person group will write a response to questions posed by the instructors, to be posted to Canvas by 2:30 the next day.** These responses will be in addition to the individual reading responses submitted prior to the class session. Groups will be assigned by Professor Brenes and will be altered each week. Changes to the groups for Unit I cannot be made without prior permission from Professor Brenes. **Successful submission of the group responses will be incorporated into the overall participation grade.**

- 3) Students will write a **10-15-page, double-spaced paper**, based on original research, **due October 16th at midnight, uploaded to Canvas as a Word document.** In this paper, students are asked to present their research or insights on a grand strategic problem. All references should be appropriate, carefully researched, and properly cited. **The research paper is worth 30% of the final course grade.** The topic is of your choosing, but students may wish to expand

upon proposed summer research projects or use the assignment to gain historical background in preparation for the group briefings. Students may choose from one of three formats for the paper:

A **strategy briefing** should be prepared in the form of a briefing for top executives or government officials. The audience should be made clear. After a one-page executive summary, the essay should then lay out the landscape in a detailed and nuanced way that leads to a **clear statement of the problem or threat, specifies the objective or “end” in mind, and provides 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* or *The Atlantic*. The paper should provide new insights about a problem or question of grand strategic importance based on original research.

The paper may rely on secondary readings, conversations with interviewees, and observations of events, rather than original data sets, but it must 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

For Units II and III, students will be assigned to smaller groups tasked with devising a grand strategy to address a given topic. Each group will prepare a **written brief** (10 pages, double-spaced, maximum), including a 1-page executive summary. The brief will present a grand

strategy for the given topic, targeted at the assigned audience. **The written brief is due 72 hours before the presentation, 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**. 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 invited outside experts, as well as from classroom peers. **The first briefings will be live on Zoom. Groups will present their briefings on one of the following assigned dates: November 2, November 9, November 16. Preparation and quality of work will be worth 10% of the final course grade.**

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. **All final briefings will be presented on November 30; the final written briefs will also be due at this time.** This will constitute most of the grade for the briefings. **20% of the final course grade will be determined by the written briefs, and 20% by the oral presentations.**

Equal collaboration and participation within each group is required for a successful briefing. Barring any extenuating circumstances, all students will be graded as a group. More details on the briefings will follow later in the semester.

ADDITIONAL POLICIES

Lateness policy

Assignments that are handed in after the due date will be penalized one grade for each day the assignment is handed in late. For example, if the paper is handed in October 17—when it was due on October 16—the highest grade the paper can receive is an A-. If handed in on October 18, the highest grade will be a B+, and so forth.

CR/D/F

Undergraduate students are strongly discouraged from enrolling in the class CR/D/F. Majors in History, Political Science, Global Affairs, and EP&E may not count the GS class toward the major if it is taken Cr/D/F. Students who take the class Cr/D/F may not receive summer

fellowship funding.

Laptop Policy

Laptops and other electronic devices are only permitted for participation in Zoom sessions during class. Please avoid other distractions, electronic or otherwise.

Plagiarism

You must document all of your source material. If you take any text from somebody else, you must make it clear the text is being quoted and where the text comes from. You must also cite any sources from which you obtain numbers, ideas, or other material. If you have any questions about what does or does not constitute plagiarism, ask! Plagiarism is a serious offense and will not be treated lightly. Fortunately, it is also easy to avoid and if you are the least bit careful about giving credit where credit is due you should not run into any problems.

Syllabus Changes

All instructors reserve the right to amend the syllabus as the semester changes and the course progresses. Changes to the syllabus will be announced to the class via email and/or in class.

Reading Assignments

Weekly readings will be posted on Canvas at least a week before they are due. A relevant URL follows a reading assignment that can be obtained online. In instances where online articles are paywalled, PDFs of the essays will also be available on Canvas.

STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY II, FALL 2020 SCHEDULE

UNIT I: *Grand Strategy: Ideas in Practice, Aug 31.-September 14*

Friday, 28 August, 2:30-4:30: “Welcome Back” event with Professors Gage and Brenes (Zoom)

Monday, 31 August

“History: What is it Good For?”

Reading Assignments:

- REVIEW: Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, The debate at Sparta, sections 66-88; Book Two: The first year of Pericles’s Funeral Oration, sections 34-46; Book Five: The Melian Dialogue, sections 84-116
- REVIEW: Liddell Hart, *Strategy*, chapter 1
- Margaret MacMillan, “Which Past Is Prologue?: Heeding the Right Warnings From History,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-08-11/history-which-past-prologue>
- Moshik Temkin, “How to interpret historical analogies,” *Psyche*, July 22, 2020, <https://psyche.co/guides/how-should-you-interpret-historical-analogies-in-the-popular-press>
- James Palmer, “Oh God, Not the Peloponnesian War Again,” *Foreign Policy*, July 28, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/28/oh-god-not-the-peloponnesian-war-again/>
- Michael McFaul, “Xi Jinping is Not Stalin,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 11, 2020 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-08-10/xi-jinping-not-stalin?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fatoday&utm_campaign=Xi%20Jinping%20Is%20Not%20Stalin&utm_content=20200810&utm_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017

Monday, 7 September

“Morality: Means, Ends, Interests, and Consequences”

Reading Assignments:

- REVIEW: Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chapters 3, 5, 9, 15-17, 21 and 23
- REVIEW: Frederick Douglass, “Is It Right and Wise to Kill a Kidnapper?” (1854)
- REVIEW: M.K. Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance (satyagraha)*, chapters: 1, 3, 4, 5, 11-15
- Joseph Nye, *Do Morals Matter?* (2020), preface, chapters 1-2
- Judith Butler, *The Force of Non-Violence* (2019), introduction

Monday, 14 September

“Leadership: From the Bottom, to the Top, to its Absence”

Reading Assignments:

- REVIEW: John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*, chapter 1
- REVIEW: Anne-Marie Slaughter, *The Chessboard & The Web*, introduction
- Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas* (2017), introduction, chapter 3
- Video: Elizabeth Bradley and David Berg in conversation: “Leadership Series: Rhetoric vs. Reality,” segments 1, 2, 3, January 28, 2015
- Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Leadership in Turbulent Times* (2018), introduction

UNIT II: Modules: Case Studies and Current Events in Grand Strategy.

September 21-October 30

Group 1: Nuland and Brenes: Democracy and Autocracy

(briefing topic: U.S. cybersecurity)

Group 2: Wolfson and Gage: U.S. Politics and Social Change

(briefing topic: policing and criminal justice)

Group 3: Sullivan and Gage: Geopolitics and the Great Powers

(briefing group: U.S.-China Relations)

First Module Session

Group 1: Monday, 21 September: *The State and Future of America’s Role in the World*

Reading Assignments:

- Donald Trump inaugural speech, 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/>
- Joe Biden, “Why America Must Lead Again,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 23, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-01-23/why-america-must-lead-again>

- Robert Kagan, “The Strongmen Strike Back,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/opinions/wp/2019/03/14/feature/the-strongmen-strike-back/>
 - John Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion*, Chapter 8: “The Case for Restraint,” <https://www.academia.edu/38155957/The-Great-Delusion-Liberal-Dreams-And-International-Realities.pdf>
 - Mira Rapp-Hooper and Rebecca Friedman Lissner, “The Open World,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/open-world>
 - Stephen Wertheim, “The Price of Primacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2020-02-10/price-primacy>
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Group 2: Monday, 21 September: *Setting Goals and Strategy: Freedom to Marry as a Model of Social Change*

Reading Assignments:

- Nathaniel Frank, *Awakening*, ch. 2, pp. 37-58 (2017)
 - David Cole, *Engines of Liberty: The Power of Citizen Activists to Make Constitutional Law*, pp. 1-93 (2016)
 - Evan Wolfson, "Movement + Strategy + Campaign, The Freedom to Marry Winning Combination," *Love Unites Us*, pp. 108-119
 - “Winning Marriage” Concept Paper (2005), [http://s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/ftm-assets/ftm/archive/files/images/Final_Marriage_Concept_Paper-revised_\(1\).pdf](http://s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/ftm-assets/ftm/archive/files/images/Final_Marriage_Concept_Paper-revised_(1).pdf)
 - Matt Coles, “The Plan to Win Marriage,” *Love Unites Us*, pp. 100-107
 - China Powerpoint Slide
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Group 3: Friday, 25 September: *American Grand Strategy: The Current Debate*

Reading Assignments:

- Stephen Wertheim, “The Price of Primacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2020-02-10/price-primacy>

- Mira Rapp-Hooper and Rebecca Friedman Lissner, “The Open World,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/open-world>
 - Walter Russell Mead, “The Jacksonian Revolt,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 20, 2017, <https://www.hudson.org/research/13258-the-jacksonian-revolt>
 - Robert Kagan, “Superpowers Don’t Get to Retire,” *New Republic*, May 26, 2014, <https://newrepublic.com/article/117859/allure-normalcy-what-america-still-owes-world>
 - Kishore Mahbubani, *Has China Won?* (2020), introduction
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Monday, 28 September, 5 pm: Briefing Workshop

Michael Brenes will meet with students over Zoom 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.

Second Module Session

Group 1: Friday, October 2 (NOTE CHANGE IN DAY): *Case Study: Ukraine*

Reading Assignments:

- Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine Crisis: What it Means for the West*, pp. 38-143
 - Anders Aslund, *Ukraine: What Went Wrong and How to Fix it*, pp. 94-112
 - *Vladimir Putin, Speech on Crimea, March 18, 2014, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603>
 - *John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault>
 - *Joseph Biden, 2015 Speech to the Rada, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/09/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-rada>
 - Volodymyr Zelensky’s Inauguration speech, <https://en.hromadske.ua/posts/full-text-of-volodymyr-zelenskyys-first-speech-as-president-of-ukraine>
 - Timeline of the War in Ukraine, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27308526>
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Group 2: Monday, 28 September: *Case Study: The NRA*

Reading Assignments:

- David Cole, *Engines of Liberty: The Power of Citizen Activists to Make Constitutional Law*, pp. 95-148 (2016)
 - Igor Volsky, *Guns Down: How to Defeat the NRA and Build a Safer Future with Fewer Guns*, pp. 1-6, 100-110, 146-50, 158-63, 173-82 (2019)
 - German Lopez, “How the Parkland Shooting Changed America’s Gun Debate,” *Vox.com*, <https://www.vox.com/2018/12/26/18145305/gun-control-violence-parkland-effect-2018>
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Group 3: Friday, 2 October: *Case Study: The Iran Nuclear Deal*

Reading Assignments:

- Rick Noack, “What is the Iran Nuclear Deal, and Why Do Some Fear Trump’s Rejection of It Could Lead to War?,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/05/08/what-is-iran-nuclear-deal-why-do-some-fear-trumps-rejection-it-could-lead-war/>
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Preamble and Articles I through VI, <https://www.state.gov/t/isn/trty/16281.htm>
- Joint Plan of Action (2013 Interim Deal), <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Programs/Documents/jpoa.pdf>
- Mike Pompeo, “After the Deal: A New Iran Strategy,” Speech at the Heritage Foundation, May 21, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2018/05/282301.htm>

Third Module Session

Group 1: Monday, 5 October: *Case Studies: China and Russia*

Reading Assignments:

- 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States of America, introduction, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>
 - Remarks by H.E. Wang Yi State Councilor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China At the MFA 2020 New Year Reception, January 20, 2020, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1734343.shtml
 - Vladimir Putin, “Speech and the Following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy, 2007,” <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034>
 - Angela Stent, *Putin's World*, pp. 344-362
 - Victoria Nuland, “Pinning down Putin,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2020-06-09/pinning-down-putin>
 - Kurt Campbell and Jake Sullivan, “Competition Without Catastrophe,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/competition-with-china-without-catastrophe>
 - Isabel Hilton, “China’s One-Main Show,” *Jacobin*, March 20, 2018, <https://jacobinmag.com/2018/03/china-xi-jinping-communist-party-presidency>
 - H.R. McMaster, “What China Wants,” *The Atlantic*, May 19, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/05/mcmaster-china-strategy/609088/>
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Group 2: Monday, 5 October: *The Future of Protest*

Reading Assignments:

- Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas* (2017), introduction (review), chapters 1-2, chapter 3 (review), chapter 9
- Jane McAlevey, *No Shortcuts* (2016), chapters 1-2
- Beverly Gage, “When Does a Moment Turn into a ‘Movement’?” *New York Times Magazine*, May 15, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/15/magazine/when-does-a-moment-turn-into-a-movement.html>.

- Nathan Heller, “Is There Any Point to Protesting?” *New Yorker*, August 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/08/21/is-there-any-point-to-protesting>.
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Group 3: Friday, 9 October: *Case Study: Climate Change and the Paris Agreement*

Reading Assignments:

- Copenhagen Accord, December 2009, <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2009/cop15/eng/11a01.pdf>
- Background on U.S.-China Climate Diplomacy
- https://uschinadialogue.georgetown.edu/publications/u-s-china-dialogue-on-climate-change-background-report/pdf_download
- U.S.-China Joint Announcement on Climate Change, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/11/11/us-china-joint-announcement-climate-change>
- “A Reader’s Guide to the Paris Climate Agreement,” <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2015/12/a-readers-guide-to-the-paris-agreement/420345/>
- Harvard Project on Climate Agreements, *The Paris Agreement and Beyond: International Climate Change Policy Post-2020*, pp. 13-22, 29-31, 79-86
- Anthony Leiserowitz, “Building public and political will for climate action,” in Esty, D. (ed.) *A Better Planet: 37 Big Ideas for a Sustainable Future* (2019)

Fourth Module Session

Group 1: Monday, 12 October: *Cyber and American Grand Strategy Since the Cold War*

Reading Assignments:

- David Sanger, *The Perfect Weapon: War, Sabotage, and Fear in the Cyber Age*, chapter 1, pgs. 100-123, 171-239
- DNI report on Russian Interference in American Elections, 2017, https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf

- Alina Polyakova and Chris Meserole, “Exporting Digital Authoritarianism, the Russian and Chinese Models,” *Brookings Policy Brief*, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/FP_20190827_digital_authoritarianism_polyakova_meserole.pdf
 - Andrei Soldatov, “Cyber Showdown: How Russian Hacking Works,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 31, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2016-07-31/cyber-showdown>
 - Nina Hachigian, “China’s Cyber Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2001, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2001-03-01/chinas-cyber-strategy>
 - Michèle Flournoy and Michael Sulmeyer, “Battlefield Internet,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 14, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-08-14/battlefield-internet>
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Group 2: Monday, 12 October: *Making Racial Violence Visible: Three Movements, Three Models*

Reading Assignments:

- Patricia Sullivan, *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (2009), introduction, chapters 1-2
 - Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement* (2003), introduction, chapters 6-9
 - Film: Stanley Nelson, director, *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution* (2016)
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Group 3: Friday, 16 October: *U.S.-China Relations in Historical Perspective*

Reading Assignments:

- Odd Arne Westad, *Restless Empire*, Chapter 10
- Nancy Tucker, “The Evolution of U.S.-China Relations,” *Tangled Titans*, David Shambaugh ed., 2012

Evan Medeiros, “The Changing Fundamentals of U.S.-China Relations,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Fall 2019, https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blogs.gwu.edu/dist/1/2181/files/2019/10/Medeiros_42-3.pdf

*****FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16th: PAPER DUE BY MIDNIGHT*****

Fifth Module Session

Group 1: Monday, 19 October: *Current Challenges to U.S. Digital Security*

Reading Assignments:

- Kristine Lee and Karen Barbesino, “Challenging China’s Bid for App Dominance,” *Center for a New American Security*,
<https://www.cnas.org/publications/commentary/challenging-chinas-bid-for-app-dominance>
 - “The New Big Brother: China and Digital Authoritarianism,” *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Report*, July 21, 2020,
<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2020%20SFRC%20Minority%20Staff%200Report%20-%20The%20New%20Big%20Brother%20-%20China%20and%20Digital%20Authoritarianism.pdf> (read Executive Summary, pgs. 1-14, 27-31, 37-40, 45-48)
 - Paul Schare, “Killer Apps,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019,
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/killer-apps>
 - Testimony of Mark Zuckerberg Before U.S. Senate Committee of the Judiciary, April 10, 2018, <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/04-10-18%20Zuckerberg%20Testimony.pdf>
 - Audio: “Microsoft President Brad Smith: Tools & Weapons,” *Geekwire podcast*,
<https://www.geekwire.com/2019/microsoft-president-brad-smith-tech-sector-needs-face-responsibility-embrace-regulation/>
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Group 2: Monday, 19 October: *Law and Order as Strategy*

Reading Assignments:

- Michael W. Flamm, *Law and Order* (2005), introduction, chapters 2-5, 9, epilogue

- Elizabeth Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime*, introduction, chapter 4 (2016)
 - James Forman, Jr., *Locking Up Our Own* (2017), introduction, chapter 3
 - Donald Trump, “Statement by the President,” June 1, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-by-the-president-39/>
 - Don Gonyea, “How Trump’s ‘Law and Order’ Strategy Differs From Nixon,” *Weekend Edition Sunday*, July 7, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/06/07/871600378/how-trumps-law-and-order-strategy-differs-from-nixon>
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Group 3: Friday, 23 October: *U.S.-China Relations in Contemporary Perspective*

Reading Assignments:

- Kurt Campbell and Ely Ratner, “The China Reckoning,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-02-13/china-reckoning>
- Elizabeth Economy, “China’s New Revolution,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-04-17/chinas-new-revolution>
- Fareed Zakaria, “The New China Scare,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-12-06/new-china-scare>
- “United States Strategic Approach to the People’s Republic of China” (May 2020), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf>
- Cui Tiankai, “China and the U.S. Should Reset Their Relationship,” *Politico*, July 30, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/07/30/us-china-relationship-reset-387515>

Sixth Module Session

Group 1: Monday, 26 October: *Creating a Grand Strategy for U.S. Digital Security*

Reading Assignments:

- DOD General Counsel Remarks at U.S. Cyber Command Legal Conference, March 2, 2020, <https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Speeches/Speech/Article/2099378/dod-general-counsel-remarks-at-us-cyber-command-legal-conference/>
 - Deidre Shesgreen and Kim Hjelmgaard, “Who's going to derail the U.S. presidential election? The culprit may be close to home,” *USA Today*, July 17, 2020, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2020/07/17/election-day-us-faces-threats-russia-china-iran-and-itself/5402468002/>
 - Laura Rosenberger, “Making Cyberspace Safe for Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 13, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-04-13/making-cyberspace-safe-democracy>
 - Ben Buchanan, *The Hacker and the State: Cyber Attacks and the New Normal of Geopolitics*, chapter 10
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Group 2: Monday, 26 October: *Policing, 2020: Protest, Policy, Politics*

Reading Assignments:

- M4BL, “Black Power Rising,” <https://m4bl.org/black-power-rising/>
- Jelani Cobb, “The Matter of Black Lives,” *New Yorker*, March 14, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/03/14/where-is-black-lives-matter-headed>
- Jack Fowler, “Black Lives Matter: A Thing of the Left Anchored on a Cop-Hate Strategy,” *National Review*, June 13, 2020, <https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/black-lives-matters-a-thing-of-the-left-anchored-on-a-cop-hate-strategy/>
- Emily Bazelon, moderator, “Police Reform Is Necessary, but How Do We Do It?” *New York Times Magazine*, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/06/13/magazine/police-reform.html>
- Michelle Alexander, “Reckoning With Violence,” *New York Times*, March 3, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/03/opinion/violence-criminal-justice.html>

- Rachel Kleinfeld, “These Countries Reformed Their Brutal, Biased Police,” *Foreign Policy*, July 2, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/02/police-brutality-racism-reform-international/>
 - Jesse Bernstein, “Police Violence at Home Requires a Rethink of U.S. Foreign Policy and Assistance Abroad,” *Just Security*, August 2, 2020, <https://www.justsecurity.org/71771/police-violence-at-home-requires-a-rethink-of-u-s-foreign-policy-and-assistance-abroad/>
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Group 3: Friday, October 30: *Case Study: Hong Kong, China, and the Future of Global Democracy*

Reading Assignments:

- Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Vigil* (2020)
- Andrew J. Nathan, “How China Sees the Hong Kong Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 30, 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-09-30/how-china-sees-hong-kong-crisis>
- Audio: “Umbrellas Up,” *This American Life*, October 18, 2019, <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/686/umbrellas-up>
transcript: <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/686/transcript>
- Video: Jiayang Fan, “Why Hong Kong’s Protests Exploded,” *New Yorker*, December 9, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4W6jPOVwXVE>
- Video: South China Morning Post, “Hong Kong protest tactics; occupy, disrupt, disperse, repeat,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ihKSHT7gIBY>
- Ching Kwan Lee, “Hong Kong is the Front Line of a New Cold War,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2020-05-28/op-ed-if-hong-kong-burns-the-world-gets-burned-too>
- Kurt Tong, “Washington’s Self-Defeating Hong Kong Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 2, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-06-02/washingtons-self-defeating-hong-kong-strategy>

GRAND STRATEGY EVENTS, FALL 2020

Friday, 28 August, 2:30-4:30: “Welcome Back” discussion with Beverly Gage and Michael Brenes

This Zoom event will be an opportunity for Grand Strategy students to reconnect with each other following the break and discuss the upcoming semester with Professor Gage and Professor Brenes.

Monday, September 14th, 6:00pm: Zoom event with Myra Jones-Taylor

Myra Jones-Taylor is the Chief Policy Officer at ZERO TO THREE, a national nonprofit organization that informs, trains and supports professionals, policymakers and parents in their strategies to improve the lives of infants and toddlers. As Chief Policy Officer, she leads the development and implementation of ZERO TO THREE’s policy agenda, priorities and strategies; oversees the Policy Center, which includes federal and state policy, advocacy and federally-funded technical assistance units; and serves as the principal spokesperson and point of contact for the organization on public policy matters with policymakers, the media, funders, and partner organizations.

Prior to this role, Dr. Jones-Taylor served as the founding Commissioner of the Connecticut Office of Early Childhood. The cabinet-level state agency was responsible for early intervention programs, home visiting, early care and education and child care licensing programs across the state, serving more than 50,000 children each year. She received her doctorate in American studies and anthropology from Yale University. Dr. Jones-Taylor is an active board member of organizations committed to young children and ending racial and social inequality, including All Our Kin, Capita and Equity Partners. She is also a member of the Irving Harris Early Childhood and Reproductive Health Advisory Committee.

Monday, September 21st, 6:00pm: Zoom event with Jake Sullivan

This Zoom event will feature a moderated discussion with Brady-Johnson Distinguished Practitioner Jake Sullivan on electoral strategy and the 2020 presidential election.

Monday, October 5th, 6:00pm: Zoom event with Trita Parsi

Trita Parsi is the Executive Vice President of the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft. An award-winning author and the 2010 recipient of the Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order, he is an expert on US-Iranian relations, Iranian foreign politics, and the geopolitics of the Middle East. His first book, *Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Iran, Israel and the United States* (Yale University Press 2007), won the silver medal winner of the 2008 Arthur Ross Book Award from the Council on Foreign Relations. His second book, *A Single Roll of the Dice: Obama's Diplomacy with Iran* (Yale University Press) was released in early 2012 and was selected by *Foreign Affairs* journal as the Best Book of 2012 on the Middle East. Parsi's latest book, *Losing an Enemy: Obama, Iran and the Triumph of Diplomacy* (Yale University Press, 2017), reveals the behind the scenes story to the historic nuclear deal with Iran. Parsi was born in Iran but moved with his family at

the age of four to Sweden in order to escape political repression in Iran. His father was an outspoken academic who was jailed by the Shah and then by the Ayatollah. Parsi holds a Master's Degree in International Relations from Uppsala University and a Master's Degree in Economics from the Stockholm School of Economics. He currently teaches at Georgetown University in Washington DC. Parsi's articles on Middle East affairs have been published in the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Financial Times*, *Jane's Intelligence Review*, *The Nation*, *The American Conservative*, *the Jerusalem Post*, *The Forward*, and others. He is a frequent guest on CNN, PBS's Newshour, NPR, the BBC, and Al Jazeera.

Friday, October 16th, 12:30pm: Zoom event with Anne Applebaum

Anne Applebaum is a staff writer for *The Atlantic* and a Pulitzer-prize winning historian. She is also a Senior Fellow of International Affairs and Agora Fellow in Residence at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, where she co-directs LSE Arena, a program on disinformation and 21st century propaganda.

A *Washington Post* columnist for fifteen years and a former member of the editorial board, she has also worked as the Foreign and Deputy Editor of the *Spectator* magazine in London, as the Political Editor of the *Evening Standard*, and as a columnist at *Slate* and at several British newspapers, including the *Daily* and *Sunday Telegraphs*. From 1988-1991 she covered the collapse of communism as the Warsaw correspondent of the *Economist* magazine and the *Independent* newspaper.

She is the author of several books, including *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine* and *Gulag: A History*, which won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize. Her most recent book is *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*, which was published in July 2020.

Monday, November 2nd, 6:00pm: Zoom book discussion with Michael Brenes

This Zoom event will be a moderated conversation with Associate Director Michael Brenes on his book, *For Might and Right: Cold War Defense Spending and the Remaking of American Democracy*, to be published in October 2020.