The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy

Studies in Grand Strategy, Spring 2019

Instructors: Beverly Gage, Bryan Garsten

Director: Beverly Gage

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

Practitioners: Victoria Nuland, Jake Sullivan, Evan Wolfson

Founders: John Gaddis, Paul Kennedy, Charles Hill

Course numbers: HIST 482J
                PLSC 321
                GLBL 342
                MGT 984 01: ID # 20253 (this section only for SOM-MBA students)

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

              Bryan Garsten
              Location: Rosenkranz Hall 422, 115 Prospect St.
              Wednesdays: 2:00-4:00

              Ian Johnson
              Location: 31 Hillhouse Avenue, Office 307
              Mondays: 10:00-12:00

Meeting time/place: Mondays, 2:30 – 4:20, WLH 209.

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.

In the first semester, the course examines classic texts in strategic thought, with an emphasis on three areas of study: 1) war and peace; 2) politics and political systems; 3) social movements and social change. The semester concludes with case studies drawn from U.S. history.

During the summer, students design and carry out individual research projects related to grand strategy, with travel and research support provided by the program.
The second semester focuses on the applied, or practitioner-based, side of grand strategy, and is co-taught by visiting practitioners. This semester explores current social, political and geopolitical challenges facing the United States, with an emphasis on understanding national concerns and priorities in a global context.

Outside of the classroom, the course includes dinners, discussions, and events with a wide range of visiting scholars, activists, diplomats, politicians, and military leaders, as well as with members of the Yale faculty.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Class Participation

Students are expected to participate actively and productively in class discussions and related events and to develop habits of articulate, concise and substantive oral communication. Students are expected to attend class. Participation in course events and discussion, including active, thoughtful and detailed engagement with the course readings, is worth 20 percent of the final grade.

Reading Assignments

Weekly readings can be found in the required course packet (available for purchase at Tyco) as well as the required books (available for purchase at the Yale bookstore). Back-up copies of the course-packet readings are also available on Canvas, though students are not permitted to bring laptops or other electronic devices to class.

The following books are available for purchase at the Yale bookstore:

-- Thucydides, The Landmark Thucydides, Edited by Robert B. Strassler (Free Press).
-- Martin Luther King, Jr., Why We Can’t Wait (Signet Classics).
-- McMaster, H.R. Dereliction of Duty (Harper Perennial)
-- Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals (Random House).
-- Mark Engler and Paul Engler, This is an Uprising: How Nonviolent Revolt is Shaping the Twenty-First Century (Nation Books).

Reading assignments from required books are indicated throughout the syllabus by a +. Reading assignments from the Course Packet are indicated throughout the syllabus by a *.
WRITING ASSIGNMENTS

All written work, with the exception of the reading responses, should be submitted via Canvas under Assignments.

Assignment 1: Strategic Autobiography

The first assignment (3-5 pages, double-spaced) requires you to think strategically about your own past and future. The paper should address the following questions: What do you hope to accomplish, or to contribute to the world, over the next twenty years? How do you plan to do it? A substantial portion of the essay should be devoted to anticipating the major obstacles to achieving your goals, and to explaining how you plan to deal with them. The written autobiography is due at 5 p.m. on Friday, January 25. The essay will not be graded, but completion of the essay will count for 10 percent of the course grade.

Assignment 2: Reading Responses

Reading and preparation for discussion are crucial for the seminar. To aid in discussion, each student will be responsible for a weekly discussion question or comment (no more than 150 words) responding to the week’s readings and framing questions for in-class discussion. Students are expected to post their reading responses by 5 p.m. on the Sunday before class. Responses should be posted to Canvas, under the appropriate Discussion thread. Weekly discussion responses will not be graded, but will be factored into the overall participation assessment (20 percent of the final grade).

In addition to the weekly discussion contributions, at the end of parts 1, 2, and 3, students will complete 3-5-page essays exploring how each unit’s readings analyze one important strategic problem, organized around a theme of the student’s choice. For instance, for Part 1, the essay might explore the challenge of creating and maintaining civic loyalty or military discipline in the works of Thucydides, Clausewitz, and Guevara. For Part 2, the essay could trace particular opportunities and challenges that leaders face at moments of political founding, according to Machiavelli and the authors of The Federalist Papers. For Part 3, the essay might compare strategies of mass communication as presented in Ghandi and Alinsky. The essays need not cover every reading from the unit, but should include an analysis of at least two major works. The assignments will be due as follows: Part 1—Friday, February 8, 5 p.m.; Part 2—Friday, February, March 1, 5 p.m.; Part 3—Friday, April 8, 5 p.m.. The assignments will be graded individually and will each comprise 10 percent each of the final grade.

Assignment 3: Summer research prospectus

Early in the spring semester, each student will be expected to consult individually with one or more of the GS faculty on a summer project. If approved, funding will normally be available for these projects averaging $2,500 – 3,000 per student, and students are highly encouraged to seek out sources of supplementary funds. In order to receive funding, students must develop a research prospectus (3-5 pages, double-spaced) outlining the scope of the project, essential
questions and themes, and a budget for project completion. The research prospectus is due at 5 p.m. on Sunday, March 10. The assignment must be uploaded to Canvas by that date. The research prospectus will not be graded, but successful completion of the prospectus will count for 10 percent of the final grade. Students who do not complete an acceptable prospectus will not receive summer funding.

**Assignment 4: Grand Strategy in Historical Perspective**

The final assignment for the course entails an analysis of a particular historical decision from the perspective of grand strategy. Students may choose a historical moment covered in the case studies discussed during class, or may elect to write about a subject of their own choosing. The essay will require a working definition of “grand strategy,” as well as an analysis of the success or failure of large-scale, intentional ways of thinking as measured against other contingent historical forces (political, economic, social, cultural). A variety of approaches is possible. Students may choose to analyze the actions of U.S. government officials in their views of war, international conflict, and world order. You may instead choose to explore strategies of social change employed by activists or grassroots movements. Alternatively, you might choose to analyze the strategies employed by a government other than that of the United States, either in cooperation with or opposition to U.S. grand strategy. The key is to narrate and analyze a historical moment through a strategic lens: What did particular actors hope to accomplish? How did they understand the immediate problems they were facing? Did they have an accurate sense of the longer-term stakes of their decisions? Which considerations did they miss, and which did they over-emphasize, and why? Did they have an explicit “grand strategy”? Did they make assumptions based in a strategic perspective they accepted without reflection? Did they succeed or fail, and by what measures? This 8-10-page assignment is due by 5 p.m. on Sunday, April 28. It counts for 30 percent of the final grade.

**DINNERS AND SPECIAL EVENTS**

Throughout the year, there will be several special lectures and dinner discussions, often featuring distinguished visitors. These events are usually, though not always, held on Monday nights. **Students are required to attend all dinners and special events.** Students who are unable to participate in a dinner or event should email Ian Johnson (ian.johnson@yale.edu) well in advance of the event date.

**LAPTOP POLICY**

Laptops and other electronic devices are **not permitted** in class. Students who use such devices during class time will be asked to leave the classroom.

**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.
LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Students who take a leave of absence from Yale between the first and second semester of the GS program must submit an updated official Yale transcript and letter of explanation in order to be readmitted to the program for the second semester. Students are usually (but not always) readmitted upon their return to Yale.

SUMMER FELLOWSHIPS

All students who accept summer fellowship money must successfully complete the full, year-long Grand Strategy Program.

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.
STUDIES IN GRAND STRATEGY, SPRING SCHEDULE

Sunday, January 13  Introductory Retreat and Dinner, 4-7 p.m., Luce Hall, 202

Monday, January 14  What is Grand Strategy?
   * John Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy*
   * Basil Liddell-Hart, *Strategy*, excerpts
   * Beverly Gage, “‘Strategy’ May Be More Useful to Pawns than Kings,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 2018

PART 1: “GENERALS” (or, War and Society)

Friday, January 18  A Democracy at War: a classical touchstone
   +Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*
   Book One: Introduction, sections 1-23; The debate at Sparta, sections 66-88
   Book Two: The first year of the war, sections 18-33; Pericles’s Funeral Oration, sections 34-46; The Plague, sections 47-55; The policy of Pericles, sections 56-65
   Book Three: The Mytilenian Debate, sections 36-50; The Civil War in Corcyra, sections 69-85
   Book Five: The Melian Dialogue, sections 84-116
   Book Six: The Sicilian Expedition, sections 8-32

   Further reading:
   Emily Greenwood, *Thucydides and the Shaping of History* (Duckworth, 2006)

Monday, January 21  No class: Martin Luther King Day

** FRIDAY, JANUARY 25: STRATEGIC AUTOBIOGRAPHIES DUE, 5 P.M. **

Monday, January 28  Is there an Art of War? (John Gaddis, instructor)
   *Clausewitz, *On War* (Jolles Edition), Book 1, Chapters 1-8; Book 2, Chapters 1-6; Book 3, Chapter 1
   *Sumida, *Decoding Clausewitz*, introduction
   *Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (Lionel Giles Edition), excerpts
Further reading:
Alan Beyerchen, “Clausewitz, Nonlinearity and the Unpredictability of War” (International Security, 1992)
Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century, Edited by Hew Strachan (2007)
Derek M.C. Yuen, Deciphering Sun Tzu: How to Read The Art of War (2014)

Monday, February 4  
**Terrorism and Guerrilla Warfare**
* Max Boot, Invisible Armies (2013), introduction, chapters 44, 49, 53-54
+ Johann Most, The Science of Revolutionary Warfare (1883), excerpts
+ Mao Zedong, On Guerrilla Warfare (1937), excerpts
+ Che Guevara, Guerrilla Warfare (1961), excerpts

Further reading:
Carlos Marighella, Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla (No Copyright, 1969)
The Petraeus Doctrine: The Field Manual on Counterinsurgency Operations (Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Publication, 2006)


Monday, February 11  
**Managing Controversy: Princes and Peoples**
+ Machiavelli, The Prince, chapters 1-3, 5-7, 9, 11, 13, 15-19, 21-26
+ Machiavelli, The Discourses on Livy
  Book One: preface, chapters 1-21, 26-27, 29-30, 32-34, 38, 40, 46-48, 52-59
  Book Two: chapters 1-6, 9-10, 12
  Book Three: chapters 30-35, 49

Further reading:
Michelle T. Clarke, Machiavelli’s Florentine Republic (Cambridge, 2018)
Harvey Mansfield, Machiavelli’s Virtue (University of Chicago, 1998)
Catherine Zuckert, Machiavelli’s Politics (University of Chicago, 2017)

Monday, February 11: Dinner with Jake Sullivan

*** FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8: UNIT ONE READING ASSIGNMENT DUE, 5 P.M. ***

PART 2: “PRINCES” (or, Politics and Political Systems)
Monday, February 18

**Founding Republics: From Revolutions to Constitutions**

* The U.S. Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation
* Declaration of the Rights of Man and the French Constitutions of 1791 and 1793
* The Haitian Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1805
* The Constitution of the United States as recorded in James Madison’s notes
+ The Federalist Papers #1-13, 28, 37, 49-51, 67-71

Further reading:
Danielle Allen, *Our Declaration* (Norton, 2014)

Monday, February 25

**Avoiding War: Republics, Commerce and Confederations**

* David Hume, “Of Commerce” and “Of the Jealousy of Trade” in *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*
  + Immanuel Kant, “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch”
* Benjamin Constant, “The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with That of the Moderns” (1819)
* Charter of the United Nations (1945), full text, esp. preamble and chapters 1-3, 6-7.

Further reading:
Susan Shell, *The Rights of Reason* (University of Toronto, 1980)

*Monday, February 25: Dinner with Ambassador Victoria Nuland*

*** FRIDAY, MARCH 1: READING ASSIGNMENT DUE, 5 P.M. ***
* Henry David Thoreau, *Resistance to Civil Government* (aka *Civil Disobedience*) (1849)
* Frederick Douglass, “Is It Right and Wise to Kill a Kidnapper?” (1854)

Further reading:
David Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (Simon and Schuster, 2018)
Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy* (Harvard, 2016)

* Tuesday, March 5: Event and Dinner with Max Boot and Kim Phillips-Fein*

* Wednesday, March 6: Event and Dinner with Hal Brands and Charles Edel*

** FRIDAY, MARCH 8: SUMMER RESEARCH PROPOSALS DUE, 5 P.M. **

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**MARCH 9-24: SPRING BREAK**

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**Monday, March 25: Non-Violence as Strategy**
+ Mark Engler and Paul Engler, *This is an Uprising: How Nonviolent Revolt is Shaping the Twenty-First Century*, introduction, chapter 1, chapter 5.
* Emmeline Pankhurst, “Freedom or Death,” 1913

Further reading:
Srdja Popovic, *Blueprint for Revolution: How to Use Rice Pudding, Lego Men, and other Nonviolent Techniques to Galvanize Communities, Overthrow Dictators, or Simply Change the World* (Spiegel und Grau, 2015)

* Tuesday, March 26: Lunch with David Blight*

**Monday, April 1: Organizing Movements, Organizing Institutions**
+ Mark Engler and Paul Engler, *This is an Uprising*, chapter 2, 10
* Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, “The Weight of the Poor: A Strategy to End Poverty” (1966)

Further reading:
Sanford D. Horwitt, Let Them Call me Rebel: Saul Alinsky, His Life and Legacy (Vintage, 1989)

Monday, April 1: Dinner with Evan Wolfson

*** FRIDAY, APRIL 5: READING ASSIGNMENT DUE, 5 P.M. ***

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**PART 4: CASE STUDIES IN U.S. HISTORY**

**Monday, April 8**  
Case Study (Generals): Vietnam and the Lessons of History, with H.R. McMaster

+ H.R. McMaster, Dereliction of Duty: Johnson, McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam
* David Halberstam, The Best and Brightest, introduction, chapter 1

Further reading:
Luu Doan Huynh and Jayne S. Werner, eds., The Vietnam War: Vietnamese and American Perspectives (Routledge, 1993)
Fred Logevall, Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America’s Vietnam (Random House, 2014)

Monday, April 8: Event and Dinner with H.R. McMaster and John Lewis Gaddis

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**Monday, April 15**  
Case Study (“Princes”): Presidential Selection, Party Government, and Polarization

+ Rosenfeld, The Polarizers
* “Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System” (Report of the American Political Science Association, 1950)
+ Federalist #68 (review)

Further reading:
Geoffrey Cowan, Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary (Norton, 2016)
Austin Ranney, Curing the Mischiefs of Faction: Party Reform in America (University of California, 1975)
Ian Shapiro and Frances Rosenbluth, Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself (Yale, 2018)

Monday, April 22 Case Study (“People”): Cold War Civil Rights
* Mary Dudziak, Cold War Civil Rights, introduction, chapter 3
+ Martin Luther King, Jr., Why We Can’t Wait

Further reading:
Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (Simon and Schuster, 1989)
Peniel Joseph, Waiting ‘Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History fo Black Power in America (Holt, 2006)
Jeanne Theoharis, The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks (Beacon, 2013)

*** SUNDAY, APRIL 28: FINAL PAPERS DUE, 11:59 P.M. ***

Monday, April 29 Concluding discussion
GRAND STRATEGY EVENTS

Monday, February 4, 5 p.m.: “Big Picture” event, followed by private dinner, with Vanita Gupta and James Forman

Vanita Gupta is President and CEO of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and the Leadership Conference Educational Fund. She served as the Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division at the U.S. Department of Justice from 2014-2017. Prior to her work at the Justice Department, she was the Deputy Legal Director at the ACLU and Assistant Counsel at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

James Forman Jr. is a Professor of Law at Yale Law School. After attending Brown University and Yale Law School, he worked as a law clerk for Judge William Norris of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and Justice Sandra Day O’Connor of the U.S. Supreme Court. After clerking, he joined the Public Defender Service in Washington, D.C., where for six years he represented both juveniles and adults charged with crimes. During his time as a public defender, Professor Forman became frustrated with the lack of education and job training opportunities for his clients. So in 1997, along with David Domenici, he started the Maya Angelou Public Charter School, an alternative school for school dropouts and youth who had previously been arrested. Forman taught at Georgetown Law from 2003 to 2011, when he joined the Yale faculty.

Monday, February 11, 5 pm: Dinner with Jake Sullivan

Jake Sullivan served in the Obama administration as national security adviser to the Vice President and Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. Department of State, as well as deputy chief of staff to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. He was the Senior Policy Adviser on Secretary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign and served as deputy policy director on her 2008 presidential primary campaign. Sullivan also previously served as a senior policy adviser and chief counsel to Senator Amy Klobuchar, worked as an associate for Faegre & Benson LLP, and taught at the University of St. Thomas Law School. He clerked for Judge Stephen Breyer and Judge Guido Calabresi of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

Monday, February 25, 5 pm: Dinner with Ambassador Victoria Nuland

Victoria Nuland served as Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs from September 2013 until January 2017, and was responsible for U.S. policy and diplomatic relations with 50 countries spanning the continent from the United Kingdom to Russia, NATO, the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. A career member of the U.S. Foreign Service for 3 decades, she served in China, Russia, Mongolia and twice at NATO in Belgium. Her career also includes serving as: Spokesperson of the State
Department under Secretary Clinton; Ambassador to NATO under President George W. Bush; Deputy National Security Advisor to Vice President Cheney; and Political Officer at Embassy Moscow.

**Tuesday, March 5, 5 p.m.: “Big Picture” event, followed by private dinner, with Max Boot and Kim Phillips-Fein**

Max Boot is a historian, best-selling author and foreign-policy analyst who has been called one of the “world’s leading authorities on armed conflict” by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He is the Jeane J. Kirkpatrick senior fellow for national security studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, a columnist for The Washington Post and a global affairs analyst for CNN. Boot’s latest book — “The Corrosion of Conservatism: Why I Left the Right.” — was released in October 2018 by Norton/Liveright.

Kimberly Phillips-Fein is a historian of twentieth-century American politics. She teaches courses in American political, business, and labor history. Her first book, Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan, was published by WW Norton in 2009. She has contributed to essay collections published by Harvard University Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, and Routledge and to journals such as Reviews in American History and International Labor and Working-Class History. She is a contributing editor to Labor: Studies in Working-Class History in the Americas, where her work has also appeared. Phillips-Fein has written widely for publications including The Nation, London Review of Books, New Labor Forum, to which she has contributed articles and reviews. Her 2017 book, Fear City: New York’s Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics (Metropolitan Books), was a finalist for a 2018 Pulitzer Prize in History.

**Wednesday, March 6, 5 p.m.: “The Lessons of Tragedy” Book Talk, followed by private dinner, with Hal Brands and Charles Edel**

Hal Brands is a Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is the author or editor of several books, including Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order (2016), What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush (2014), Latin America's Cold War (2010), From Berlin to Baghdad: America's Search for Purpose in the Post-Cold War World (2008), and The Power of the Past: History and Statecraft (co-edited with Jeremi Suri, 2015). He received his BA from Stanford University (2005) and his PhD from Yale University (2009).

Charles Edel is a senior fellow at the United States Studies Centre. Previously, he was associate professor of strategy and policy at the US Naval War College, and served on the US Secretary of State’s policy planning staff from 2015 to 2017. In
that role, he advised Secretary of State John Kerry on political and security issues in the Asia Pacific region. Edel worked at Peking University's Center for International and Strategic Studies as a Henry Luce Scholar and was also awarded the Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship. He is the author of Nation Builder: John Quincy Adams and the Grand Strategy of the Republic. In addition to his scholarly publications, his writings have appeared in The New York Times, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The American Interest, and various other outlets. Edel holds a PhD in history from Yale University, and received a BA in classics from Yale College.

**Tuesday, March 26, 12 pm: Lunch with David Blight**


**Monday, April 1, 5 pm: Dinner with Evan Wolfson**

Evan Wolfson was founder and president of Freedom to Marry, the campaign that won same-sex marriage in the United States, and is widely considered the architect of the movement that led to nationwide victory in 2015. During the 1990's he served as co-counsel in the historic Hawaii marriage case that launched the ongoing global movement for the freedom to marry, and has participated in numerous gay rights and HIV/AIDS cases. Wolfson wrote the book, Why Marriage Matters: America, Equality, and Gay People's Right to Marry. In 2012, Wolfson received the Barnard Medal of Distinction alongside President Barack Obama. Having achieved in 2015 the goal he had pursued for 32 years, Wolfson now devotes his time to advising and assisting diverse movements and causes in the U.S. and around the world eager to adapt the model and apply the lessons that made the Freedom to Marry campaign so successful.

**Monday, April 8, 5 p.m.: “Big Picture” event, followed by private dinner, with H.R. McMaster and John Lewis Gaddis**

H. R. McMaster was the 26th assistant to the president for National Security Affairs. He served as a commissioned officer in the United States Army for thirty-four years before retiring as a Lieutenant General in June 2018. McMaster led or co-led important strategic assessments including the revision of Iraq strategy during the “surge” of 2007 and efforts to develop security forces and governmental institutions in post-war Iraq. McMaster, who holds a PhD in military history from
the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was an assistant professor of history at the United States Military Academy from 1994 to 1996 where he taught undergraduate courses in military history and history of the Korean and Vietnam Wars. He is author of the award-winning book, Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Lies that Led to Vietnam. He is currently the Fouad and Michelle Ajami Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.