

**STRATEGY AND POLICY DEPARTMENT  
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE  
Newport, Rhode Island**

**FOREWORD**

This syllabus for the Strategy and Policy Course for the College of Naval Warfare and Naval Command College, November 2024-February 2025, provides both an overview and a detailed, lesson-by-lesson description to assist students in their reading and preparation for seminar. Administrative information is also included.

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## STRATEGY AND POLICY COURSE DESCRIPTION

### Course Introduction

In the waning days of the Vietnam War, Vice Admiral Stansfield Turner served as President of the Naval War College. He saw a glaring need to revolutionize the curriculum in professional military education. Rather than training officers, he sought to educate leaders. Admiral Turner argued:

If you attempt to make this a prep school for your next duty assignment, you will have missed the purpose of being here. If we trained you for a particular assignment or type of duty, the value of this college would be short-lived. We want to educate you to be capable of doing well in a multitude of future duties.... Your objective here should be to improve your reasoning, logic, and analysis.<sup>1</sup>

The Strategy and Policy Course embodies Turner's mission to place education over training by challenging students to grapple with the complex relationship among policy, strategy, and operations, lifting perspectives above the tactical level while sharpening critical thinking about joint matters. Critical strategic thinking constitutes the hallmark of the Strategy and Policy Course. We achieve this goal through graduate-level interdisciplinary seminars employing a unique methodology built upon two core components: the study of foundational theories of war, and close analysis of historical and contemporary case studies. The Strategy and Policy Course uses this case-study approach, integrating a diverse array of academic disciplines, including history, economics, political science, and security studies, to assess both historical and contemporary conflicts. This methodology exposes students to historical case studies in which senior political and military leaders, as well as staff planners, struggle to use the military and other instruments of national power to achieve the purpose and objectives of the state in both war and peacetime.

The course emphasizes the vital importance of orchestrating multinational cooperation while integrating all instruments of national power. Moreover, it instills in students the awareness and ability to perform comprehensive assessments at all stages of a conflict, and to communicate such assessments with clarity and precision. Finally, the course drives students to think critically—beginning with prewar planning of operations—about desired political and military goals, the decision for war, interaction and adaptation during conflict, war termination, and the transition from war to peace.

After examining past conflicts in a disciplined way, students emerge better equipped to grasp the values of the profession of arms espoused by the U.S. armed forces. Students comprehend more fully the capacity of U.S. military forces to conduct the full range of operations in pursuit of national interests. Moreover, students better understand why and how the U.S. military establishment is organized to plan, execute, and sustain joint, interagency, and multinational operations.

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<sup>1</sup> Vice Admiral Stansfield Turner, "Challenge: A New Approach to Professional Education," *Naval War College Review*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Nov-Dec 1972), p. 6.

In war, of course, the enemy always seeks to thwart one's plans while imposing high costs. The Strategy and Policy Course emphasizes that a war's outcome is contingent on the actions taken by those engaged in the conflict. Skillful adversaries exploit strategic vulnerabilities and operational missteps. They also employ surprise, denial, and deception to their advantage. Furthermore, an enemy's capabilities might prove difficult to overcome. Asymmetric strategies and capabilities can preclude decisive outcomes. Adept strategists and operational planners understand that the enemy's ingenuity, determination, and actions help decide the war's outcome. This course amply illustrates the truism: "the enemy gets a vote."

While the enemy's actions influence the end of the war, that does not excuse combatants from planning for that conflict's end, and the peace to follow. Ending a war successfully requires effective planning and implementation to answer three key questions. How far must your side go militarily to set the conditions for an effective peace? What should your side demand at the negotiating table to secure a favorable peace? And what steps need to be put in place after the war to maintain that peace? Each question carries risks. Going too far militarily risks escalation, foreign intervention, or counterattack. A harsh peace proposal risks renewed war, immediately or at a later date, while a generous peace proposal may terminate the conflict but allow an adversary to rebuild quickly. Because an adversary may choose to redress an unsatisfactory outcome in war at a future date, a peace that leaves a regime in power may require constant monitoring or containment. A peace that overthrows a regime, on the other hand, may require occupation and/or the creation of a more peaceful successor government. Both require planning, continued commitment to "winning the peace," and a willingness to consider maintaining forces in the region and higher defense expenditures even after the conflict is terminated.

The works of prominent strategic thinkers—notably Carl von Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Mao Zedong, Thucydides, Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Julian Corbett—provide analytical frameworks that students use to understand the relationship between strategy and operations, and between desired political outcomes and the threat and use of military force. The influence of these classic works on current strategic thought cannot be denied. Reflecting on his education, General Colin Powell wrote, "Clausewitz was an awakening for me. His *On War*, written 106 years before I was born, was like a beam of light from the past, still illuminating present-day military quandaries."<sup>2</sup> Sir Basil Liddell Hart expands the horizons of the other theorists, looking at the utility of *all* instruments of power, by single states and in coalition, to achieve political objectives in war and peacetime. Paul Kennedy examines long-term competitions, and the relationship between economic development, military power, and strategic success.

The case studies provide a means to evaluate and discuss how strategic planners and military leaders in real-world circumstances have addressed the problems associated with using force to attain national objectives. They provide an opportunity to examine three distinct types, or "boxes," of war. Like boxes, wars may nest within one another. The first box comprises major, protracted wars fought between coalitions in multiple theaters for high stakes. The second box refers to regional wars fought within single theaters, perhaps involving coalitions, typically

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<sup>2</sup> Colin Powell with Joseph E. Persico, *My American Journey* (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 207.

for shorter durations, and often for lesser stakes. The third box comprises insurgencies fought within single countries against failing, emerging, or well-established states.

We study multiple cases involving each box of war. In several cases, these three types of war take place at once, resulting in “wars within wars.” During the Vietnam War, for example, an insurgency raged in South Vietnam in the midst of a regional war between the United States and North Vietnam, all encompassed within the context of a global Cold War. In-depth analysis of wide-ranging case studies involving the use of force prepares students to think not only about current strategic and operational problems but also problems they might face in the future.

To prepare for operational and strategic leadership, students in the Strategy and Policy Course analyze the leadership of some of history’s most famous statesmen, admirals, and generals. Studying these historic figures provides insight into recurrent problems confronting senior leaders and planners as they craft strategies for carrying out wartime operations. However, the need for skilled leadership extends beyond senior political and military leaders. Their staffs—not to mention interagency and coalition partners—must be prepared in intellect, temperament, and doctrine to undertake different types of operations, assess and fight a diverse array of enemies, and make transitions between phases of war as well as between war and its aftermath. Leaders and planners must overcome the fog and friction that hinder the execution of operations, as well as take prudent steps to *deter* war if possible. Finally, successful leadership at the strategic and operational levels of war requires effective civil-military relations, which take into account the dynamic interaction among politics, strategy, and operational realities. The Strategy and Policy Course aims to impart the habits of strategic thought, and the strategic literacy required to assume positions of increasing responsibility throughout the national security enterprise. Applying the foundational theories of war and the lessons gleaned from critical analysis of historical and contemporary cases studies will help the United States and its partners and allies achieve the intellectual overmatch required to prevail in great power competition.

## **Course Purpose and Requirement**

The Strategy and Policy Course examines Senior-Level Education Joint Learning Areas and Objectives for Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) established by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff via the Officer Professional Military Education Policy (OPMEP), CJCSI 1800.01G, signed April 15, 2024. Apart from meeting OPMEP objectives, the Strategy and Policy Course addresses additional areas of emphasis put forward in the United States Navy’s guidance on Professional Military Education, the intent articulated by the President of the Naval War College, and strategic challenges highlighted by the Department of Defense. Lastly, the course reflects the experience and judgment of the Naval War College faculty and assessments offered by the students.

## **Learning Outcomes**

The Department of Defense has adopted outcomes-based assessment of student learning.

To that end, the Naval War College has developed the following College of Naval Warfare and Naval Command College (JPME II) Program Learning Outcomes (PLOs):

PLO 1. Demonstrate joint-warfighting leadership when integrating the instruments of national power across the continuum of competition.

PLO 2. Create national security strategies designed for contemporary and future security environments.

PLO 3. Apply the organizational and ethical concepts integral to the profession of arms at the strategic level of war.

PLO 4. Apply theory, history, concepts of sea power, and doctrine through critical thought in professional communication.

In support of the overarching program learning outcomes, the Strategy and Policy Department has defined the following Course Learning Outcomes (CLOs), and expects that students who successfully complete the Strategy and Policy Course will be able to:

CLO 1. Evaluate, through Clausewitzian critical analysis, political and strategic arguments, and alternative courses of action.

CLO 2. Evaluate strategic principles, relevant theorists, and historical case studies to address complex problems of strategy and policy.

CLO 3. Analyze how various types of states generate and employ national power in maritime and other domains.

CLO 4. Evaluate choices of political and military leaders related to the origins, conduct, and termination of war.

## STRATEGY AND POLICY COURSE THEMES

### **MATCHING STRATEGY AND POLICY: THE PROCESS**

- 1. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF POLICY, STRATEGY, AND OPERATIONS**
- 2. THE DECISION FOR WAR**
- 3. INTELLIGENCE, ASSESSMENT, AND PLANS**
- 4. THE INSTRUMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER**
- 5. INTERACTION, ADAPTATION, AND REASSESSMENT**
- 6. WAR TERMINATION**
- 7. WINNING THE PEACE AND PREPARING FOR WAR**

### **MATCHING STRATEGY AND POLICY: THE ENVIRONMENT**

- 8. THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION**
- 9. THE ECONOMIC AND MATERIAL DIMENSIONS**
- 10. THE INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION**
- 11. THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS**

The Strategy and Policy Department has developed eleven interrelated course themes. They are neither a checklist of prescriptions nor a set of “school solutions,” for the conduct of war can never be reduced to a formula or set of answers. Rather, they are categories of questions designed to provoke original thought, broad discussion, and careful evaluation of alternative strategic courses of action. These questions apply to political leaders and military leaders to provide decision-making guidance. The themes are divided into two broad categories: the process themes—those dealing with formulating and executing strategies to support national policies; and the environment—the constraints and opportunities bounding the choices. The environmental themes are like the hand of strategic cards each side has been dealt, while the process themes concern how to play them.

### **MATCHING STRATEGY AND POLICY: THE PROCESS**

#### **1. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF POLICY, STRATEGY, AND OPERATIONS**

What were the most important political interests and objectives of the antagonists? How did these interests and objectives originate? What value did each participant in each case study place on its political objectives? Were these interests and objectives clearly articulated and understood? Were short-term, medium-term, and long-term objectives compatible or in conflict?



Were the problems that gave rise to war susceptible to military resolution? If leaders decided to employ armed force in pursuit of political objectives, how did they plan to use other instruments of power in support of their strategy? Were these plans appropriate? Were costs and risks anticipated and commensurate with benefits and rewards?

What strategic guidance did political leaders provide the military, and what restraints did they impose? How did guidance and restraints impede or promote operational success? What strategies did the belligerents adopt? Did their strategies strike an appropriate balance between defense and offense? To what extent did strategies support their respective policies? At any point did strategy drive policy? What assumptions did statesmen and military leaders make about the contribution of military objectives to attaining overarching political objectives? Was the outcome more the product of sound strategy and superior leadership on the part of the victors or of self-defeating courses of action by the losing side?

## **2. THE DECISION FOR WAR**

What were the short-term and long-term causes of the war? What were the impediments to deterrence or compromise? Were better deterrent or appeasement strategies available? Why did deterrence fail?

Was the decision to go to war rational? Was the choice for war based on accurate assessment of one's own capabilities, military potential, and vulnerabilities as well as those of the enemy? What role, if any, did military leaders play in the decision for war? Did they offer political leadership an analysis of the available strategic options? How did political objectives shape the decision for war? If war was preemptive or preventive, how accurate was the information about enemy action or potential? Was the outbreak of the war optimally timed from the standpoint of the belligerent that initiated it? To what extent did predictions about the behavior of coalition partners and neutral states factor into the decision for war? If the war began with a surprise attack, what impact did that attack have? If the decision for war involved an intervention in an ongoing conflict, was that intervention decisive?

How did race, ethnicity, religion, and ideology affect decisions? Did ambition, concern for reputation, historical analogies, or arrogance affect the decision-makers? Were peaceful strategies, potentially as promising or more promising than military ones, dismissed or overlooked? Did a third party drag major powers into a war that none of them wanted? Did one power miscalculate how another would respond to an aggressive or threatening action?

## **3. INTELLIGENCE, ASSESSMENT, AND PLANS**

How reliable and complete was intelligence on the interests, intentions, capabilities, and will of rivals and potential enemies? Did politics or culture affect the gathering of intelligence? If a belligerent suffered a surprise attack, why was it taken by surprise? How successful were each belligerent's efforts to shape perceptions of its capabilities and intentions?

How well did each side assess its own and the enemy's strengths and weaknesses? To what extent did civilian and military leaders correctly understand the nature of the war upon which they were embarking? How well did each belligerent understand the cultural values, religious practices, political system, military traditions, and military potential of its enemy? How was that understanding reflected in war plans? Were plans based on assumptions of racial superiority over the enemy? Did planners objectively evaluate the enemy's capabilities, or were their assessments distorted by ethnic or racial bias?

What planning process did each belligerent have? What kind of mechanisms did each have to integrate non-military instruments of power? To what extent did the planners think about strategic issues, not simply operational concerns? How did planners prioritize theaters and fronts? If allies were included in the planning process, how did their participation modify war plans? Was a serious effort made to study previous wars, and if so, how did it affect planning?

Did plans bear the imprint of service doctrines or reflect accepted principles of war? Did plans identify the enemy's strategic center(s) of gravity or critical vulnerabilities? To what extent did plans rely upon deception, surprise, information operations, or psychological operations? What were the strategic effects planners sought to achieve? Did planning allow for the fog, friction, uncertainty, and chance of war? If a war of attrition was likely, did planners anticipate the stages through which such a war might pass and the full range of operations that might be necessary? Did the initial plans consider how and when the war would be terminated and what the nature of the postwar peace would be?

#### **4. THE INSTRUMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER**

Did political and military leaders understand the strategic capabilities, effects, and limitations of the forms of national power at their disposal? Did leaders consider the political, financial, social, and logistical constraints on the employment of national power? How well were diplomacy, economic initiatives, and information operations coordinated with military operations?

How well did diplomacy support military power? How well did military power support diplomacy? Did diplomats manage escalation to negotiate a timely and advantageous settlement? How well were economic resources used in support of political aims? If one belligerent engaged in economic warfare, how accurate were its assumptions about the effects of economic levers on the enemy? What role did other instruments of national power play in economic warfare? Did leaders develop an effective information campaign to reach multiple audiences? Were those information campaigns based on a sound understanding of the culture and society of their targets? How well did political and military leaders engage in strategic communication with their domestic audiences? How persuasive were the justifications for war and for the strategies to fight it?

Did military leadership integrate different forms of power for maximum strategic effectiveness? What limitations prevented optimal integration of land, naval, air, space, and cyber operations? Did military leaders understand the capabilities and limitations of their own

and other branches of their armed forces? Did strategists exploit opportunities created by technological innovation? How did technological change affect strategic results? Did a belligerent make effective use of unconventional or irregular warfare?

## **5. INTERACTION, ADAPTATION, AND REASSESSMENT**

How accurately did belligerents foresee the consequences of interaction with their enemies? Did reassessment reveal flawed assumptions of earlier assessments? Did reassessment reconsider the enemy's capabilities after the initial interaction? Did the existence of weapons of mass destruction influence that interaction? How did interaction alter initial strategies? Was one side able to make its adversary fight on its own preferred terms? How well did strategists and commanders adapt to what the enemy did? If the war became an attritional conflict, how successful were the belligerents in intensifying the effects of attrition upon their opponents? Was the side that began on the defensive able to make a successful transition to the offensive?

In opening or contesting a new theater, did the belligerent do so to continue a preexisting strategy, to overcome a stalemate in the original theater, to implement a new strategy to achieve a new policy objective, or to seize a new opportunity? Did it involve fighting the enemy in a different location or fighting an entirely new enemy? Did it make strategic sense to open or contest the new theater? Did the environment in the new theater favor operational success? How did the new theater influence the larger war? Did it make strategic sense to close a theater? What role did maritime power play in opening the theater, supporting operations, and closing the theater?

If initial strategies proved successful, did that strategic success drive changes, whether wise or foolish, in political objectives? If initial strategies proved unsuccessful or too costly, was there a reassessment of political objectives, strategy, or both? Did one or both sides attempt to widen the conflict through horizontal or vertical escalation, or to increase its magnitude and duration by additional mobilization of resources? If an additional state or other parties intervened in the conflict, did this produce reassessment of policy and strategy? If there were adjustments in policy or strategy during the war, were these based on rational and timely reexamination of the relationship between the political objective and the means available?

## **6. WAR TERMINATION**

Did the war end because of the collapse of one of the belligerents, the capitulation of one of the sides, mutual exhaustion, or the negotiation of a settlement? If negotiations began before the end of hostilities, how well did military operations support diplomacy and vice versa? Did either side squander opportunities for a successful or partially successful end to the war? Did war termination occur only after a change of leadership on the losing side? If the war ended unexpectedly, did that surprise catch the victor unprepared to manage war termination?

Did the winning side consider how far to go militarily to successfully terminate the conflict? Did it halt military operations prematurely or overstep the culminating point of victory?

Were specific demands considered to fulfill its political objectives? How did allies manage competing interests? If there was a truce, did military or political leaders negotiate its terms? Did the terms of the truce shape the postwar settlement?

If the victorious belligerents had achieved the unlimited aim of overthrowing the enemy regime, were they ready to carry out occupation of the defeated country? If the victorious belligerents had pursued a limited aim and left the enemy regime in place, were they ready to execute, if necessary, a postwar policy of containment of the defeated country? Did the postwar settlement effectively incorporate the defeated state into the international system?

## **7. WINNING THE PEACE AND PREPARING FOR WAR**

To what extent did the postwar settlement satisfy the political objectives of the winning state or coalition? To what extent did the losing side accept its political and military losses? Did the end of the war leave the victor in a position to enforce the peace? Had the victor planned adequately for the transition from war to peace?

Was the underlying conflict that gave rise to war resolved by that war? How did the outcome of interstate war affect the geostrategic position of the victors in relation to the vanquished? Did the victor attempt to reshape the international order? Did the members of the winning coalition maintain the collective will to enforce the peace?

How were the lessons of the previous war absorbed into the policies, military thought, and doctrine of victorious, vanquished, and uncommitted powers? Did strategic leaders presume the next war would be similar to the last one? Did they strive to create conditions that would make the next war utterly dissimilar to the previous one? Was military-technological progress seen as likely to favor the offense or the defense in the next war? How did military and political leaders manage the transition from resolving a past war to preparing for a future conflict?

## **MATCHING STRATEGY AND POLICY: THE ENVIRONMENT**

### **8. THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF STRATEGY**

How successful were political and military leaders at seizing opportunities to isolate their adversaries from potential allies? What common interests or policies unified coalition partners? Did coalition partners have the same primary enemy and agree on strategy? What were the capabilities and limitations of each partner in the coalition? How effective was the strategic coordination and burden sharing within a coalition? How freely did information, intelligence, and resources pass among its members? How important was coalition cohesion to the outcome of the war, and how robust was that cohesion? How did diplomacy contribute to coalition cohesion?

Did coalition strategies solidify it or split it apart? Did these strategies strengthen or weaken the opposing coalition? Did allies act to support, restrain, or control one another? If a

coalition disintegrated, was this the result of internal stress, external pressure, or both? Did coalition dynamics help or hinder efforts to match strategy to policy? What impact did coalition dynamics have on war termination? Did the winning coalition persist after the end of the war, and why?

Did war change the international system by changing the international distribution of power or by creating new institutions? What were the implications of the war for the belligerents' political stability, social structure, economic viability, and military potential? Did the war stimulate activity by non-state actors?

## **9. THE ECONOMIC AND MATERIAL DIMENSIONS OF STRATEGY**

What economic system did each country possess: predominantly agricultural, mercantile, industrial, or post-industrial? To what extent did government direct or control economic activity, and with what results? Did the defense-industrial base produce the weapons and military technology the country needed? Was a belligerent able to benefit from ongoing or recent waves of technological innovation? Did a gap open over time between strategic commitments and resources available to support those commitments? If so, what were the consequences of that gap for the country's security?

How effectively did each belligerent mobilize its economic resources? How did a belligerent's financial strength, natural resources, manufacturing plant, scientific expertise, and technological prowess affect its ability to wage war? Were belligerents able to manage financial constraints? What were the implications of a belligerent's public finances for staying power in a long-term competition? Which of the belligerents had superior logistics for moving manpower and materiel to the theaters and sustaining forces? Was the outcome of the competition due more to material superiority or superior strategy?

If a belligerent adopted economic warfare, how appropriate was this strategy and how well was it integrated with other strategies? How adept were belligerents at overcoming attacks on their material capability to wage war?

## **10. THE INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION OF STRATEGY**

What were the roles, relationships, and functions of the institutions involved in developing strategy and managing national security? How did theater commanders fit into the overall chain of command? How were military forces organized? How well did that system facilitate planning, executing, and training for joint and combined warfare? How freely was information shared among military and civilian agencies?

How did rivalry among military services affect strategy and the presentation of a coherent military view on strategy to civilian leadership? Did organizational problems undermine civil-military relations? Did competition within the government or among its sections obscure military leaders' understanding of the political objectives? How did lack of clarity or constancy in

political aims affect civil-military relations? If political leaders demanded something from the military that it could not effectively deliver, or if they imposed stringent restraints on the use of force, how did military leadership respond? If military leaders proposed operations that promised to be militarily effective but entailed significant political risk, how did civilian leadership react? How attuned were military leaders to the need to assess and manage political risk? How did the personalities of the key military and civilian leaders affect the civil-military relationship?

Did the transition from war to peace, or from one form of war to another, lead to institutional changes in a country's national security system? How well did new national security institutions and processes perform in the next war? Were new institutions and old institutions able to work together effectively? Did institutional changes affect how the political and military leadership shared responsibility for strategy?

## **11. THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF STRATEGY**

How did a belligerent's culture, society, ideology, and religion affect the strategy-policy match? Did a belligerent possess a discernable "strategic culture" or "way of war" and, if so, did this allow its adversary to predict and exploit its behavior? Did belligerents understand the values, social relationships, and institutions of all parties?

How did military power affect the course and outcome of any underlying ideological struggle? Did military or non-military factors have the greatest impact on the outcome? If the war involved a struggle for mass political allegiance, did culture, values, social structure, or religion give either belligerent an advantage? Did the existence of marginalized groups within the belligerent's society create strategic vulnerabilities that its opponents could exploit? Did information operations or strategic communication reinforce or negate any such advantage? How did ethnic or religious passions affect the conduct and outcome of the competition or the war? How did ideas about race influence the political objectives, strategies, and operations of each belligerent? Did the existence of a racial hierarchy undermine the war effort? Was the war marked by terrorism or insurgency? Was it possible for external powers to resolve the conflict by military or diplomatic intervention?

Was the Clausewitzian triangle—the relationship among the government, the people, and the military—able to withstand battlefield reverses, catastrophic damage to the homeland, or the strain of protracted war? If the war was protracted, how successful was the victorious side in weakening its adversary's society? Did military strategy deliver sufficient incremental dividends or periodic successes to maintain support for the war? Or did strategy diminish domestic support for the war? How effectively did belligerents mobilize and manage public opinion? Did communications media outside governmental control make it difficult for political leaders to manage public opinion at home and influence attitudes abroad? Did the "passions of the people" make it difficult for leaders to maintain the proper relationship between policy and strategy?

## COURSE PROCESS AND STANDARDS

**1. Methodology.** Each case study will be examined through a combination of lectures, readings, tutorials, student essays, and seminars.

**2. Seminar Assignments.** Each student will be assigned to a seminar for the duration of the course. Each seminar will be led by a faculty team composed of a practitioner and a civilian academic.

**3. Lectures.** Students will attend lectures relating to each case study. Lectures impart knowledge about the case study, provide insight into strategic problems, and stimulate learning and discussion in seminar. There will be an opportunity for the students to address questions to each lecturer and students are highly encouraged to use this opportunity. The arguments expressed in Strategy and Policy Course lectures reflect the lecturer's expertise and do not necessarily represent the Naval War College, the U.S. Navy, the Department of Defense, or any part of the U.S. Government.

**4. Readings.** Before seminar, students are expected to read the books and articles assigned for that week, as well as the student essays prepared for that week. These assigned texts are the only readings required to prepare for seminar, write essays, and prepare for the final examination. Books must be returned upon completing the requirements for the course.

**5. Course Requirements.** In addition to viewing lectures, completing the assigned readings, and contributing to seminar discussions, students will write three essays: two seminar essays and one final examination. In computing the final grade, the following percentages will be used:

**Essays—25 percent for each of two essays**

**Final Examination—25 percent**

**Seminar Preparation and Contribution—25 percent**

A final course grade of B- or above is required to earn a master's degree and a C- or above for JPME I credit. Grading takes place in accordance with the U.S. Naval War College *Faculty Handbook*.

**6. Seminar Essays.** Each student will submit two essays, each ranging from 2,600-3,200 words (the word count does not include citations), on questions listed in the syllabus. Essays should be in Times New Roman, 12-point font, double-spaced. The seminar moderators will assign students their two essay questions at the beginning of the term. When preparing an essay, the student will find all information required to answer the question in the readings and lectures for that case study. Students shall not consult sources outside of those listed in this syllabus without obtaining written permission from their moderators. For matters relating to the format for documentation, students should use either footnotes or endnotes. Since all readings are assigned in the syllabus, a bibliography is optional. Students should consult *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

All Strategy and Policy essays will be submitted to their moderators electronically through Turnitin Assignments set up in each Blackboard seminar course. Students may assess their papers through the Turnitin Student Workbooks in Blackboard to benefit from Turnitin's Similarity Report prior to final paper submission. For students, this will highlight areas that require additional consideration. For the Similarity Score in Turnitin, there is no percentage that means "all clear" and no percentage that means "big trouble." Papers with as low as a 10% similarity score may have serious plagiarism concerns. Turnitin requires students to go through the markup line by line to identify and correct any problems. When submitting papers through the Blackboard seminar course, students are still able to revise and resubmit the assignment in their student Turnitin folder up to the assignment deadline. However, submitting papers for evaluation to moderators through Blackboard is final. If there are Turnitin issues identified by a student after submission, the student should immediately contact the seminar moderators.

The student will normally submit the completed essay to each moderator, following the instruction in the previous paragraph, no later than 0830 on the day before the seminar meets. If seminars meet on Monday or immediately following a Federal Holiday, the student will submit their essays no later than 0830 on the day the seminar meets. Essays submitted late without permission from the moderators will receive severe deductions in grading. Please see the section titled "Grading Standards for Written Work" for a more complete explanation of penalties for late work. In addition to submitting the essay to the moderators, the student will distribute a copy to each member of the seminar. **Students shall read all essays prepared by their seminar colleagues before the seminar meets.**

The essay offers an opportunity to undertake strategic analysis. A good essay is an analysis in which the author presents a thesis supported by arguments based on the assigned reading and lectures. There are five elements to a good essay: it answers the question; it has a thesis; it marshals evidence to support that thesis; it considers, explicitly or implicitly, a counterargument to or weaknesses in the thesis and supporting evidence; and it does all of this in a clear and well-organized fashion.

These five elements serve as the foundation for a grading rubric that articulates expectations for the essay, sets criteria for grading, clarifies standards for a quality performance, and guides feedback about progress toward those standards. **The ability to compose a succinct thesis, marshal evidence to prove the thesis, and rebut the most important counterarguments to it is the hallmark of analytical thinking that allows students to communicate ideas with clarity and precision.**

**7. Final Examination.** Students will take a comprehensive final examination at the end of the term. This examination draws upon the entire course. This exam is to be completed in 24 hours. The work must be entirely the student's own without any discussion or consultation with others. This is an open book exam: as such, students are permitted to use the readings assigned for the course as well as the course lectures. Students are not permitted to use other sources, including those available in print, electronically, or on the internet. The exam must be typed and double-spaced. Answers are not to exceed 2,600 words, double-spaced (12-point, Times New Roman font). The exam will be evaluated on the basis of the coherence and aptness of its argument, and the manner in which it draws on a broad range of evidence from the course case studies. A good



final examination will demonstrate the same five elements as an essay: it answers the question asked; it has a thesis; it marshals evidence to support that thesis; it considers, explicitly or implicitly, the counterarguments to or weaknesses in the thesis and supporting evidence; and it does the above in a clear and well-organized fashion.

**8. Grading Standards for Written Work.** All written work in the Strategy and Policy Course will be graded according to the following standards:

**A+ (97-100):** The essay answers the question in a way that offers a genuinely new understanding of the subject. Thesis is definitive and exceptionally well-supported, while the counterargument and rebuttal are addressed completely. The writing is clear throughout and exceptionally well-organized. The essay indicates brilliance and is ready for publication.

**A (94-96):** Work of superior quality that demonstrates a high degree of original, critical thought. The essay intelligently answers the question, the thesis is clearly articulated and focused, evidence is relevant and purposeful, consideration of arguments and the counterargument is comprehensive, and the organization is especially clear throughout the essay.

**A- (90-93):** A well-written, insightful essay that is above the average expected of graduate work and does not have major flaws. The essay skillfully answers the question, the thesis is articulated, evidence is significant throughout, arguments and the counterargument are presented effectively, and the essay is coherently organized and very clearly written.

**B+ (87-89):** A graduate-level essay that meets all five elements of a seminar essay though with varying degrees of success. It answers the question, a thesis is clearly stated, the supporting evidence, the counterargument, and the organization has strong points, and the essay is clearly written.

**B (84-86):** An essay that is a satisfactory consideration of the topic and demonstrates acceptable graduate performance. The essay generally answers the question; the thesis is stated and generally supported with relevant evidence; a counterargument is presented; and problems with organization and clarity may exist.

**B- (80-83):** Slightly below the expected graduate-level performance. The essay may partially answer the question. The thesis is presented, but the evidence does not fully support it. The analysis and counterargument are not fully developed, and the essay may have distracting organizational flaws or significant problems with clarity.

**C+ (77-79):** Below acceptable graduate-level performance. The essay was turned in late or is generally missing one or more of the five elements described above. The essay may not effectively answer the question, the thesis may be vague or unclear, evidence may be inadequate, analysis may be incomplete, the treatment of the counterargument may be

deficient, or the organization may be poor, making the other four elements of an effective essay difficult to identify.

**C (74-76):** The essay generally fails to meet the standards of graduate work. While it might express an opinion, it fails to adequately answer the question, develop a thesis appropriate to the question, make adequate use of evidence, include a counterargument purposeful to the overall argument, have a coherent structure, or demonstrate the quality of insight deemed sufficient to explore the assigned question adequately.

**C- (70-73):** The essay conspicuously fails to meet the standards of graduate-level work. The thesis may be poorly stated, with minimal evidence or support, or the essay may lack a counterargument. Construction and development flaws further detract from the readability of the essay. The essay expresses an opinion more than it provides a critically argued response to the question.

**D (56-69):** Essay lacks evidence of graduate-level understanding and critical thinking. It fails to address the assigned question or present a coherent thesis and lacks evidence of effort or understanding of the subject matter. It may not consider a counterargument and the organization is critically unclear.

**F (0-55):** Conspicuously fails to meet graduate-level standards in every area. The essay has no thesis or does not address the question; the essay suffers from significant flaws in respect to structure, grammar, and logic; the essay lacks a counterargument; and the essay displays an apparent lack of effort to achieve the course requirements. Gross errors in construction and development detract from the readability of the essay, or it may display evidence of plagiarism or misrepresentation.

**Late Work:** Unexcused tardy student work—that is, work turned in past the deadline without previous permission from the moderators—will receive a grade no greater than C+ (78). Student work that is not completed will receive a numeric grade of zero. Please see the U.S. Naval War College *Faculty Handbook* for further information on grading.

**9. Pretutorials and Tutorials.** Faculty moderators confer outside of class with students preparing seminar essays. A pretutorial is required for every essay, generally two weeks before the due date for the essay, to ensure that the student understands the essay question. A formal tutorial session follows, approximately one week before the due date. At the tutorial, the moderators and student scrutinize the essay's thesis and outline and identify ways to improve it. Students should view these sessions as an aid in preparing their essays, and students are ultimately responsible for the shape of the final essay. Either students or moderators may request additional meetings as necessary.

**10. Faculty Office Hours.** Each faculty teaching team in the Strategy and Policy Department will schedule a weekly office hour either virtually or in-person. Faculty will also meet for scheduled tutorials for writing assignments with each student and by appointment either virtually or in-person as requested.

**11. Seminar Preparation and Contribution.** Student contribution to seminar discussions is an essential part of this course. This begins with preparation that requires significant time to read and think. Preparation should also include the consideration of lesson plans provided by seminar moderators and even assignments such as discussion boards. Such preparation creates conditions where each member of the seminar is better able to contribute to seminar discussion. Only then, can the seminar group fully understand the strategic problems examined by the case study, apply the course themes to the material, and thus fulfill the course's objectives.

The seminar contribution grade does not measure the number of times a student speaks, but how well the student understands the material, enriches discussion, and contributes to fellow students' learning. In other words, the grade reflects the quality—not quantity—of class contributions. To take part in discussion, students must absorb the reading, listen attentively to lectures, and think critically about what they read and hear. The seminar is a team effort. Declining to contribute or saying very little undercuts the learning experience for everyone in the seminar, whereas advance preparation enhances the seminar's quality. Seminar contribution helps students demonstrate that they comprehend and can synthesize the course material and communicate their thoughts with clarity and precision.

Seminar preparation and contribution will be graded at the end of the term according to the following standards:

**A+ (97-100):** Contributions indicate brilliance through a wholly new understanding of the topic. Demonstrates exceptional preparation for each session as reflected in the quality of contributions to discussions. Strikes an outstanding balance between “listening” and “contributing.”

**A (94-96):** Contribution is always of superior quality. Arrives prepared for every seminar. Displays attentive listening skills. Unfailingly thinks through the issue at hand before commenting. Contributions are highlighted by insightful thought and understanding and contain some original interpretations of complex concepts.

**A- (90-93):** Fully engaged in seminar discussions and commands the respect of colleagues through the insightful quality of contributions and ability to listen to and analyze the comments of others. Above the average expected of a graduate student.

**B+ (87-89):** A positive contributor to seminar meetings who joins in most discussions and whose contributions reflect understanding of the material. Occasionally contributes original and well-developed insights.

**B (84-86):** Average graduate-level contribution. Involvement in discussions reflects adequate preparation for seminar with the occasional contribution of original and insightful thought but may not adequately consider others' contributions.

**B- (80-83):** Contributes, but sometimes speaks out without having thought through the issue well enough to marshal logical supporting evidence, address counterarguments, or

present a structurally sound position. Minimally acceptable graduate-level preparation for seminar.

**C+ (77-79):** Sometimes contributes voluntarily, though more frequently needs to be encouraged to participate in discussions. Content to allow others to take the lead. Minimal preparation for seminar reflected in arguments lacking the support, structure, or clarity to merit graduate credit.

**C (74-76):** Contribution is marginal. Occasionally attempts to put forward a plausible opinion, but the inadequate use of evidence, incoherent logic structure, and critically unclear quality of insight are insufficient to adequately examine the issue at hand. Usually, content to let others conduct the seminar discussions.

**C- (70-73):** Lack of contribution to seminar discussions reflects substandard preparation for sessions. Unable to articulate a responsible opinion. Sometimes displays a negative attitude.

**D (56-69):** Rarely prepared or engaged. Contributions are infrequent and reflect below minimum acceptable understanding of course material. Engages in frequent fact-free conversation.

**F (0-55):** Student demonstrates unacceptable preparation and fails to contribute in any substantive manner. May be extremely disruptive or uncooperative and completely unprepared for seminar.

**12. Grade Appeals.** After discussing feedback and the grade on an assignment with his or her seminar moderator, a student may request a grade review by submitting a written justification for the review to the Department Executive Assistant no later than one week after the grade has been received. The Executive Assistant will then appoint two faculty members other than the original graders to conduct an independent review. Anonymity will be maintained throughout the second team of graders will not know the student's identity, the seminar from which the essay came, or the grade originally assigned. They will grade the paper independently as though it had been submitted for the first time, providing full comments, criticisms, and a new grade. The new grade will replace the old one. The student may request an additional review of the work in question no later than one week after the new grade has been received, whereupon the Department Chair will review the appeal and either affirm the grade assigned on appeal or assign another grade (higher or lower), which then replaces any previous grade assigned. In exceptional circumstances the student may, within one week of receiving the results of the appeal from the Department Chair, make a further appeal to the Dean of Academics, whose decision in the matter will be final.

**13. Academic Honor Code.** Plagiarism, cheating, and misrepresentation of work will not be tolerated at the Naval War College. The Naval War College enforces a strict academic code requiring authors to properly cite materials they have consulted for written work submitted in fulfillment of diploma/degree requirements. Simply put plagiarism is prohibited. Likewise, this academic code (defined in the U.S. Naval War College *Faculty Handbook*) prohibits cheating, as well as presenting work previously completed elsewhere as new work. Plagiarism, cheating, and

misrepresentation are inconsistent with the professional standards required of all military personnel and government employees. Furthermore, in the case of U.S. military officers, such conduct clearly violates the “Exemplary Conduct Standards” delineated in Title 10, U.S. Code, Sections 3583 (U.S. Army), 5947 (U.S. Naval Service), and 8583 (U.S. Air Force).

**Plagiarism** is the use of someone else’s work without giving proper credit to the author or creator of the work. It is passing off another’s words, ideas, analysis, or other products as one’s own. Whether intentional or unintentional, plagiarism is a serious violation of academic integrity and will be treated as such by the College. Plagiarism includes but is not limited to:

- a. Verbatim use of others’ words without both quotation marks (or block quotation) and citation.
- b. Paraphrasing of others’ words or ideas without citation.
- c. Any use of others’ work (other than facts that are widely accepted as common knowledge) found in books, journals, newspapers, websites, interviews, government documents, course materials, lecture notes, films, and so forth without giving credit.

Authors are expected to give full credit in their written submissions when using another’s words or ideas. While extensive quoting or paraphrasing of others’ work with proper attribution is not prohibited by this code, a substantially borrowed but properly cited paper may lack the originality expected of graduate-level work. Submission of such a paper may merit a low or failing grade but is not plagiarism.

**Artificial Intelligence Software.** According to PNWC 19 February 2023 Policy Memorandum on Permissible and Impermissible Uses of ChatGPT and Similar Artificial Intelligence Software states that ChatGPT and other AI tools may not be used “To produce drafts or final submissions of assignments instead of original student work product. Students may not use ChatGPT or other AI tools to produce written, video, audio, or other work assigned to be developed originally and independently and submitted or presented to satisfy required coursework, regardless of whether it is graded or ungraded.” The policy memorandum also states, “Students who resort to AI-generated research and writing lose the unique opportunity the NWC provides to engage deeply with issues, reflect on and analyze information, develop compelling arguments and counterarguments, and write coherent and convincing work that expands learning and broadens expertise. After all, that is precisely the reason why students are enrolled at NWC, and it is their primary duty.”

**Cheating** is defined as giving, receiving, or using unauthorized aid in support of one’s own efforts or the efforts of another student. (Note: NWC reference librarians, Strategy and Policy Department faculty as well as those from the Writing Center are authorized sources of aid in the preparation of class assignments, but not exams.) Cheating includes but is not limited to the following actions:

- a. Gaining unauthorized access to exams.

b. Assisting or receiving assistance from other students or other individuals in the preparation of written assignments or during tests (unless specifically permitted).

c. Using unauthorized materials (notes, texts, crib sheets, and the like, in paper or electronic form) during tests.

**Misrepresentation** is defined as using a single paper for more than one purpose without permission or acknowledgement. Misrepresentation includes but is not limited to the following actions:

a. Submitting a single paper or substantially the same paper for more than one course at NWC without permission from the instructors.

b. Submitting a paper or substantially the same paper previously prepared for some other purpose outside NWC without acknowledging that it is an earlier work.

**14. Student Survey.** Student feedback is vital to the future development of the Strategy and Policy Course. Responses are treated anonymously and are used only to create standardized reports. The survey is designed to provide lecture feedback on a weekly basis and overall feedback at the end of the course.

Lecture surveys do not require a password, but for the course survey student seminar leaders will distribute randomly generated passwords to each student. Use this password for the end of the course survey and please do not share it with others. Thank you in advance for your time and effort in completing this important assessment of the Strategy and Policy Course.

**15. Online Resources.** Blackboard is the main repository of online resources for the Strategy and Policy Course. On Blackboard, students can access the most current versions of the syllabus, course calendar, lecture schedule, and selected readings. Moreover, lecture handouts and video links will be posted on Blackboard along with other supplemental information, including material specific to individual seminars.

Readings identified as “Selected Readings” or “Leganto” are available electronically through Blackboard. The best way to access such readings is to log into Blackboard for your seminar, select the “Case Studies” tab, and then the relevant case. The words “Selected Readings” serve as a hyperlink to take you to the PDF of the correct reading. The word “Leganto” also serves as a hyperlink to take you to the library electronic reserve reading list. The words “E-book/Leganto” will provide you with access to the entire electronic version of the book, however only the pages listed in the syllabus are required for reading.

Please refer any questions to Laura Cavallaro (Academic Coordinator, Strategy and Policy Department), [Laura.Cavallaro@usnwc.edu](mailto:Laura.Cavallaro@usnwc.edu); (401) 856-5363; Strategy and Policy Department, Office H-333.

## I. THEORIES OF WAR, STRATEGY, AND GREAT POWER COMPETITIONS

**General:** One of the main goals of Professional Military Education is to develop “strategically minded joint warfighters who think critically.”<sup>3</sup> Those seeking to hone their critical thinking skills can do so either through first-hand experience or study. For the military professional, first-hand experience can be a bloody process of real-world trial and error. The Strategy and Policy Course uses case studies to impart critical habits of thought in the classroom, where learning does not have such potentially catastrophic results. Though each case is unique, the sequence of cases is designed toward a cumulative outcome through the integration of theorists, course themes, and historical examples. The first case provides foundational concepts of the course, defines terminology so that students can communicate effectively, and, more importantly, it exposes students to several key course theorists.

\_\_\_\_ Carl von Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, and Sir Basil Liddell Hart provide a theoretical and analytical foundation for the course. In future case studies, students will encounter additional theorists, including Julian S. Corbett, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Thucydides, and Mao Zedong. To fully utilize these thinkers, it is important to grasp the value of theoretical writing. These sometimes-complementary, sometimes-conflicting works will not provide standardized answers. Instead, theorists impart common frames of reference and useful concepts for civilian and military leaders to utilize when integrating instruments of national power in the pursuit of political ends. They spark thought, stimulate debate, and promote creativity. Theory does not provide a one-size-fits-all answer; rather, theory contributes to the development of sound strategy. These theorists offer a point of departure from which we can think critically about the subsequent case studies and course themes.

\_\_\_\_ First, the theorists provide methods of thinking through difficult problems. Book 2 of Clausewitz’s *On War* is particularly suggestive. In these pages, Clausewitz applies concepts such as the purpose of theory and critical analysis to war. Rather than rules and laws, the theorists provide aids in judgment. Students should, however, understand that these methods of thinking can be applied to issues beyond the use of force and can assist with problem-solving in nearly every aspect of life. After all, Clausewitz’s critical analysis entails “the application of theoretical truths to actual events.” It requires “not just an evaluation of the means actually employed, but of *all possible means*.”<sup>4</sup>

\_\_\_\_ Second, every theorist in the Strategy and Policy Course contends that war must serve a rational political purpose. This is not mere coincidence: the theorists span several millennia and represent different cultures, societies, and political systems. Strategy involves linking the ways to attain an end with the available means, in a competitive environment where adversaries react and respond. One cannot understand strategy without an appreciation of all three factors.

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<sup>3</sup> Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, “Officer Professional Military Education Policy,” CJCSI 1800.01G, 15 April 2024.

<sup>4</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 156, 161.

Third, the theorists present an expansive array of concepts. Their ideas and frameworks provide tools for analysis and ways to expand the student's mental aperture. Though the theorists presented in the course wrote many years ago, their concepts remain relevant today. Sun Tzu's injunction to know the enemy and know oneself parallels Clausewitz's recommendations on pre-war planning and lives on in our contemporary concept of "net assessment." Moreover, Sun Tzu's emphasis on advantageous positioning, superior speed, and surprise foreshadows many aspects of what is now called "maneuver warfare." Likewise, Clausewitz's maxim of concentrating forces against the enemy's "center of gravity" still lies at the heart of U.S. joint military doctrine and planning processes. Liddell Hart's concern with war termination and a better state of peace reflects personal experience of two 20<sup>th</sup> century world wars, but also a deep understanding of historical competitions between great powers.

Finally, each theorist describes an overarching way of war grounded in the context of the theorist's time. Each wrote for a specific type of belligerent with definite instruments of power, and in a certain strategic environment. Clausewitz served Prussia, a continental great power on the European mainland. The state's primary instrument of national power was its army. His writings grapple with changes in warfare that occurred during the Napoleonic Wars. Sun Tzu's writings reflect the instruments of power and conditions specific to the warring states of ancient China. Though the insights of the theorists have relevance beyond warfare of their specific era and their type of state, students of strategy should keep in mind the context in which each theorist wrote. It allows us to better conceptualize the strengths and limitations of their theories. Moreover, this helps us to understand some of the principal critiques levied against their writings.

Theoretical works do not provide definitive answers to strategic problems. Rather than answers, theory provides principles and concepts to consider when seeking solutions to complex problems. In that pursuit, we must not twist and distort the theorists into things they are not. Each theorist provides specific tools, and as students of strategy, we must seek the proper tool.

Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, and Liddell Hart offer complementary theories. Clausewitz provides a critical point of departure by clearly describing war as "*nothing but the continuation of policy with other means.*"<sup>5</sup> As the title of his book suggests, he writes extensively on war. In some respects, his focus is the narrowest of all the theorists in the course, yet he provides a definition and description of war in its various parts. Unlike Clausewitz, who developed complex and reasoned arguments, Sun Tzu addresses strategy in concise, yet profound statements. His writings tend to stretch beyond the actual fighting. He emphasizes winning without fighting and his menu of options addresses the value of attacking an opponent's strategy, and alliances, supporting his argument that victory is possible without bloodshed. Liddell Hart extrapolated from Clausewitz and Sun Tzu to posit a theory of "grand strategy"—an "all instruments of power" approach for nations and coalitions to assure positive political outcomes in peace and war. This is important when addressing long-term competitions between great powers. These competitions require analysis of the interplay of strategic concepts and policy instruments, as well as careful strategic thinking in both war and peace.

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<sup>5</sup> Clausewitz, *On War*, Note of July 10, 1827, p. 69.



\_\_\_\_\_ One of the many tools for understanding grand strategy and long-term competitions is geopolitics. Geopolitics serves as an analytical framework for assessing how geography influences strategic culture and decision-making and shapes the international competition for security. The article by Paine provides an overview of this key concept, focusing on how maritime and continental states approach world affairs. Geopolitics is especially relevant to leaders trying to grasp the fundamentals of reemerging great power competition.

\_\_\_\_\_ In keeping with the cumulative nature of the course, this case provides critical frameworks for evaluating complex problems of strategy and policy that will be presented in the subsequent historical case studies. To aid in this objective, the reading by Biddle provides a link between many of the complex topics of this case study, their application to historical cases, and ultimately, to the contemporary environment. Rather than answers, this case study leaves us with questions and frameworks that allow students of strategy to fulfill the current military leadership's expectation for "the development of strategically minded joint warfighters who think critically and can creatively apply military power to inform national strategy, conduct globally integrated operations, and fight under conditions of disruptive change."<sup>6</sup>

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. How does Clausewitz's view of the proper relationship between war and politics compare to the views offered by Sun Tzu?
2. What factors do Clausewitz and Sun Tzu tell the reader to assess when trying to better understand friends, enemies, neutrals, and even oneself?
3. The authors of *The Art of War* and *On War* agree: though war can be studied systematically, strategic leadership is an art, not a science. What are the implications of this proposition for the study of strategy and policy?
4. How do Clausewitz and Sun Tzu define war? In what ways do their respective definitions impact their theories?
5. What does Clausewitz mean by critical analysis? How can this concept aid those in the profession of arms as well as national security professionals when making strategy and policy decisions?
6. What does Clausewitz conceive to be the value of theory for strategic leaders in the profession of arms?
7. Clausewitz emphasizes the need to understand the importance of three interrelated aspects of war: reason, passion, and the play of chance and creativity. How do the three concepts interact as part of a trinity? What value does the trinity have for a student of strategy who is

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<sup>6</sup> Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Officer Professional Military Education Policy," CJCSI 1800.01G, 15 April 2024.

attempting to understand individual wars, and does the trinity's value change when approaching long-term competitions?

8. *The Art of War* says that “to subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill,” while Clausewitz states that very limited and defensive objectives might be secured by the mere deployment of force. Are these two statements contradictory or complementary?

9. Clausewitz, on page 69 of *On War*, recognizes two kinds of war, involving limited or unlimited objectives. How do they differ from each other?

10. In Book 1, Chapter 1 of *On War*, Clausewitz makes a distinction between war in theory—which tends to escalate until all available forces are used—and war in reality. How do the two types of war differ from each other? Why are most wars waged with less than total effort?

11. Evaluate the role of intelligence in *The Art of War* and *On War*. Which view is more relevant today?

12. Some have suggested that technological advances may soon lift the “fog of war” completely, thus invalidating certain of Clausewitz's most important insights. Do you agree?

13. On page 131, Clausewitz states “we clearly see that the activities characteristic of war may be split into two main categories: those that are merely preparation for war, and war proper.” Does this mean that strategic principles cannot be applied to peacetime? Would Sun Tzu agree?

14. What is “grand strategy?” How useful are Clausewitz and Sun Tzu for thinking about grand strategy? Does Liddell Hart's definition reflect the thinking of either Clausewitz or Sun Tzu?

15. Liddell Hart considered “the object in war is to attain a better peace.” What did Hart consider to be a better state of peace? Would Clausewitz and Sun Tzu agree?

16. Sun Tzu argued that attacking an enemy's strategy and disrupting an enemy's alliances are the two preferred means of winning conflicts. How can these concepts be applied at the grand strategic level?

17. What are the key aspects of geopolitical analysis? What advantages does an understanding of geopolitics confer on a student of strategy?

18. How have advances in communication and transportation technologies affected the geopolitical landscape and the search for security?

19. Of the theorists presented in this case study, which provides the most valuable insights for understanding long-term competitions, and why?

20. What challenges are inherent when employing theoretical principles to aid in the understanding of historical cases? Do the challenges change when using principles to consider current and future decision-making environments?

### Readings:

1. Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. **BOOK**

Please note, *On War* is divided into eight books, each of the eight books is subdivided into chapters. The following are the assigned readings:

- The Front Matter to *On War*: Preface by Marie von Clausewitz and Two Notes by the Author (pages 65-71).
- Book One: All Chapters.
- Book Two: Chapters 1-3 and 5-6.
- Book Three: All Chapters.
- Book Four: Chapter 11.
- Book Five: Chapter 3.
- Book Six: Chapters 1, 5, 6, 26, and 27.
- Book Seven: Chapters 2-5, and 22.
- Book Eight: All Chapters.

[This translation of *On War*, by historians Howard and Paret with commentary by strategic analyst Bernard Brodie, was much heralded when it appeared in 1976, in the immediate aftermath of the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. It remains the most widely read English-language version of Clausewitz's work.]

2. Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*. Samuel B. Griffith, trans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980. Pages 57-149. **BOOK**

[Griffith's experience in the United States Marine Corps, as well as his deep knowledge of Asian languages and cultures, makes his translation of Sun Tzu both scholarly and approachable for the professional military officer.]

3. Liddell Hart, Sir B. H. *Strategy*. New York: Meridian, second revised edition, 1991. Pages 319-323, 353-360. **(Leganto)**

[Liddell Hart, one of the most prolific and important British writers on strategic affairs in the twentieth century, introduces the concept of "grand strategy." This passage also supplies an important definition of "victory," and thoughts on the transitory nature of war termination.]

4. Sarah C. M. Paine, "The 2022 George C. Marshall Lecture in Military History: Centuries of Security: Chinese, Russian and U.S. Continental versus Maritime Approaches," *Journal of Military History* 86 (October 2022), 813–836. **(Leganto)**

[Paine, a Naval War College Distinguished University Professor, provides an overview of “geopolitics”—geography’s role in politics, strategy, and international relations. Her work especially emphasizes how geography shapes the decisions of leaders in maritime and continental states.]

5. Biddle, Tami Davis. *Strategy and Grand Strategy: What Students and Practitioners Need to Know*. Strategic Studies Institute. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Press. Pages 1-19. **(Selected Readings)**

[Drawing, often implicitly, on many of the concepts and frameworks presented in the previous readings, Biddle highlights items strategic leaders should consider when approaching strategy and grand strategy in real-world environments.]

6. Ulrich, Marybeth. *International Relations Theory for Strategy and Policy, Part I: Key Concepts*. U.S. Naval War College. Newport, RI, 2024. **(Selected Readings)**

[This paper outlines key concepts of international relations theory that are relevant to the study of Strategy and Policy. It complements the opening cases in the course, which will introduce and consider these concepts in both theory and practice. These terms and concepts are additions to your “strategist’s toolkit” to help you analyze the historical cases covered in Strategy and Policy as well as the contemporary strategic environment.]

7. Ulrich, Marybeth. *International Relations Theory for Strategy and Policy, Part II: Competing World Views -- The Inter-Paradigm Debate*. U.S. Naval War College. Newport, RI, 2024. **(Selected Readings)**

[This paper complements “International Relations Theory for Strategy and Policy Part I: Key Concepts.” This brief primer gives an overview of the main theoretical approaches of international relations theory. As a strategist, your task is to apply the explanatory power of each theoretical approach to the issue you seek to comprehensively understand. These concepts will be discussed throughout the Strategy and Policy course and the primer will be a good reference when you continue your study of international relations theory with the National Security Affairs (NSA) department.]

## II. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: PEACE, WAR, AND DETERRENCE IN A LONG-TERM COMPETITION

**General:** Our first historical case study involves a war that may be unfamiliar to many students. Thucydides, however, meant for his account of the decades-long conflict between a rising Athenian empire and the traditional hegemon, Sparta, to be “a possession for all time.” He succeeded. American political and military leaders from John Adams to George C. Marshall considered its lessons applicable to the security challenges of their own day. In this case study, our lens has been widened to include not only the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) that Thucydides wrote about, but also the long-term competition in which that war occurred.

The struggle of Athens and Sparta for hegemony lasted 75 years—from the initial defeat of the invading Persians by an Athenian-Spartan alliance in 479 B.C. to the final defeat of Athens by a Persian-Spartan alliance in 404 B.C. Vibrant Athens was on the rise for the first 50 years of this case study, prompting two wars with Sparta and its allies in the Peloponnesian League. These two former allies interacted along a continuum of competition from economic sanctions to outright conflict. Looming offshore was Persia, an ancient “superpower” that played the city-states of Greece against one another.

After the Athenian-Spartan alliance beat back the Persian invasion in 479 B.C., both city-states could have taken an equal share of the spoils. Sparta, however, withdrew and retrenched while Athens assumed leadership of the Delian League. Originally a confederation of maritime states created as an anti-Persian alliance, the Delian League slowly transformed into the Athenian empire, and Athenian wealth and power—especially maritime power—grew impressively. Sparta increasingly began to fear this growth and considered invasion to stop it.

A defection from Sparta’s alliance system in 460 B.C. triggered war between Athens and Sparta. Sparta and its allies tried to check growing Athenian power. Athens faced revolts within its empire, dispatched a doomed overseas expedition, was threatened by Spartan invasion, and was weakened by Persian intrigues. The war ended indecisively in 446 B.C. with a thirty-year treaty meant to prevent the same causes from triggering another war.

However, a stable peace proved elusive. Continued Athenian expansion unsettled Sparta and its allies. Several local crises gave Sparta the pretext to declare war in 431 B.C. despite the objections of its king Archidamus. For the first seven years of the war, both relied on their strengths. Athens used its maritime power to protect its lines of communications and launch small amphibious raids, while Sparta invaded the Athenian homeland annually. Neither side was able to terminate the war, however, and both found more success with modified strategies. Athens applied sea power more aggressively and lucked into what became a major victory by capturing a group of Sparta’s elite citizen-soldiers. Unable to pursue its traditional strategy for fear of endangering its captured citizens, Sparta targeted Athenian allies and lines of communication, capturing a key source of Athens’ naval stores. An inconclusive battle and the deaths of both field commanders empowered the peace parties in each city state in 421 B.C.

The resulting Peace of Nicias, named for the Athenian leader who brokered it, was supposed to last fifty years. But neither side completely fulfilled the treaty’s obligations, and

soon Athens was intriguing against Sparta while Sparta's allies were encouraging it to resume the war. Athens failed to win a decisive land battle against Sparta in 418 B.C. and saw its dreams of an expanded empire crushed by the failure of the Sicilian Campaign in 413 B.C. After this defeat, Persia finally chose sides. Persian ships and money allowed Sparta to rapidly integrate sea power on an unprecedented scale. By the end of the war, Athens was again dealing with repeated allied revolts, the loss of a large expeditionary force in Sicily, a permanent Spartan garrison near Athens, and the active involvement of Persia on the side of Sparta. The destruction of Athens' remaining naval forces in 405 B.C. led its leaders to sue for peace the following year.

This case allows students to consider the interrelationship between war termination, winning the peace and preparing for war, and the decision for war. Of the three major conflicts in this case study, only the Persian Wars ended without a formal, negotiated settlement. During the Peloponnesian War from 431-404 B.C., both Athens and Sparta rejected multiple peace offers from the other side, and neither fully complied with the terms of the Peace of Nicias. It is worth examining whether these failed because one side demanded too much (or perhaps too little) politically or did not go far enough militarily.

The Greek city-states were never able to transform their military victories into permanent peace agreements. In some cases, the underlying reasons for the conflict had not been resolved, preventing a more lasting peace from taking hold. The treaty agreed to at the end of the first Athenian-Spartan conflict in 446 B.C. was specifically structured to prevent the tensions that led to war, but in 431 B.C. the Peloponnesian War began under remarkably similar circumstances.

These issues prompted Athens and Sparta to strengthen and realign their coalitions and continually prepare for the next war. As a result, each power deliberately chose to initiate, or reinstate, hostilities. Thucydides presents several of these decisions—the beginning of the Second Peloponnesian War and the Athenian invasion of Sicily—as debates within one or more of the alliances. It is worth asking whether these decisions were based on new policy aims, unfulfilled policy aims from the previous war, or poor war termination and peace enforcement. Similarly, students should evaluate not only how well the victors “won” the peace, but how all sides prepared for the next war.

This case also introduces Thucydides as one of the course's theorists. Although he did not originate the theory of coercion, and neither Athens nor Sparta thought of their strategies in terms of deterrence or compellence, analysts have found examples of these modern concepts in his history. After all, Athens and Sparta spent much of the war maneuvering around various treaties, and they often attempted to intimidate or cajole their allies and enemies through their speeches and actions. Both Athens and Sparta used military, diplomatic, economic, and information tools to support their efforts in war and peace. Students should consider whether coercion failures contributed to both Athenian and Spartan decisions for war or their inability to win the peace.

Thucydides is sometimes called the founder of realism or power politics, and students can trace the evolution of this concept as well as its implementation through Thucydides' speeches, many of which present both realism and its alternatives. Additionally, the motivations of honor, fear, and self-interest may serve as a sort of “Thucydidean trinity,” much like

Clausewitz's trinity of passion, chance, and reason. Finally, embedded within the text are key concepts that may offer frameworks to view later cases, such as net assessment, the policy-strategy match, and the difference between proximate and ultimate causes.

Finally, focusing on Thucydides' descriptions of the challenges faced by democratic Athens during the Peloponnesian War, provides possible lessons for the United States today. To what extent do modern democracies embody the characteristics of ancient Athens, and how much can we learn from the Athenian experience? If Clausewitz and Sun Tzu were right to suggest that self-knowledge is the foundation of any effective policy and strategy, then is Thucydides' account of the rise and fall of Athens a worthwhile starting point for understanding the problems modern democracies experience in long-term competitions?

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. How would you characterize the relationship between Athens and Sparta at the end of the Persian Wars (479 B.C.)? Did this relationship change between 479-431 B.C.? If so, why?
2. What factors contributed to the outbreak of both the Athenian-Spartan conflict of 460-446 B.C. and the Peloponnesian War from 431-404 B.C.? Why were these factors important?
3. Did Athenian and/or Spartan allies drag them into a war that neither power wanted?
4. Why was Sparta not deterred from going to war with Athens?
5. In 431 B.C., Athens had the most capable and largest navy in the Greek world. Why did this advantage not lead to victory in the Peloponnesian War?
6. Which leader, Pericles or Archidamus, did a better job of net assessment and of comprehending the security environment prior to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War?
7. How well did the sea power, Athens, and the land power, Sparta, compensate for their weaknesses and exploit its strengths in fighting against each other?
8. Did the Peace of Nicias fail because the belligerents didn't go far enough militarily, because they demanded too much politically, or because they couldn't agree on peace enforcement?
9. What underlying problems did the Peace of Nicias fail to solve? Were there any alternatives short of renewed conflict that could have solved them?
10. Was Sparta's success due more to its superior strategy or to the self-defeating behavior of the Athenians?
11. Why did Athens and Sparta find it so difficult to successfully terminate this conflict?

12. Which was more important for Sparta's victory after the defeat of the Sicilian Expedition: its management of the campaign in Attica and the Aegean, or its integration of Sicilian and Persian allies?

13. How effective were different instruments of state power at achieving the policy objectives of Athens, Sparta, and Persia?

14. Which city-state struck the better balance between short-term military considerations and longer-term political considerations—Athens or Sparta?

15. "Persia derived the most benefit from the conflicts between the Greek city-states." Do you agree?

16. Are democracies more likely than other systems of government to commit the "blunders" Pericles was so concerned about and Thucydides highlighted? If so, why? If not, why not?

17. Basil Liddell Hart asserts that "the object in war is to attain a better peace—even if only from your point of view." Did any of the conflicts studied in this case achieve that objective?

18. Sun Tzu states that attacking the enemy's strategy and allies should take precedence over attacking either their army or their cities. How viable was this "menu" of options for Athens and Sparta in this case study?

19. Thucydides characterized the Peloponnesian War as one that was "inevitable". What current of future conflicts could be described in a similar way, and why?

20. Past students have found Thucydides critical for making sense of their experiences in Vietnam as well as Afghanistan and Iraq. To what degree does Thucydides help you understand the current strategic challenges that confront the U.S.?

### **Readings:**

1. Strassler, Robert B., ed. *The Landmark Thucydides*. New York: The Free Press, 1996. Books I-VIII, Pages 3-548. Books 1-8. **BOOK**

[Thucydides covers all eleven Strategy and Policy course themes in his account of this war, compelling his readers to think through the interrelationship of policy, strategy, and operations and the integration and application of naval power.]

*Key passages:*



- Book I – The origins of the conflict, pages 3-85. With particular emphasis on the speeches, the Persian Wars and the Delian League, pages 49-54, and the Athenian-Spartan conflict from 460-446 B.C., pages 56-63.
- Book II – Outbreak of the war, pages 89-107.  
– Pericles’ Funeral Oration, the plague in Athens, and the policy of Pericles, pages 110-128.
- Book III – The revolt of Mytilene, pages 159-167.  
– The Mytilenean debate, pages 175-184.  
– The Plataean debate, pages 185-193.  
– The Corcyrean civil war, pages 194-201.
- Book IV – Athens’ success at Pylos, pages 223-246.  
– Brasidas in Thrace, pages 263-272.  
– Brasidas captures Amphipolis, pages 279-285.
- Book V – Peace of Nicias, pages 309-316.  
– Alliance between Athens and Argos and the Battle of Mantinea, pages 327-350.  
– The Melian Dialogue, pages 350-357.
- Book VI – Launching of the Sicilian expedition, pages 361-379.
- Book VII – Athenian disaster in Sicily, pages 427-478.
- Book VIII – Reaction to Athenian defeat in Sicily, pages 481-483.  
– Spartan treaties with Persia, pages 492, 501-502, and 514-515.  
– Alcibiades advises Persia, pages 506-508.  
– The Athenian coup, pages 508-512, 517-525, and 532-540.

2. Kagan, Donald. *The Peloponnesian War*. New York: Penguin, 2004. Pages 1-54.

**(Leganto)**

[Kagan’s account is helpful for understanding the events leading to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War as well as the geopolitical context and coalition dynamics of fifth century B.C. Greece.]

3. Roberts, Jennifer T. *The Plague of War: Athens, Sparta, and the Struggle for Ancient Greece*. London: Oxford, 2017. Pages 237-294. **BOOK**

[This selection from Roberts picks up the narrative of the war where Thucydides leaves off and carries through the Ionian War, including the crucial naval battles of Arginusae and Aegospotami, ending with the deposition of democracy in Athens.]

4. Lebow, Richard Ned. “Thucydides and Deterrence.” *Security Studies*, 16 (2007). Pages 163-188. **(Leganto)**

[This article by former Strategy and Policy visiting professor Ned Lebow examines deterrence and compellence failures as possible explanations for the origins and course of the Peloponnesian War.]

### III. THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON: MARITIME VERSUS CONTINENTAL GRAND STRATEGIES

**General:** Between 1793 and 1815, Great Britain and France struggled for hegemony over Europe and dueled for supremacy on the world's oceans. Britain, as a maritime power in possession of a dominant navy, sought unrivalled command of the seas. With a powerful army, France sought to dominate Europe. Although Britain possessed a smaller army, British leaders consistently opposed French plans on the continent. The challenges faced by continental and maritime powers in overcoming their asymmetric deficiencies and applying their strengths contributed to the protracted nature of the wars considered in this case study. Unlike the Peloponnesian War, in which the maritime power Athens lost command of the sea and suffered defeat, in the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon the maritime power Britain maintained its command of the sea and in combination with the continental powers Austria, Prussia, and Russia eventually defeated its continental adversary.

The wars examined in this case study—the Wars of the French Revolution (1793-1802) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815)—were the final pair of conflicts in a longstanding great-power competition between Britain and France. These wars were in part precipitated by the destabilizing influence of the French Revolution. In the opening stages of the conflict, William Pitt the Younger guided British policy and strategy. His successors would follow his basic strategy of maximizing Britain's naval power, along with British strengths in finance, industry, and commerce, while minimizing its weakness on land by supporting anti-French coalitions.

This case study emphasizes broad concepts in strategy and policy. One concept is the fundamental difference between what is necessary to compel an adversary to sue for peace and what is required to make peace durable. The protracted nature of the wars in this case allows students to contrast operational with strategic success and underscores the interplay of civil and military leadership in successful war termination. Napoleon is often ranked among the greatest military commanders in the history of warfare. As Napoleon rose to prominence in the 1790s, he increasingly blurred the lines between military and political leadership. He became First Consul through a coup d'état in 1799. In 1804, he took the additional step of becoming Emperor of the French. As emperor, he won stunning battlefield victories, including Austerlitz, Jena-Auerstadt, and Friedland. Napoleon was not only a successful commander but also the head of state, wielding the political power to terminate individual wars at will. A stable peace, however, eluded him. Why did Napoleon, one of the greatest battlefield commanders in history, suffer defeat and forced abdication? And how did Britain, along with Napoleon's other opponents, achieve a lasting peace?

Another topic in policy and strategy highlighted by this case is the influence of political culture on strategy. The French Revolution transformed politics and consequently the conduct of wars. The French Revolution altered the relationship between the government and the people and transformed the organization and development of the military. Ideas of liberty, equality, and nationalism created powerful motivations that turned the population from subjects of a king into citizens of a nation. Revolutionaries harnessed these motivations through the *levée en masse*, creating a nation in arms with the entire state focused on waging war and a new way of warfare that encouraged boldness. The military was no longer composed of long-service volunteers and

foreign mercenaries, but of citizen soldiers. Command was no longer the exclusive preserve of those of noble family lineages but open to all who demonstrated talent.

This case study introduces the sea power theories of Sir Julian Corbett and Alfred Thayer Mahan. These major theorists on strategy examine the challenge of winning naval mastery and understanding the strategic and economic effects derived from commanding the maritime commons. Sir Julian Corbett drew heavily upon Clausewitz's *On War* to develop a distinctive analysis of how maritime powers fight and win wars. At sea, Corbett believed the key objective from which all other effects flowed was the need to obtain "command of the sea." Corbett used Britain's experience in the Napoleonic Wars to show the strategic impact that a maritime power can have in influencing the outcome of wars on land. Although the British army was not as strong as those of the European great powers, the mobility provided by the Royal Navy allowed the army to exert influence on the war's outcome. Britain's joint capabilities allowed for opening and closing secondary theaters. After several false starts, Britain conducted what many view as a textbook example of joint and combined strategy in the Iberian Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington's leadership. The British campaigns in Spain and Portugal provided Corbett with an ideal case study to illustrate his strategic theories.

Alfred Thayer Mahan is famous for his examination of sea power. Mahan served as a professor and second president of the Naval War College. The excerpt from *The Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812* illustrates key aspects of Mahan's strategic theories. Mahan developed the concept of sea power, emphasizing the interrelationship of naval power, geopolitics, social structure, economic organization, and governmental institutions. When addressing naval strategy, operations, and tactics, Mahan emphasized the aggressive employment of the fleet. He argued that Admiral Horatio Nelson, Britain's famous naval leader, was the true embodiment of sea power largely because of his unerring quest for battle and the effects Britain obtained from his victories. This case study allows students to analyze the relative value of fleets for continental and maritime powers, the circumstances in which risking one's fleet – often an irrecoverable asset – makes strategic sense, and the ways naval power can influence a war's outcome. Can this influence be decisive? For example, the Battle of Trafalgar, fought on October 21, 1805, has mythic status, but did the victory at Trafalgar really change the course or outcome of the war?

The long period of warfare covered in this case allows for an examination of the strategic effects of economic and financial instruments of national power, coalition warfare, and the challenge of making a durable peace through conquest and coercive diplomacy. Napoleon's Continental System sought to monopolize continental trade for the benefit of France while severing Britain's economic ties with the European continent. Britain employed its own instruments of economic warfare and control over maritime trade in retaliation against the Continental System. These attempts by Britain and France to damage their opponent's economy resulted in an escalation of the war, as their objectives expanded, and economic warfare drew additional states into the conflict.

Although Britain played a prominent role in the coalitions against France, the other European great powers—namely Austria, Prussia, and Russia—provided most of the land forces. Only in 1813 did a final coalition form that proved capable of defeating Napoleon. A comparison

of the success of this final coalition to previous failures reveals both the prerequisites for coalition cohesion as well as high barriers to coalition unity.

The statesmen who created the final coalition against Napoleonic France endeavored to transition from a wartime coalition to one capable of enforcing peace and providing long-term stability. Before the gates of Paris in 1814 and then at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, European political leaders planned a comprehensive postwar settlement to ensure stability through the satisfaction of essential national interests. The European great powers created an international order that produced to a period of relative peace.

The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon offer important lessons for political and military leaders today. The sharp ideological divide created by the French Revolution, a division between proponents of the values of liberal democracy and those supporting traditional authoritarianism, continues to exist as illustrated by Vladimir Putin's recent invasion of Ukraine and efforts to weaken Western democracies. Great power competition has revived and remains as dangerous to peace today as it was in the era of the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon. The theories of Clausewitz, Mahan, and Corbett, derived from careful study of the wars covered in this case, continue to inform current strategic thinking. Finally, an historical appreciation of the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon can be of value to leaders today when navigating the treacherous waters of the current geopolitical environment.

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. Which mattered more as a cause of the Wars of the French Revolution (1792-1803): differences in ideology or the interests of great powers?
2. How well did Revolutionary France (1792-1802) exploit its strengths and compensate for its weaknesses in the wars against the coalitions arrayed against it?
3. What best explains the failure of the First and Second Coalitions to achieve their aims against Revolutionary France?
4. Just as the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) broke down almost immediately, the Peace of Amiens (1802) also ended in abrupt failure. What explains the failure of these peace agreements?
5. In fighting Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, which factor was most important for Britain: its military and naval instruments of war or its economic power?
6. How well did Britain exploit its strengths and compensate for its weaknesses in its wars with France?
7. How strategically important were operations in secondary theaters for determining the outcome of the wars examined in this case?
8. Was the Battle of Trafalgar decisive?

9. Which was more important for Napoleon's defeat: his own self-defeating actions or the strategic performance of his adversaries?

10. Is Corbett correct to argue that Great Britain's effort in the Peninsular War (1807-1814) played a decisive role in the defeat of Napoleon?

11. How well do Corbett's principles of maritime strategy explain the outcome of the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon?

12. Is Mahan correct to argue that Britain's triumph over Napoleonic France was only possible through the "exhaustion" of the French state? (See, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. 2, page 411)

13. Was Napoleon's Continental System the single greatest factor in his eventual defeat?

14. What enabled the final coalition to succeed in bringing an end to the Napoleonic Wars when all its predecessors had failed?

15. Could Napoleon's nemesis Great Britain ever have succeeded in his overthrow without the combined efforts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia?

16. In the Peloponnesian War, the land power, Sparta, defeated the sea power, Athens. What differences can be found in this case to account for the opposite result in the wars between Britain and France?

17. Napoleon helped inspire Clausewitz's concept of "Genius" and Clausewitz even labeled Napoleon "the God of War." How can this be reconciled with the outcome of the case?

18. Did Napoleon ever win a decisive victory?

19. Are the factors that make for a strategically effective coalition different for winning a war than for maintaining the peace?

20. What lessons do the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon hold for political and military leaders in the twenty-first century?

### **Readings:**

1. Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Random House, 1987. Pages 115-139. **BOOK**

[Kennedy provides a grand strategic overview of the period addressed by this case study. He describes the European balance of power in the eighteenth century, emphasizing financial developments and geopolitical trends. In addition, Kennedy provides a synopsis of the period

from the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 until the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, focusing on Britain and France and their position in the European state system.]

2. Doyle, William. *The French Revolution: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pages 19-64. **BOOK**

[Doyle provides a brief overview of the French Revolution and explains its significance.]

3. Weigley, Russell F. *The Age of Battles: The Quest for Decisive Warfare from Breitenfeld to Waterloo*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991. Pages 279-543. **BOOK**

[Whereas reading no. 1 (Kennedy's *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*) addresses the case from the grand strategic level, Weigley provides an overview of warfare during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Era at the levels of strategy and operations. Weigley critiques the leadership of Napoleon, Wellington, and a host of other senior military officers while placing these leaders in the context of an evolving profession of arms. The reading also serves as a point of departure for assessing the potential decisiveness of the military instrument to the exclusion of the other instruments of national power.]

4. Duffy, Michael. "British Policy in the War against Revolutionary France," in *Britain and Revolutionary France: Conflict, Subversion and Propaganda*, Colin James, ed. Exeter Studies in History, no. 5. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1983. Pages 11-26. (**Leganto**)

[Duffy identifies four main British policies during the French Revolution and Napoleonic era. He then explains how the British implemented these policies to develop a policy-strategy match.]

5. Corbett, Julian S. *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press Edition, 1988. Part I: Chapters 1-5; Part II: Chapters 1 & 3; Appendix: the "Green Pamphlet" War Course: Notes on Strategy. **BOOK**

[Sir Julian Corbett admired and built upon Clausewitz's *On War*, adapting it to offer strategic guidance for maritime powers. His *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy* is important for understanding Britain's strategy in the Napoleonic Wars, and remains a fundamental text for understanding the strategic effects of joint and combined operations.]

6. Corbett, Julian S. "Napoleon and the British Navy after Trafalgar." *The Quarterly Review*, vol. 237, no. 471 (April 1922). Pages 238-255. (**Selected Readings**)

[This article addresses Trafalgar and British decision-making in its aftermath. Of particular importance is Corbett's concept of the "disposal force" or the use of a land force for the purpose of expeditionary warfare.]

7. Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire 1793-1812*. Vol. 2. 9th edition. Boston: Little, Brown, 1898. Pages 375-411. (**Selected Readings**)

[Alfred Thayer Mahan is renowned for his writings on sea power, maritime strategy, naval warfare, and international relations. In this excerpt from *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, Mahan examines the effectiveness of sea powers in long-term competitions and their means of defeating continental powers.]

8. Davey, James. *In Nelson's Wake: The Navy and the Napoleonic Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. Pages 230-253. **(Leganto)**

[This chapter provides an overview of economic warfare in the maritime domain. This includes privateers, blockades, convoys, and most importantly, Napoleon's Continental System.]

9. Ross, Steve. "Caging the Eagle: Napoleonic War Coalitions," in *Naval Coalition Warfare: From the Napoleonic War to Operation Iraqi Freedom*, Bruce A. Elleman and S.C.M. Paine, eds. London: Routledge, 2008. Pages 25-32. **(Leganto)**

[Ross, a former Naval War College professor, examines coalition dynamics to assess Britain's evolving role and explains the success of the final coalition in defeating Napoleon.]

10. Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. Pages 78-102. **BOOK**

[Kissinger highlights the events and personalities surrounding the Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe that emerged in the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat. He emphasizes strategic leadership in shaping the international environment as Europe transitioned from decades of war to almost a century without a major European-wide war.]



#### **IV. THE FIRST WORLD WAR: PLANNING FOR, CAMPAIGNING IN, AND TERMINATING A GREAT POWER WAR**

**General:** The First World War was a defining event in the history of the twentieth century. The clash of the great powers in 1914 came as an enormous shock to the European order. The conflict brought about the deaths of some sixteen million people, saw the collapse of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman empires, and hastened Europe's geopolitical decline in world affairs. The war also precipitated the emergence of the United States as a global power and brought about the creation of the Soviet Union. When one includes the mass killing of civilians, the global flu pandemic, and the emergence of antagonistic nationalistic and ideological movements, the war's legacy becomes even more profound.

To this day, how and why the participants chose to engage in a major European conflict continues to baffle historians and provides rich material for understanding the complex dynamics surrounding the decision for war. In the leadup to fighting, each of the European great powers worried that it was losing ground to rivals. Security fears led to the creation of alliances and arms races, both on land and at sea. By 1914 the great powers stood in armed camps ready to use force to maintain or advance their positions. Ever-larger militaries sustained by nationalism, industry, commerce, finance, and rising living standards created the material conditions for war on a scale never before witnessed. Moreover, military officers became increasingly specialized as members of the profession of arms. Military staffs modelled on the Prussian general staff trained officers how to mobilize armies rapidly and launch them on offensive operations in the quest for decisive battles. Although military leaders and planners did not discount the prospect that technological developments would result in enormous casualties, they nonetheless still believed at the war's outset that quick, decisive victories were possible through intensive planning, preparation, training, and morale.

The trigger for the First World War was a clash of Russian and Austro-Hungarian interests in the Balkans that spiraled out of control. Germany supported Austria-Hungary because it feared Russia's growing power and because Russia's alliance with France meant Germany faced an unacceptable long-term strategic encirclement. Germany's war plan, the so-called Schlieffen Plan, hoped to knock France out of the war before Russia could mobilize and overrun Germany's eastern frontier. The plan prized speed: France had superior global market access it could use to outlast Germany if the war became protracted. It also carried risk: the fastest westward invasion route was through neutral Belgium, a provocation that could, and did, bring Britain and its empire into the war on the side of France. German strategy thus gambled on both time and space.

Few among Europe's military professionals or their civilian masters had thought through the consequences if a war among great powers became protracted. Alliances caused the war to expand, preventing any one power from obtaining decisive superiority over its opponents. Moreover, industrial-age firepower created battlefields of unprecedented lethality. As the war protracted, military and civilian leaders grasped for novel instruments of warfare such as submarines, tanks, poison gas, and airplanes. In their desperate search for operational advantage, they obliterated existing ethical norms of warfare while gradually erasing the distinction between combatants and noncombatants.

Writing in the decades before the First World War, Alfred Thayer Mahan developed the concept of sea power as fundamental to success in war and to achieve greatness in world politics. This case study examines Mahan's seminal work *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. This book was groundbreaking in its arguments about the role of sea power in determining the rise and fall of great powers. Mahan's writings gained for him an international reputation as one of the world's foremost commentators on international relations, maritime strategy, and naval warfare. While writing in an age of rapid technological change, Mahan believed that historical case studies provided the best way for political and naval leaders to discern key strategic concepts. Mahan's ideas shaped the views of world leaders and naval planners in this era of great power competition to a remarkable extent. Indeed, his writings are seen as spurring the naval rivalries that were a hallmark of the era. In particular, the prewar buildup of the German navy antagonized Britain, then the world's leading sea power, and set the stage for the wartime struggle to command of the maritime commons.

The fight to control the sea lines of communication was viewed as critical to the course and outcome of the war. It was also a strategic gamble on both sides, risking alienation of critical neutrals (particularly the United States). From the start of hostilities, Britain deployed its navy to conduct a distant blockade of Germany, which progressively strangled Germany's overseas trade. The results were mixed. On the one hand, the blockade earned the ire of neutrals, who resented the loss of export earnings and chafed at Britain's presumption at using its naval power to control global commerce. On the other hand, each year the blockade continued, its effects became more devastating for Germany's economy as well as for the morale and health of the German people.

In response to Britain's blockade, the German navy conducted a commerce-raiding campaign targeting British trade. This was the traditional strategy of weaker naval powers, but it also broke with international norms through the application of submarines. The German navy started and stopped the submarine campaign several times in response to U.S. protests. In early 1917, Germany's leaders made the critical decision to institute unrestricted submarine warfare, allowing submarine commanders to sink any ship, belligerent or neutral, on sight. Their objective was to take advantage of the British dependence on imported food and starve Britain into submission before the United States could intervene. German leaders had to balance the potential strategic rewards against the risks of provoking the entry of the United States into the war. The latter's entrance into the conflict in 1917 was a momentous development that shifted the balance against Germany and its allies, even after Russia's revolution and collapse.

Understanding the relationship between national security objectives, military objectives, and war termination is an indispensable part of strategic theory and practice. In hindsight, the treaties ending the war, particularly the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, contributed to postwar instability as the victors sought gains commensurate with the price that they had paid but were unwilling and unable to enforce the peace. Meanwhile, the Germans soon convinced themselves that they had not been defeated militarily and had been cheated out of victory by domestic subversives – a powerful myth that stripped the postwar Weimar Republic of much of its legitimacy. To complicate matters further, the only power with the means to stabilize the

postwar international order – the United States – decided to disengage politically and militarily from affairs outside the Western Hemisphere.

Did these actions doom the peace? As Clausewitz argued, the end of one conflict can plant the seeds for future wars. Today, the United States is concerned about the possibility of war with China. What insights and warnings does the First World War offer for this challenge? In what ways did the planners of 1914 succeed, and fail, to use the wars in their immediate past to prepare themselves? How can we learn from the First World War’s naval strategists as they tried to address the changing character of their war at sea? What do the challenges of coalition management in that conflict tell us about how to fight and win a great power war today? How can we learn from the First World War’s catastrophic failure to imagine and execute effective war termination?

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. Kaiser Wilhelm II and Admiral Tirpitz maintained that Germany needed a powerful battle fleet to deter Great Britain from contesting German aspirations to become a world power. Why did the German battle fleet fail to deter Great Britain from going to war against Germany in 1914?

2. Why was Germany not deterred from unleashing an offensive into Belgium and France at the war’s outset in 1914?

3. Why was Great Britain unable to manage the rise of German power at the beginning of the twentieth century so that war between the two countries was avoided?

4. At the outbreak of fighting there was a widespread expectation that the war would be of short duration. Why were these expectations not borne out?

5. Germany launched a major ground offensive on the Western Front—the so-called Schlieffen Plan—at the beginning of the First World War. Was this plan a good strategy?

6. Did going to war against Germany in August 1914 serve Great Britain’s long-term interests?

7. What strategic advantages did Great Britain derive from its possession of the world’s strongest navy and leadership in international finance during the First World War?

8. In January 1917, did Germany’s leaders have any better, realistic alternative strategic course of action open to them other than to embark upon a campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare?

9. Corbett wrote *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy* to guide Great Britain’s strategy in a future war. To what extent did Britain follow a grand strategy that reflected Corbett’s strategic principles?

10. How would Mahan have evaluated the employment of the British and German navies during the period covered by this case study?

11. Were the strategic theories of Corbett and Mahan becoming irrelevant even as they developed them?

12. Which country—Germany or Great Britain—did a better job of adapting to the changing character of war during the period covered by this case study?

13. The First World War required that political and military leaders balance the allocation of resources among multiple theaters. What lessons does this case study offer about the effective allocation of resources to achieve victory in a multi-theater conflict?

14. Was the failure of the major powers to negotiate an early end to the fighting during the First World War irrational?

15. Would Germany have won the First World War if the United States had not intervened in the fighting?

16. Germany was not deterred from provoking a war with the United States. What lessons can be drawn from this fact regarding the nature of deterrence and Great Power competition today?

17. Throughout the war, the Allied Powers (plus the United States after 1917) enjoyed at least a fivefold population advantage and threefold superiority in gross domestic product over the Central Powers. Why were they unable to translate this immense quantitative advantage into victory sooner?

18. Sparta the land power defeated Athens, while Germany was defeated in the First World War. What accounts for these different outcomes?

19. Both Napoleonic France and imperial Germany possessed powerful armies that their adversaries found difficult to defeat in battle. What accounts for the defeat of France and Germany despite their military prowess?

20. What lessons does the First World War hold for political and military leaders today with respect to Great Power Competition between the U.S., Russia, and China?

### **Readings:**

1. Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Random House, 1987. Pages 194-274. **BOOK**

[This overview reading discusses the ultimate and proximate causes of the First World War. Kennedy examines the long period of relative peace that followed the Napoleonic Wars and provides context for why the First World War came as such a shock to the European order.]

2. Strachan, Hew. *The First World War*. New York: Penguin, 2005. Introduction, Chapters 1-2, 4-10. Pages 3-64, 97-340. **BOOK**

[This book by Sir Hew Strachan, one of the world's leading authorities on the First World War, presents a lucid account of this hideous conflict, and serves as an overview reading for the case study. It provides background information for evaluating the policies and strategies of the great powers.]

3. Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *Mahan on Naval Strategy Selections from the Writings of Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan*, John B. Hattendorf, ed. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1991. Pages 27-96. **BOOK**

[This reading introduces some of the major themes in Mahan's writings - sea power, maritime strategy, and geopolitics - which exerted a major influence on statesmen and naval planners in the era of the First World War. This reading examines Mahan's six elements of sea power and links them to principles of naval strategy.]

4. Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Atlantic Heights, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1987. Pages 205-265. **BOOK**

[One of several readings discussing the naval aspects of the First World War, this study examines the challenges Britain faced in maintaining its position of naval leadership in the period.]

5. Kramer, Alan. "Blockade and Economic Warfare," in *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, Vol. II: *The State*. Jay Winter, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pages 460-489. **(Leganto)**

[This reading further expands on the conflict's naval aspects. Kramer covers the effects of economic warfare and serves to highlight the important role of navies in what was ostensibly a land war. Furthermore, he argues that economic warfare made a massive contribution to allied victory.]

6. Offer, Avner. *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, paperback edition, 1991. Chapters 22-24. Pages 321-367. **(Selected Readings)**

[This reading provides information on Germany's strategic rationales. [Offer examines three major policy and strategy decisions made by Germany's leaders: the decision to build a battle fleet against Britain; the decision for war in 1914; and the decision to embark on unrestricted submarine warfare. His account examines the assessments and planning assumptions behind these decisions.]

7. Kagan, Robert. “Woodrow Wilson and the Rise of American Grand Strategy,” in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy*, Hal Brands, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pages 545-568. **BOOK**

[This reading provides an analysis of the difficult path toward war termination. Kagan examines the rise of the United States within the international system and President Woodrow Wilson’s views on American power and purpose on the world stage.]

8. Maurer, John H. “Alfred Thayer Mahan and the Strategy of Sea Power,” in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy*, Hal Brands, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pages 169-192. **BOOK**

[Maurer, A Naval War College Distinguished University Professor, examines Mahan on sea power, maritime strategy, naval warfare, and great power competition.]

## V. THE INTERWAR WORLD: THE CHALLENGES OF WINNING THE PEACE, AND THE RE-EMERGENCE OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION

**General:** The 1920s and 1930s present instructive parallels to our contemporary security environment. Unlike other cases in the Strategy and Policy Course, this one does not focus on a major war or series of wars. Instead, it addresses a period between major great power conflicts. It asks questions of how states sought to “win the peace” in the aftermath of the First World War, and why those same states began preparing for war in the 1930s. Although the case broadly addresses the interwar world, Britain receives particular emphasis to organize and focus the case. American leaders today can learn much from how Britain tried to defend commitments around the world against rising revisionist powers while laboring under significant political and economic constraints.

This case study emphasizes several important concepts. These include the challenge of creating a lasting peace in the aftermath of the First World War; the lingering impact of that war on societies and economies; the difficulty in balancing security challenges with the available resources and instruments of national power; the influence of ideology on strategic decision-making; and the reemergence of great-power hostility.

The case study begins with efforts to secure a lasting peace after the First World War. The war had exhausted European states and empires. Four empires—Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire—collapsed in the war, and the British and French empires were grievously wounded. A complex series of treaties collectively known as the Versailles peace settlement attempted to satisfy the victors and prevent another European war. Unfortunately, it soon proved impossible for the victors to enforce the peace. Even among the war’s victors, there was a lack of will to commit the human and material resources required to rebuild the postwar world order. Britain and France emerged from the war weakened, while the United States refused to undertake any political or military responsibility for upholding the post war order.

The Versailles settlement appeared to be functioning well in the relatively prosperous 1920s. The critical blow to the Versailles settlement was the Great Depression. It began with a financial crisis in the United States that reverberated across the globe during the 1930s, causing profound economic and political turmoil. International trade plummeted and unemployment spiked, and the resulting economic weakness shaped how governments confronted rising security challenges. The failure of democratic states to deal effectively with the economic challenges of the postwar order discredited both liberalism and capitalism.

Extremist parties found a fertile political landscape in the 1930s. The First World War destroyed the moral foundations of the pre-war social, economic, and political order of the Western powers. New ideologies, including communism and fascism, seemed to promise an exit from the failures of liberal, democratic, and constitutional politics. Fascist leaders, including the Nazis in Germany, implemented new social programs and economic plans that seemed to mitigate the worst ravages of the Great Depression. Communism, meanwhile, appeared to offer an attractive alternative to a broken capitalist system.

Leaders of these rival systems also adopted aggressive foreign policy objectives, including upending the political and territorial arrangements of the Versailles system. These revisionist powers included those that suffered defeat in the First World War, such as Germany and the Soviet Union. They also included ostensibly victorious powers, including Italy and Japan, who believed their allies had cheated them of their rightful spoils and place in the world.

Confronting them, the democratic powers were divided and lacked either the political will or the military means to enforce the peace settlement. The United States was wary of international commitments and ambivalent to the global order that Britain and France were trying to maintain. Britain was constrained by a weak post-war economy, geopolitical overextension, a population fatigued by war, and an elite committed to maintaining the empire. France, suffering from severe physical damage from the First World War, was unable to enforce German compliance to Versailles or to construct alliances that could successfully deter it and stabilize the European system.

The example of Britain juggling multiple challenges around the world while dealing with domestic political and economic upheaval is instructive for the United States today. The empire expanded in the aftermath of the First World War, creating new policing and defense burdens at the very moment when Britain needed to reduce its defense expenditures and as popular support for an interventionist foreign policy waned. The British experience in the interwar world also provides many insights into the difficulties military organizations face when confronted by multiple and sometimes contradictory challenges in peacetime. Britain had transformed its conventional military capabilities during the Great War, but this capability eroded rapidly as the army returned to constabulary roles in the Empire. The capabilities required for imperial policing were necessary for maintaining the British Empire but were unsuitable for great power conflict, and Britain lacked the capacity to preserve both sets of skills.

This case study will encourage students to confront the hard choices that must be made by strategists even in peace time. Choosing between unpalatable options, considering tradeoffs between different choices, and facing growing threats with a static or declining resource base are profound and difficult problems for decision makers. Anticipating the impact of changes in the global economic system, of emerging authoritarian ideologies, and of military commitments in secondary theaters remains a concern for contemporary military and political leaders in a period of renewed great power competition.

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. Could the victorious powers have “won the peace” in the aftermath of the First World War?
2. How well did British leaders balance domestic, European, and imperial challenges during this period?
3. Did Britain’s commitment to maintaining and expanding its empire during the interwar years make strategic sense given its other challenges at home and in Europe?



4. Did British leaders develop viable strategies for countering the threats from revisionist states and ideologies?

5. From 1700-1914, Britain successfully utilized coalitions to maintain the balance of power in Europe to its own economic and political advantage, and to contain aggressive revisionist powers. Why was it unable to accomplish this in the interwar period?

6. How effectively did Britain's leaders in the 1920s and 1930s manage the risks they faced by following a policy of holding down defense spending?

7. How should Britain have allocated its scarce resources among competing instruments of military power?

8. Was the British empire more of a liability than an asset?

9. Did the rise of air power present more of a strategic opportunity or a strategic threat to Britain in the period from 1919 to 1940?

10. How relevant were Alfred Thayer Mahan's views about sea power as strategic guidance for leaders in the period between the two world wars?

11. How relevant were Julian Corbett's views about maritime strategy as strategic guidance for leaders in the period between the two world wars?

12. How effectively did Britain respond to the challenges and threats to its maritime security that emerged between the world wars?

13. How did the Great Depression undermine the global political order?

14. Which factors prevented British leaders from adopting domestic and international policies necessary to restoring the global economy?

15. Were domestic or international factors more important for explaining Hitler's rise to power in Germany?

16. After 1933, which ideological threat posed the greater danger for Britain – fascism or Communism?

17. Did British leaders have any viable alternative courses of action other than appeasement in managing the strategic challenges posed by the rise of Nazi Germany?

18. Could the obstacles to forming an effective coalition against Hitler's Germany have been overcome in the 1930s?

19. Did British leaders commit a strategic error by going to war against Germany in September 1939?

20. What lessons regarding the impact of global economic change does the period between the two world wars hold for political and military leaders in the twenty-first century?

### Readings:

1. Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*. New York: Doubleday, 1995. Pages 281-417. **BOOK**

[Kagan provides a general overview of the key issues from the end of fighting in the First World War to the reemergence of global war in 1939.]

2. Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Random House, 1987. Pages 275-343. **BOOK**

[Kennedy explores the relationship between a country's international position and its economic vitality. The assigned chapter examines the period between the two world wars.]

3. Marks, Sally. "Mistakes and Myths: The Allies, Germany and the Versailles Treaty, 1918-1921." *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 85, no. 3 (September 2013). Pages 632-659. **(Selected Readings)**

[Marks emphasizes that the scholarly consensus today contends that the Treaty of Versailles was not fatally flawed, did not cause the Depression, the rise of Hitler, or the Second World War. Yet many readers today cling to these ideas. Marks considers how an intense propaganda campaign launched in Germany and Britain against the treaty and an unfavorable international situation made enforcement of the treaty difficult and contributed to the undermining of the postwar peace before Hitler took power in Germany.]

4. Gooch, John. "'Building buffers and filling vacuums': Great Britain and the Middle East, 1914-1922" in *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*, Williamson Murray and Jim Lacey, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pages 240-264. **(Leganto)**

[This essay provides background on Britain's foreign policy choices in the Middle East.]

5. Townshend, Charles. "Civilization and 'Frightfulness': Air Control in the Middle East between the Wars," in *Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics: Essays in Honour of A. J. P. Taylor*, Chris Wrigley, ed. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986. Pages 142-162. **(Leganto)**

[This article explores the limitations of air power as instrument of British imperial control in the Middle East as a cheaper alternative to using large numbers of ground forces.]

6. Bell, P.M.H. *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*. third edition, New York: Pearson Longman, 2007. Pages 60-184. **(E-book/Leganto)**

[Bell analyzes the major underlying ideological and political forces at work in Europe on the eve of the Second World War to include Fascist Italy, German Nazism, the Soviet Union and parliamentary democracy in France and Britain. Bell also analyzes the effects of the Great Depression on international relations. Bell then traces the economic factors that contributed to the outbreak of war.]

7. Murray, Williamson and Allan R. Millett, eds. *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pages 329-383. **BOOK**

[This study examines how the armed forces of the major powers during the interwar period developed the doctrine, force structure, and weapons that they would employ during the Second World War. Studying military transformation from a comparative perspective provides insight into how the British armed services fell behind those of competitors between the wars.]

8. Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Atlantic Heights, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1987. Pages 267-298. **BOOK**

[This reading examines the challenges Britain faced in maintaining its position of naval leadership between the two world wars]

9. Maiolo, Joseph A. "Did the Royal Navy Decline Between the Two World Wars." *The RUSI Journal*, vol. 159, no. 4 (2014). Pages 18-24. **(Leganto)**

[This reading argues that Britain's navy remained strong relative to the international challengers.]

10. Murray, Williamson. "Munich, 1938: The Military Confrontation." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3 (December 1979). Pages 282-302. **(Leganto)**

[This study provides an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the European great powers on the eve of the Second World War. Murray's assessment includes a counterfactual analysis about whether Britain and France would have been better off fighting in 1938 rather than a year later.]

## VI. THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE EARLY COLD WAR: RISE OF THE SUPERPOWERS

**General:** Many course themes are highlighted throughout this case but four are most important when considering the lessons from this transformative period: the Instruments of National Power, Winning the Peace and Preparing for War, War Termination, and the International Dimension of Strategy. Students ought to consider the broadest questions of starting and ending wars, managing national assets on the grandest scale, allocating resources among competing theaters, and creating a just and stable post-war order.

For the United States and its allies, the Second World War was a struggle against revisionist, fascist, and militarist powers. The Cold War that followed became a struggle against communism. This and the next three cases trace how strategic concepts evolved during the Cold War with the advent of the nuclear age, and the special challenges of waging regional wars in Korea and Vietnam within the overarching Cold War. This case starts in 1940 with the fall of France, ushering in a period of profound strategic uncertainty. It ends in 1950, just prior to the outbreak of the Korean War, after the Second World War's Grand Alliance had shattered, but the character of the new Cold War competition was not yet clear.

In 1941, Germany, Japan, and the United States radically changed their strategies. Under the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact (also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact), Germany and the Soviet Union had cooperated to divide Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. But in June 1941, Hitler suddenly turned against Stalin to stake out an empire in the east in pursuit of *Lebensraum* ("living space"). By December, German troops stood within sight of Moscow. In Asia, Japan's major 1937 escalation of its war in China triggered spiraling U.S. embargoes of war-related materiel. When Japan completed its invasion of French Indochina in July 1941 to cut the most important remaining supply route to China, the United States responded with a total oil embargo. Japan reacted with an effort to drive the Western powers out of Asia through simultaneous attacks across the Pacific in December 1941. The German invasion of the Soviet Union and the Japanese advance in the Pacific catalyzed new strategic alliances. Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States formed the Grand Alliance to defeat Germany while China allied with the United States and Britain against Japan.

The military fortunes of the Grand Alliance faltered until mid-1942 when the Americans, British, and Soviets began to fight more effectively. This change in fortunes occurred even before the United States fully mobilized its economy. Successful campaigns in North Africa and the Solomon Islands set the stage for massive amphibious operations in both the Pacific and Europe. Politically, the issue of where and when the United States and Britain should open the Second European Front put great strain on the cohesion of the Grand Alliance until the June 1944 invasion of France. By 1945, three years after its military nadir, the Grand Alliance achieved victory, engineering the complete defeat of Germany and Japan.

State-funded technological change generated new means of waging war. After the first important use of tanks, aircraft, and submarines in the First World War, mechanized warfare, strategic bombing, carrier strikes, and unrestricted submarine warfare became central forms of military action in the Second World War. Germany and Japan made use of innovative

technologies to achieve remarkable operational success from 1940 to 1942, but that early advantage did not last. By the end of the war, the United States and its allies had exploited their material superiority and scientific expertise to gain qualitative as well as quantitative advantages in all major weapon systems, except for jet aircraft and missiles.

Also, of transformative importance for the future, the United States in cooperation with Britain developed the first atomic weapons. As often happens after technological breakthroughs, the American monopoly on atomic weapons proved short-lived. The conditions for a protracted Cold War arose not only from the ideological conflict between radically different forms of political organization, and from European exhaustion after two protracted world wars, but also from the weapons of mass destruction developed by both sides. A new emphasis on military research and development promised a permanent technological revolution in munitions, which then required the development of new strategic concepts to keep pace with technological possibilities.

The end of World War II marked a major turning point in international relations. The postwar world saw the rise of the United States and the Soviet Union and the relative decline of Europe as the center of global power. Under U.S. leadership, the world witnessed the creation of new regional and international institutions. Soviet suspicion and ambition led to the emergence of an increasingly bipolar world that was divided into U.S. and Soviet-aligned blocs. These developments, as will be discussed, had implications for the structure and stability of the international system and for how great powers thereafter crafted foreign policy. Of greatest consequence for the post-Cold War order was how the U.S. and the Soviet Union went from being allies to strategic rivals. In this first case on the Cold War period, we will examine how they became enemies and what series of actions and/or statements led each party to perceive the other as aggressive and threatening.

The deterioration in American-Soviet relations and the onset of the Cold War had multiple causes. The Soviets extended their sphere of influence throughout Eastern Europe and attempted to spread their ideology globally. Within two years of the war's end, despite the U.S. atomic monopoly and the enormous task of rebuilding, the Soviets transformed the political landscape of Eastern Europe into what would become known as the Soviet bloc and were deeply involved in China, the subject of the next case study. George Kennan, in his influential 1947 "X" article, prescribed containment as the appropriate U.S. response to Soviet expansionism. Containment as a theory and a key strategic concept manifested itself in the form of the Marshall Plan, the American blueprint for the economic reconstruction of Europe. The Soviet Union responded to the economic unification of the Western occupation zones in Germany with the 1948-1949 Berlin blockade. In early 1950, a National Security Council group under the leadership of Paul Nitze formulated NSC-68, a policy proposal which advocated a more muscular version of containment.

This case study has one of the shortest chronological spans of all the cases in the Strategy and Policy Course. What it lacks in length, it makes up for in complexity. The readings and lectures highlight five important strategic issues. First, students will appraise strategic decision-making for Japan and Germany and strategic assessments by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Second, students will examine the strategic concepts and courses of action that leaders considered during this period. Strategies such as “Europe-first” (proposed in 1940-1941 by Admiral Harold Stark, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations) or “containment” (proposed by Kennan in 1946-1947) raise the question of how to sustain alliance efforts over the long-term to achieve national security ends. The United States faced several challenges worthy of critical analysis: German and Japanese opportunism in 1940-1941, and Stalin’s maneuvering in the early Cold War. Leaders must manage the risks and rewards of opportunities at the theater-strategic level that may diverge from an overall strategic concept, as the United States did in the Pacific.

Third, in an ongoing conflict, leaders must conceptualize how new theaters may contribute to achieving political objectives. Decisions about when, where, and how to open or contest new theaters are crucial to analyzing how to seize initiative at acceptable levels of risk. Critical turning points include: Hitler’s decision to invade the Soviet Union; the Japanese navy’s decisions to strike eastward across the Pacific in 1941 and 1942; the Anglo-American decision to contest the Mediterranean in 1942 and to reopen the French theater in 1944; the Soviet attempt to expand its influence in Turkey and Iran in 1945 and 1946; the American commitment to the security of Europe in 1947 and 1948; and the Soviet decision to blockade Berlin in 1948.

A fourth strategic issue entails multinational coalitions. In the Second World War, the Grand Alliance included the democratic U.S., the British empire, and the Soviet totalitarian regime. The Axis powers possessed greater ideological affinity and fewer conflicts of national interest. Students should consider why one alliance was more cohesive than the other, and why even the victorious alliance did not survive for long. In the Cold War, the United States made concerted use of non-military instruments of national power to create and maintain coalitions. The Soviet Union employed a more heavy-handed strategy to establish a bloc of communist regimes located in the regions it had liberated from Nazi rule.

A final strategic issue concerns the integration of military and non-military instruments of national power. Among non-military instruments, the American economy deserves special attention, as does the use of the nation’s universities as seedbeds for critical weapons innovation. Among the case study’s military instruments, several are particularly important for their strategic effects: unrestricted submarine warfare, the use of air power in its many roles in the Second World War, and the influence of atomic weapons. From this point onward in the Strategy and Policy Course, nuclear weapons affect every case. In short, this case begins to analyze and integrate the modern instruments of national power available since the second half of the twentieth century.

This case establishes the principal foundations for students to understand the development of the post-WWII rules-based order, something that continues to influence international relations to this day. Moreover, the case provides students with a nuanced perspective on the actions and events that led to the onset of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, a consequential rivalry that left a lasting impact on the structure of the international system and provides critical insights that security professionals may apply to contemporary geopolitical issues. Additionally, this case highlights new technological advancements, which facilitated the development of weaponry (i.e. strategic bombers, nuclear

weapons, ballistic missiles, etc.) that would shape the nature and course of future conflicts and would leave an indelible mark on the political and strategic calculations of decisionmakers. Finally, this case provides a unique opportunity to analyze the intricacies of fighting with coalitions on a global scale, something that was as relevant during WWII as it would later be during the Cold War. At a time when the U.S. faces threats from a rising China in not only Asia but in other regions as well, the way in which it builds, manages, and works with global partners has taken on renewed importance.

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. What strategic advantages did Hitler and Stalin gain and what strategic disadvantages did they suffer from being dictators?

2. In the Second World War, who struck the better balance between short-term military considerations and longer-term political considerations—the leaders of the United States or the Soviet Union?

3. Could the Axis have defeated the Grand Alliance? If so, how? If not, then why not?

4. In Book 8, Chapter 9 of *On War*, Clausewitz states a secondary theater should be opened only if that is “exceptionally rewarding.” Which power best followed this advice?

5. To what extent were Hitler’s and Stalin’s grand strategies determined by ideological factors?

6. Leading maritime powers often try to shift the burden of land warfare onto their coalition partners. What general conclusions can one draw from the efforts of U.S. and British leaders in the Second World War to overcome problems of burden-sharing and prevent their coalition from falling apart?

7. What difference did the existence of atomic weapons make for the policy and strategy of the United States and its communist adversaries from 1945 to 1950?

8. Evaluate how effectively American political and military leaders made the transition from fighting the Second World War to waging the Cold War.

9. In 1945, Stalin and most American strategic leaders expected a cooperative relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States to continue in the postwar era. Why was that expectation not fulfilled?

10. The British strategic thinker Basil Liddell Hart asserted that the purpose of war is to create “a better peace—even if only from your own point of view.” Did the United States fulfill that purpose with the Second World War? If so, how? If not, how might it have achieved Hart’s dictum?

11. Within the span of this case study, which side did the better job of assessing the other as an adversary, the United States or the Soviet Union?

12. What general conclusions can one draw from this case study about the elements that make for a strategically effective multinational coalition?

13. Does American strategic performance in this case study represent a good model for the integration of different instruments of national power?

14. Were there any viable alternatives to the post-war settlement of a divided Germany and a divided Europe?

15. American thinkers often see the United States as Thucydides' Athens: a dynamic, democratic, commercial power. Did the United States after World War II do a better job of handling the burdens of empire than Athens?

16. The United States entered Cold War alliances with Japan and much of Germany. What best accounts for the realignment of the two main Axis powers after the Second World War—American policy and strategy, Soviet policy and strategy, or the Germans and Japanese themselves?

17. How well do the strategic theories of Mahan and Corbett apply for explaining the outcome of the Second World War?

18. Many of our cases, like that of the Second World War, have involved balancing the allocation of resources among multiple theaters. How should leaders effectively allocate resources to achieve victory in a multi-theater conflict?

19. The victorious great powers at the end of the two world wars could not agree on a mutually satisfactory peace settlement, while after the Napoleonic Wars they could. What made the difference?

20. What lessons can be derived from examining the onset of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union and how can those lessons be applied to chart a course in today's security competition with China?

### **Readings:**

1. Weigley, Russell. *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*. New York: Macmillan, 1973. Pages 269-359, 363-398. **BOOK**

[Weigley's first two chapters provide an overview of the American role in the Second World War from the perspective of theater strategy. The next two chapters offer a critical examination of how well the American military made the transition from the Second World War to the early Cold War.]



2. Plan Dog Memorandum (November 12, 1940). **(Selected Readings)**

[The Plan Dog memorandum, drafted by Chief of Naval Operations H.R. Stark, assessed a possible two-front war in Europe and the Pacific. Stark explores options and recommends a policy of prioritizing Europe while holding in the Pacific.]

3. Paine, S. C. M. *The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pages 171-220. **BOOK**

[Sally Paine, a Naval War College University Professor, discusses how Japan, already overextended in China, opened new theaters in the Pacific and elsewhere in 1941-1942, then ultimately came to grief, deciding at last to surrender in August 1945 after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet Union invaded Manchuria. Because China is often overlooked in accounts of the Second World War, Paine emphasizes that, much as the Soviets dealt with the bulk of German ground forces, the Chinese tied down large numbers of Japanese troops that might otherwise have been deployed in the Pacific.]

4. Simms, Brendan. "Strategies of Geopolitical Revolution: Hitler and Stalin," in Hal Brands, ed., *The New Makers of Modern Strategy: From the Ancient World to the Digital Age* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2023), pp. 616-637. **BOOK**

[Simms compares the grand strategies of Hitler and Stalin and evaluates the ideological, geopolitical, and pragmatic considerations that shaped them.]

5. Wilson, Theodore A. et al. "Coalition: Strategy, Structure, and Statecraft," in *Allies at War: The Soviet, American, and British Experience, 1939-1945*, David Reynolds, Warren F. Kimball, and A. O. Chubarian, eds. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Pages 79-104. **(Leganto)**

[Wilson analyzes the complex mixture of conflict and cooperation among the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. Wilson covers relations among political leaders, efforts by military leaders to achieve strategic and operational coordination, theater-level arrangements for combined and joint warfare, and the role played by intelligence and information operations in the German defeat.]

6. Wegner, Bernd. "The Road to Defeat: The German Campaigns in Russia 1941-43." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1990). Pages 105-127. **(Leganto)**

[Wegner addresses the first years of the war on the Eastern Front from the German perspective, showing how German strategic choices relating to the war against the Soviet Union contributed to Germany's eventual defeat. Wegner also details the role of Nazi ideology in decision-making by Hitler and his generals.]

7. Weinberg, Gerhard L. "Global Conflict: The Interaction between the European and Pacific Theaters of War in World War II" and "D-Day After Fifty Years: Assessments of Costs

and Benefits,” in *Germany, Hitler, and World War II: Essays in Modern German and World History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pages 205-216, 254-273. **(Leganto)**

[The first essay shows how strategic developments in different theaters were interrelated in a way that made the Second World War a truly global conflict and highlights the deficiencies of the Axis coalition in fighting such a global war. The second essay focuses on the strategic problem most important for the cohesion of the Grand Alliance: whether and when the United States and Britain should open a new theater in France. Students should note how Weinberg relates the invasion of France in 1944 to war termination in the European theater.]

8. Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2005. Pages 86-99. **(Leganto)**

[Judt provides an appraisal of the political and economic effects of the Marshall Plan in the late 1940s.]

9. Lundestad, Geir. “Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952.” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1986). Pages 263-277. **(Selected Readings)**

[Lundestad looks at the American role in Europe from the European point-of-view and raises important issues of what builds and sustains strong alliances.]

10. Smith, Tony. “Democratizing Japan and Germany,” in *America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Pages 146-176. **(Leganto)**

[This excerpt views the American military occupations of Japan and part of Germany after the Second World War as pivotal experiences in the longer-term American effort to spread democratic government. At first sight, the cultural terrain of Germany and Japan posed formidable obstacles to the achievement of American political purposes. Smith highlights the American actions that overcame these obstacles.]

11. Gaddis, John Lewis. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pages 4-20, 26-62. **BOOK**

[Gaddis, a former professor in the Strategy and Policy Department, provides the main treatment of the early Cold War for this case study. Published after the end of the Cold War, this reading reconsiders the 1940s in light of newly available information on communist policy and strategy. Gaddis is especially strong on the role of ideology and security in the development of policy and strategy and on the formation of coalitions.]

12. Zubok, Vladislav M. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Pages 1-78. **BOOK**

[Zubok, who received his Ph.D. in the Soviet Union and then became a leading historian of the Cold War in the United States, provides an analysis from Stalin’s perspective of the transition

from the Second World War. His analysis focuses on the main issue in the emerging U.S. United States-Soviet competition: the fate of Germany. He makes use of Soviet primary sources that became available after the end of the Cold War.]

13. “X” [George Kennan]. “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 3 (July 1947); reprinted in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 65, no. 4 (Spring 1987). Pages 852-868. **(Selected Readings)**

[This article by a Foreign Service Officer and Russia expert had a remarkable impact on U.S. policy and strategy in the emerging Cold War. Kennan provided an influential assessment of the Soviet Union, the key concept of “containment” for thwarting Soviet strategy, and a “theory of victory” for bringing about the mellowing or breakup of the Soviet system.]

14. Primary Source Documents: Soviet Assessments of the United States in the Early Cold War. **(Selected Readings)**

[The Novikov telegram can be read as the Soviet counterpart to Kennan’s “X” article. It was drafted by the Soviet ambassador in Washington after Kennan wrote his long telegram but before the “X” article was published and depicts a United States intent on world domination. The Zhdanov report to the Communist Information Bureau, the successor organization to the Communist International, emphasizes the ideological differences between the United States and the Soviet Union and the imperative of containing U.S. imperialism.]

15. “NSC-68: A Report to the National Security Council.” *Naval War College Review*, vol. 27 (May-June 1975). Pages 51-108. **(Selected Readings)**

[NSC-68 was drafted in response to President Truman’s request for advice regarding nuclear policy in view of the likelihood that the Soviet Union had successfully tested an atomic weapon.]

## **VII. THE RISE OF COMMUNIST CHINA: THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR, THE KOREAN WAR, AND MAOIST STRATEGY**

**General:** This case examines the rise of Communist China from 1921 to 1953 and the U.S. response, particularly in the post-1945 period. After the Second World War, the United States sought to win the peace by transforming Germany and Japan into stalwarts of a global order based on international law and institutions. In Europe, the Western allies cooperated to establish stable political, economic, and military institutions. In mainland Asia, however, the settlement did not lead to regional stability. Following Japan's defeat, the Chinese Civil War reignited and led to a unified, communist, and viscerally anti-imperialist China. Less than a year later, the Korean War escalated into a major regional conflict of the early Cold War. In the process, China was transformed from a failed state into a rising power allied with the Soviet Union in pursuit of a communist world order.

The fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 plunged China into a brutal civil war that did not end until 1949. The war began as a multilateral struggle among competing warlords but evolved into a contest between Mao Zedong's Communists and Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. The Communists overcame repeated setbacks: the devastation of their urban political apparatus in 1927, a series of Nationalist encirclement campaigns resulting in the Long March in 1934, and the Nationalist military offensives of 1946. The Nationalists also overcame setbacks of their own: warlord rebellions in the 1920s and 1930s; the Communists' attempt to undermine the Nationalists from within in the 1920s; and, most significantly, the Sino-Japanese War of 1931-1945. Japanese intervention brought destruction on a huge scale, wrecking Chiang Kai-shek's efforts at national unification, state-building, and economic development.

Mao Zedong, who became leader of the Communists during the Long March, was one of the twentieth century's most influential political leaders as well as a major strategic theorist who has been studied by insurgents and counterinsurgents alike. Mao adapted Soviet revolutionary doctrine to an agrarian society beset by civil war and weak governance. Revolutionaries around the world have applied Mao's theories of political mobilization and protracted war. But Mao did more than win the Chinese Civil War; he fought a coalition of Western powers to a stalemate in a conventional conflict in Korea. An examination of his theories and methods adds vital components to any strategist's range of analytic frameworks.

At the end of the Second World War, the Soviets occupied Korea north of the 38th parallel while U.S. troops occupied the south. Both established institutions consonant with their political and international preferences. The Soviets installed Kim Il-sung as leader in the North while elections brought American-educated Syngman Rhee to power in the South. Although the vast majority of Koreans desired unification, they disagreed on their political future. A civil war broke out in 1948 when the South announced its intention to hold elections. The North boycotted these elections and secured Soviet and Chinese military assistance to overturn them. The South suppressed an insurgency in 1948-1949, but North Korea invaded in June 1950, captured Seoul, and advanced toward Pusan. Commitment of U.S. and U.N. forces that summer, an amphibious assault on Inchon that fall, and the Chinese crossing of the Yalu River that winter highlighted a war of rapid movement for the first year of the war. After a U.N. counteroffensive in 1951,

hostilities then stalemated along the 38th parallel for the next two years as casualties mounted on both sides.

The Chinese Civil War and the Korean War both occurred against the backdrop of an increasingly antagonistic Cold War. The Soviets' imposition of proxies throughout Eastern Europe, their success in helping bring communists to power in China, their development of an atomic bomb, and tensions over Berlin created a crisis atmosphere. The economies of Western Europe remained fragile and communist parties remained popular and active. This cascade of events triggered a political crisis in the United States over responsibility for the "loss" of China and led to accusations by Senator Joseph McCarthy that many in the American national security establishment were communist spies.

Mao's declaration of victory in the Chinese Civil War came the same week the Soviets detonated their first atomic weapon. In response, President Truman decided to develop thermonuclear weapons to allow continued postwar downsizing of conventional forces. Paul Nitze's interagency committee, which produced NSC-68, a document assigned as a reading in the previous case study, argued instead that the end of the U.S. atomic monopoly required conventional and nuclear rearmament to align American military capabilities with a more muscular form of containment. Students can compare the period during and after the U.S. atomic monopoly to assess the impact of atomic weapons on strategy.

The case also affords an opportunity to consider when, how, and with what elements of national power a state should intervene in a foreign civil war. The Chinese Civil War ensnared both the United States and the Soviet Union. Although the Soviets played all sides in China, their aid was an important factor in Mao's triumph. The United States, wishing to keep China from becoming a theater in the Cold War, tried to mediate between the Nationalists and the Communists in 1945-1946 but declined to intervene militarily in 1947-1948 to support Chiang Kai-shek. President Harry Truman chose not to intervene in the Chinese Civil War when he retained a nuclear monopoly, but then chose to intervene in the Korean War after that monopoly was lost. On the other side, Stalin chose to open and sustain Korea as a theater in the global Cold War by providing Kim and Mao with conventional weapons but was careful to make sure Korean and Chinese proxies did the actual fighting. Students can compare the operational and strategic consequences of both Truman's and Stalin's choices, as well as the complicated and shifting relationship between strategic success within a theater and policy objectives.

This course distinguishes among global, regional, and insurgent conflicts, which sometimes appear as "nested wars." Such nested wars place unique stresses on alliances and on civil-military relations. The Chinese Civil War and Korean War encompassed a broad range of military operations—both began as insurgencies that escalated into regional wars which then became theaters in global wars, impacting the larger international system. The various actors prioritized the conflicts differently, which created tensions over questions of limited versus unlimited objectives and over the magnitude and duration of effort by each of the belligerents.

In fighting a regional war within the context of a global Cold War, the Soviet Union, China, and the United States all experienced friction with allies. Stalin supported North Korea's invasion of South Korea on the assumption the United States would not intervene militarily.

After this miscalculation, the Soviet leader did not wish to risk further escalation. Soviet aid, though substantial, satisfied neither the Chinese nor the North Koreans. Stalin saw the two-year operational stalemate of 1951-1953 as a way to pin down the United States in a secondary theater and drain American power. From Beijing's perspective, Stalin seemed content to sacrifice Chinese blood to further Soviet interests. Kim Il-sung, for his part, never abandoned his dreams of uniting the Peninsula. Meanwhile, the allies fighting alongside American forces in Korea tried to restrain any further deviation from a Europe-first strategy and prevent escalation beyond the Korean theater, while Syngman Rhee, like Kim, was preoccupied with winning the civil war and opposed to a settlement based on continued partition. To gain Rhee's acquiescence to the armistice of 1953, the United States made a security commitment to the Republic of Korea that has helped preserve an uneasy peace on the peninsula ever since.

Finally, Chinese and American strategic leaders had difficulty adapting to different types of war. These difficulties produced significant civil-military tension. Mao and his generals, accustomed to waging an insurgency in their own country with significant local support against Nationalist forces, had to adapt to fighting a regional war on foreign soil against far more capable American and allied forces. The new communist government was ill-prepared for the logistical and economic challenges involved. Mao repeatedly pushed his theater commander, Peng Dehuai, to continue to attack in late 1950 and early 1951, generating civil-military friction. On the other side, American political and military leaders struggled to adapt to a more limited regional war—an adaptation that General Douglas MacArthur found difficult to accept. Seeking to avoid a global nuclear war, American policymakers thwarted MacArthur's desire to make the Chinese mainland a new theater of operations. Thus ensued a crisis of civil-military relations that significantly affected strategy and policy in America's next major conflict—Vietnam.

This case examines both the history and geography of a potential future great power confrontation – coastal China and the adjacent seas, and the Korean peninsula. It also examines the emergence of Maoist theory and its impact on the Chinese revolution – a matter of contemporary relevance as China's leadership consciously re-emphasizes a Maoist approach to domestic and international policy. Finally, it examines how direct great power conflict might be channeled into so-called “proxy wars,” with great powers supporting opposing sides in regional or even internal conflicts.

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. In what ways does Mao's theory of war resemble the theories of Clausewitz and Sun Tzu, and where does it add something new and important?
2. To what extent did Communist strategy in the Chinese Civil War and in the Korean War follow Mao's theoretical model of revolutionary insurgency?
3. What factors best explain the success of the Chinese Communist Party in seizing power during the period covered in this case study?

4. The Chinese Communists experienced many ups and downs on their road to power in China from the 1920s to the 1950s. What explains their resilience throughout major setbacks in 1927, 1934-1935, November 1945-May 1946, and January-June 1951?

5. What factors best explain why Syngman Rhee remained in control of South Korea while Chiang Kai-shek lost control of mainland China?

6. When considered in light of the Korean War and its strategic effects, did George C. Marshall's policy stances toward the Chinese Civil War in 1945-1948 represent wise strategic judgment?

7. Which foreign interventions were most important in shaping the outcomes of the Chinese Civil War and the Korean War, and why?

8. Evaluate the U.S. decisions to intervene militarily in Korea but not in the Chinese Civil War. Did these decisions represent good policy and strategy?

9. Could the United States have used nuclear weapons to achieve its political objectives in the Chinese Civil War or in the Korean War?

10. Was the role played by deception more important in the Chinese Civil War or in the Korean War? Why?

11. What are the primary strengths and weaknesses of civil-military relations under Mao compared to those in the United States during the Truman administration?

12. Why was China not deterred from entering the Korean War in 1950?

13. Which outside power—the Soviet Union, China, or the United States—derived the greatest strategic advantage from the Korean War of 1950-1953?

14. Sun Tzu preferred attacking an enemy's strategy or alliances to attacking its armies and cities. Which power most closely followed Sun Tzu's preferences in the context of this case?

15. What were the most important sources of tension between the United States and China during the period covered in this case: differences in ideology, culture, domestic politics, or national-security interests?

16. Like the United Kingdom from the 1790s to the 1810s, the United States confronted in China a power with a revolutionary agenda and a dynamic leader. Why was the United Kingdom able to overthrow Napoleonic France while the United States was unable to do the same with the People's Republic of China?

17. The United Kingdom in the early twentieth century and the United States at mid-century faced two recently unified rising powers in Germany and China. Why was neither

established great power able to manage the strategic environment and avoid direct military conflict?

18. Was the rise of Communist China during the late 1940s and early 1950s more or less threatening to the international status quo than rising powers in other case studies? Why?

19. When comparing this case study to previous ones, what circumstances have proven exceptionally rewarding when opening a new theater in an ongoing war?

20. What lessons regarding insurgencies and regional conflict can students of contemporary international affairs and political and military decisionmakers learn from this case study?

### **Readings:**

1. Paine, S.C.M. "Mao Zedong and Strategies of Nested War," in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy*, Hal Brands, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pages 638-662. **BOOK**

[Paine, a Naval War College Distinguished University Professor, explains Mao's strategic theories for winning a revolutionary war and the success of the communist victory in the Chinese Civil War.]

2. *Seeing Red: The Development of Maoist Thought on Insurgency. (Selected Readings)*

[Bradford Lee, Professor Emeritus in the Strategy and Policy Department, selected these extracts from Mao's writings on political revolution and irregular warfare, including his famous *On Protracted War*, and provides introductory comments about each excerpt.]

3. Paine, S.C.M. *The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pages 49-76, 223-270. **BOOK**

[Paine provides the bookends to the Chinese Civil War. She details Chiang Kai-shek's rise to power and the near destruction of the Chinese Communist Party and illustrates Chiang's nation-building efforts amidst adverse strategic circumstances. She also examines the resumption of the Chinese Civil War, which World War II had interrupted. Paine assesses the struggle between the Chinese Communists and the Nationalists while emphasizing the critical roles of the Soviet Union and the United States.]

4. Tanner, Harold M. "Guerrilla, Mobile, and Base Warfare in Communist Military Operations in Manchuria, 1945-1947." *Journal of Military History*, vol. 67, no. 4 (October 2003). Pages 1177-1222. **(Selected Readings)**



[Tanner looks at the interface of strategy and operations in the Manchurian Theater in 1945-1947. He is especially illuminating on the theme of Interaction, Adaptation, and Reassessment. Note the differences in interpretation between this article and reading no. 5.]

5. Levine, Steven I. "Mobilizing for War: Rural Revolution in Manchuria as an Instrument of War," in *Single Sparks: China's Rural Revolutions*, Kathleen Hartford and Steven M. Goldstein, eds. Armonk. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989. Pages 151-175. **(Leganto)**

[While reading no. 4 analyzes military operations in Manchuria, Levine focuses on communist political mobilization of the Manchurian rural population. The author introduces key concepts such as "exchange relationship" and "local coercive balance," which are useful for understanding insurgencies beyond this case study.]

6. May, Ernest R. "1947-48: When Marshall Kept the U.S. Out of War in China." *Journal of Military History*, vol. 66, no. 4 (October 2002). Pages 1001-1010. **(Selected Readings)**

[May highlights George C. Marshall's decision to stop short of large-scale military intervention in the Chinese Civil War in the late 1940s. His essay ends with speculation about what might have followed had the United States intervened.]

7. Chen, Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Pages 1-16, 44-117. **BOOK**

[This close look at the rise and fall of the Sino-Soviet alliance in the Cold War and Mao's policy and strategy in the Korean War of 1950-1953 is based on Chinese sources. Chen emphasizes the importance of culture, ideology, and domestic politics in Chinese decision-making.]

8. Stueck, William. *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002. Pages 87-181, 185-193. **BOOK**

[Stueck presents a lucid, analytical history of the Korean War primarily from a U.S. perspective. It complements the Chinese perspective offered in reading no. 7.]

9. Cohen, Eliot A. and John Gooch. *Military Misfortunes: The Anatomy of Failure in War*. New York: Random House, 1991. Pages 165-195. **BOOK**

[In late 1950, Chinese military intervention in the Korean War surprised the United States and resulted in the greatest operational setback ever suffered by American military forces. Cohen and Gooch wrote this analysis of that debacle while serving as faculty in the Strategy and Policy Department.]

10. Jackson, Colin. "Lost Chance or Lost Horizon? Strategic Opportunity and Escalation Risk in the Korean War, April-July 1951." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2 (April 2010). Pages 255-289. **(Selected Readings)**

[Theater commanders must respond to political developments on the home front even as they try to master interaction with their adversaries on the battlefield. Jackson, a former Strategy and Policy Professor and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and now Chair of the Naval War College Strategic and Operational Research Department, evaluates how General Matthew Ridgway handled this “two-level game” at a critical point in the Korean War.]

11. Shen Zhihua and Yafeng Xia. “Mao Zedong’s Erroneous Decision During the Korean War: China’s Rejection of the UN.” *Asian Perspective* 35, No. 2 (Apr.-June 2011). Pages 187-209. **(Leganto)**

[This text identifies a missed opportunity on the PRC/CPV side to terminate the war in 1951. It should be read as a red-team counterpoint to the previous reading by Jackson.]

12. Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. Pages 115-129. **(Leganto)**

[Gaddis, a former Strategy and Policy Department faculty member, provides a nuanced interpretation of thinking in the Truman and Eisenhower administrations about nuclear strategy in relation to China in the Korean War.]

13. Herken, Gregg. “A Most Deadly Illusion: The Atomic Secret and American Nuclear Weapons Policy, 1945-1950.” *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 49, no. 1 (February 1980). Pages 51-76. **(Selected Readings)**

[Herken discusses the false assumptions and miscalculations associated with the Truman Administration’s nuclear weapons policy and the administration’s surprise at the loss of American nuclear hegemony in 1949. In addition, the essay describes how this failed policy affected the Cold War.]

14. Brodie, Bernard. “Nuclear Weapons and Changing Strategic Outlooks.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 13, no. 12 (February 1957). Pages 56-61.  
[https://books.google.ca/books?id=1gkAAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=1gkAAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[This article discusses the challenges regarding the policy-strategy match in the nuclear age. Many consider Brodie to be the father of U.S. nuclear strategy and a foundational thinker on nuclear deterrence.]

## VIII. THE THREE INDOCHINA WARS: REGIONAL SECURITY STRATEGIES AND IRREGULAR WARFARE WITHIN GREAT POWER COMPETITION

**General:** This case examines the three wars that pitted Vietnam first against France, then against the United States, and finally against neighboring Cambodia and China. These wars spanned the entire Cold War period and were deeply entangled in the ideological and geopolitical rivalry among the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. Their conduct and outcomes raise a series of questions. Under what circumstances is it advisable to open a new theater when engaged in a larger war or competition? What challenges do leaders face in devising appropriate strategies for wars of defensive and limited aims? How do alliances shape grand strategic choices? What is the optimal relationship among political and military leaders in devising national policy and military strategy? How do domestic economics and politics affect military decisions and strategy? Why is disengagement so difficult?

The First Indochina War began in the aftermath of the Second World War when the Viet Minh, or League for the Independence of Vietnam, fought to overthrow French colonial rule in Vietnam. Under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, Vo Nguyen Giap, and others, this conflict spread to the adjacent French protectorates of Laos and Cambodia. Despite substantial military and economic aid from the United States, the French were unable to suppress the uprising. On July 21, 1954, the Geneva Conference temporarily partitioned Vietnam at the 17th parallel, separating the anti-communist South from the communist-controlled North and ending French colonial rule in Indochina.

The Second Indochina War developed as the United States sent aid, advisors, and finally, combat troops to assist the South Vietnamese government against communist and other internal forces backed by Hanoi. By 1968, the United States had some 550,000 troops in the south, against which Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, Le Duc Tho, and others used a combination of politics, propaganda, irregular military forces, and conventional units to wage a successful protracted war. The United States withdrew its last troops in 1973. Two years later, North Vietnam conquered South Vietnam with a massive conventional attack. For the United States, the defeat in Southeast Asia had enormous domestic and international repercussions. For Southeast Asia, it led to a realignment of geopolitical power resulting in the Third Indochina War, a conflict among Vietnam, Cambodia, and China.

The Indochina wars highlight numerous strategic challenges highlighted in the Strategy and Policy Course themes. The Decision for War course theme requires governments to assess the costs, risks, and benefits of initiating, escalating, or intervening in a conflict. In the early 1950s, a weakened France had to decide whether the benefits associated with its colonial hold over Indochina were worth the potential costs in blood and treasure needed to defeat a strengthening communist insurgency backed by China and the Soviet Union. The United States also faced critical decisions over whether and how extensively to escalate in Vietnam. The Third Indochina War, which pitted China against its former ally, offers still another example of the challenges associated with intervention and balancing short-term, medium-term, and long-term objectives.

Another theme that resonates in this case is the Cultural and Social Dimension. In the twentieth century, the region remained a mosaic of different civilizational influences, ethnic and tribal groups, languages, religions (especially Buddhism and Roman Catholicism), cultural traditions (such as Confucianism), and political ideas. This posed tremendous challenges for governance in the South.

The International Dimension demonstrates the impact of geography and coalitions on wars and competitions. Geography challenged the United States and its allies by affording logistical and sanctuary advantages for North Vietnam. The making and breaking of coalitions played a major role in determining the outcome of the wars in Southeast Asia. Communist alliances alternately restrained Hanoi and bolstered its firepower, while the United States faced international challenges around the globe even as it fought to contain communism in Southeast Asia. The breakdown of the coalition between Saigon and Washington paved the way for the communist victory in the Second Indochina War.

The Economic and Material Dimension constrained all sides. The relative economic burdens on France and Vietnam in the First Indochina War, and on the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and China in the Second, affected the value, costs, and risks of each actor's political objectives, and determined when and if one side decided to seek an exit. The Soviet Union's support in arming the North Vietnamese armed forces was essential for Hanoi's victory over South Vietnam and the United States.

The Institutional Dimension played a major role in strategy, policy, and operations, and in some cases hindered their effective integration. Tensions and divergent perspectives were constant among civil and military leaders in the U.S. chain of command, in U.S.-South Vietnamese relations, between southern and northern communists in Vietnam, and between Hanoi and Beijing. The case also addresses the ability of civil-military systems to learn, adapt, assess, and reassess. Finally, the host nation's institutions can have major consequences for the application of any strategy and the ability to make use of even the most massive and concentrated support from its allies.

The theme of War Termination was prominent in all three wars. Each war largely ended in ways unintended by the belligerents. Following the end of the Third Indochina War, both China and Vietnam incrementally abandoned some communist economic—but not political—principles. The region pursued economic integration into the global economy, and both China and Vietnam restored diplomatic and economic relations with the United States. Did this outcome represent “a better state of peace” from the perspective of the United States?

This case illustrates the difficulties faced by great powers when intervening in conflicts that include multiple boxes of war, or which are easily supported at low political cost by neighboring states or great power adversaries. Contemporary leaders can reflect on the Indochina Wars when considering the implications of intervention in irregular wars, the risks of escalation in secondary theaters of great power competitions, and the difficulty of withdrawing and abandoning coalition partners even when the costs of conflict clearly outweigh any benefits.

## Essay and Discussion Questions:

1. Basil Liddell Hart asserts that the purpose of war is to attain a better peace. Did any of the Indochina Wars achieve that objective?
2. Did U.S. policymakers do a better job at assessment in 1954 or 1965?
3. To what extent do honor, fear, and interest explain the origins of the three Indochina Wars?
4. Were all three external, intervening powers in the Indochina Wars (France, the United States, and China) doomed to failure?
5. Given the Athenian experience in Sicily, Napoleon's experience in the Iberian Peninsula, and the U.S. experience in Vietnam, why is opening a new theater of war so strategically challenging?
6. Did it make strategic sense for the United States to extend the policy of containment to Indochina and make it a new military theater in the larger Cold War?
7. Why did the United States fail in Vietnam while it achieved its basic political objective in Korea in the previous decade?
8. Was the communist victory in the Second Indochina War due more to North Vietnamese strategy, the inherent weaknesses of the South Vietnamese government, or the U.S. strategy?
9. Hanoi adapted more effectively than its adversaries in all three wars. Do you agree?
10. How effectively did the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong combine military and political lines of effort?
11. To what extent did Hanoi succeed by following a Maoist model in the three wars in this case?
12. Henry Kissinger wrote of the American experience in this case: "We fought a military war; our opponents fought a political one." Was he correct?
13. Why was Hanoi not deterred from challenging the United States in the Second Indochina War?
14. Why did Hanoi succeed in achieving national unification while North Korea failed to do so?
15. Considering the Peloponnesian War, the First World War, and the Second Indochina War, what are the ingredients for strategic success in pursuing war termination?

16. Considering the Second World War, the Korean War, and the Second Indochina War, how important are civil-military relations for strategic success?

17. Some have argued that the Tet offensive in 1968 was a major strategic mistake by the Communists that the United States and South Vietnam did not exploit effectively. Do you agree?

18. How important was external support from the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China for Hanoi's victory in the Second Indochina War?

19. Did Vietnamese culture mean that a western, anti-communist victory was impossible?

20. Did American strategic culture cause the United States to pursue a failed strategy during the Second Indochina War?

21. What critical questions for current decisionmakers regarding intervention or withdrawal from peripheral conflicts emerge out of the study of Vietnam's independence struggle?

### **Readings:**

1. Trachtenberg, Marc. "The Structure of Great Power Politics, 1963-1975," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. II: Crises and Détente*, Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pages 482-502. **(Leganto)**

[The author surveys the superpowers' interests as well as the crises from the early Cold War to the end of the Second Indochina War to put this case study into the broader Cold War context.]

2. Cooper, Richard N. "Economic Aspects of the Cold War, 1962-1975," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. II: Crises and Détente*, Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pages 44-64. **(Leganto)**

[Cooper surveys the economic aspects of alliance relations and Cold War competition during the Second Indochina War. His arguments and data are also useful for understanding the economic context of the end of the Cold War.]

3. Asselin, Pierre. *Vietnam's American War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pages 1-253. **BOOK**

[This book surveys the first two Indochina Wars from both the Vietnamese and American perspectives.]

4. Trapnell, Thomas J. H., Major General (USA). "Debriefing of Major General Trapnell, Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) Indochina, 3 May 1954." Department of Defense,

Pentagon Papers. U.S. House of Representatives Edition, declassified September 20, 1970. Pages 406-420. **(Selected Readings)**

[General Trapnell, the outgoing U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group chief for Indochina, presents his views on the late stages of the French War in Indochina. Trapnell's account offers strategic assessments about the nature of irregular warfare with the Vietnamese communists.]

5. Bator, Francis M. "No Good Choices: LBJ and the Vietnam/Great Society Connection." *Diplomatic History*, vol. 32, no. 3 (June 2008). Pages 309-340. **(Selected Readings)**

[This article focuses on the key escalation decisions in 1965 and seeks to answer two questions: why did the President approve his field commander's recommendation for an open-ended escalation and a war of attrition, and why did he not explain this decision to the American people by asking for a new Congressional resolution and calling up the Reserves?]

6. McMaster, H.R., "Graduated Pressure: President Johnson and the Joint Chiefs." *Joint Forces Quarterly*, vol. 34 (Spring 2003). Pages 87-93. **(Selected Readings)**

[In this article, originally published in 2000, McMaster argues that bureaucracy, character, and distrust among U.S. leaders led to defeat in the Second Indochina War. The book from which this article is drawn has been called representative of the officer ethos of the 1990s and 2000s, with its emphasis on speaking truth to power.]

7. Pape, Robert A., Jr. "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War." *International Security* 15:2 (Fall 1990). Pages 103-146. **(Leganto)**

[This reading provides a different perspective on the efficacy of force from the previous reading. Pape presents general theories of coercion, specific airpower approaches to coercion, and describes U.S. policy and strategy for airpower during the Second Indochina War. He goes on to explain why some approaches worked and some did not by considering resolve and changing strategies on both sides.]

8. Pike, Douglas. *PAVN: People's Army of Vietnam*. Novato: Presidio Press, 1986. Pages 213-252. **(Leganto)**

[This critical chapter provides an explanation of *dau tranh*, or "struggle," the essence of Viet Cong political and military strategy.]

9. Chen, Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Pages 205-235. **BOOK**

[The author uses primary sources to provide new insight into China's views on escalating U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. He emphasizes changes in Chinese views towards Washington and Hanoi, as well as changes in the Chinese economy.]

10. Gaiduk, Ilya V. "Soviet Policy towards U.S. Participation in the Vietnam War." *History*, vol. 81, no. 261 (January 1996). Pages 40-54. **(Selected Readings)**

[This essay surveys Soviet policy and comes to some conclusions regarding misperceptions about Soviet intentions. Moscow confronted a dilemma due to U.S. escalation and its own growing rift with Beijing. The author contrasts public diplomacy with private, pragmatic tactics.]

11. Kissinger, Henry A. *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. Pages 674-702. **BOOK**

[The former Secretary of State explains the Nixon Administration's strategy behind removing U.S. forces from Vietnam.]

12. Zhang, Xiaoming. "China's Involvement in Laos during the Vietnam War, 1963-1975." *Journal of Military History* 66, no. 4 (2002). Pages 1141-1166. **(Selected Readings)**

[This article describes the nature of the communist military and political efforts to create revolution in Laos, disagreement within the communist camp over what model of revolution to follow, and the growing rift between Beijing and Hanoi that would define their relationship following the departure of the United States from Vietnam.]

13. Zhang, Xiaoming. *Deng Xiaoping's Long War: The Military Conflict between China and Vietnam, 1979-1991*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pages 115-168. **(E-book/Leganto)**

[Zhang explains China's strategy towards Vietnam and the region in the Third Indochina War. The interplay of domestic politics and grand strategy, along with leadership and military strategy, are used to explain developments on the ground during the conflict.]



## **IX. THE LATE COLD WAR: ALLIANCES, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND SUPERPOWER COMPETITION UNDER THE SHADOW OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

**General:** The past three cases explored different aspects of the Cold War struggle and its nested conflicts. This case examines the final stages, from the end of the Vietnam War until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the U.S. did not achieve decisive success earlier in regional conflicts, the end to the Cold War could be viewed as an extraordinary success: the West prevented a cataclysmic Third World War, and the Soviet Union collapsed under the weight of its own ideology, institutions, and choices.

We continue to live in the world the Cold War created – a world in which multiple powers have nuclear weapons, and others seek to acquire them for the purposes of coercion and deterrence. The advent of thermonuclear weapons – vastly more destructive than the weapons used against Japan – played an important part in keeping the Cold War a major conflict between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Public debates about strategy under the shadow of nuclear weapons struck many as bizarre (a feeling best summarized by the complete title of Stanley Kubrick’s film “Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb”). Nuclear strategy, however, remains critical to understanding the progress and eventual outcome of the Cold War.

Nuclear strategy is only one aspect of overall U.S. strategy in this period. The case study allows us to consider the development and implementation of U.S. strategy over an extended period of global competition – one which is frequently referred to as an example in our contemporary international environment. While “containment” is the single word most frequently associated with U.S. strategy in the Cold War, its application changed significantly as the Cold War protracted. George Kennan’s use of the term in the X article envisioned Communism in Russia as a relatively short-term phenomenon, while NSC-68 assumed it was a long-term, vibrant threat to global order. The Soviet development of atomic weapons, the fall of China to Communism, and the spread of sympathy for Communism across the developing world forced each administration to adjust its strategy. Interaction, adaptation, and reassessment to political, economic, and military developments were a necessity throughout this period. We have seen in the previous cases how regional wars impacted both American and Soviet strategies in the Cold War.

The long-term competition between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 through 1991 exhibits many important themes including the Economic and Material Dimensions of Strategy; the International Dimension; the Instruments of National Power; and War Termination. This competition highlights the fundamental role of the productive economy in making states viable competitors over time, the increasing role of knowledge production in generating economic and military power, and the trend for long-term competitions to take place both in the realm of ideas and ideology and also in multiple domains.

The Cold War was a clash of irreconcilable political economies. As in the Peloponnesian War, the struggle pitted a democracy dependent on trade and enterprise against an autocracy devoted to the maintenance of a large standing military and a centralized economy. Each superpower claimed its system offered the best path for humanity, but also had to make domestic

tradeoffs between military and social and domestic expenditure. Each sought to create or impose an economic order which met national needs but also denied access to its adversary. The existence of modern industrial economies brought competition into the domain of technology – an area where the creation of free international markets and incentives eventually outpaced the autarkic Soviet system. The United States and the Soviet Union vied to demonstrate relative superiority in innovation, and that innovation affected national military organization and capability. The U.S. military in 1991, adapting to new developments in precision weaponry and communications, was prepared to fight in very different ways than the military of 1945. These technologies were the result of growth in computing and information systems that the Soviets were simply unable to match.

Each superpower forged alliances to extend its strategic reach, provide defensive buffers, and to spread its economic and political system. In Europe, the Cold War became a struggle between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, with Western allies sometimes pursuing independent policies of their own. Alliances conferred political and military advantages, but often proved difficult and costly to manage, with each superpower investing large resources into subsidizing allied economies and militaries. The resulting struggle over what contributions allies should make for the common defense persists today in the NATO alliance.

The U.S. and Soviets adapted radically different approaches to managing their alliances, with mixed success. The U.S.S.R. imposed its ideology and preference on the Warsaw Pact by threat and use of force. The U.S. built alliances based on mutual consent, although it was often the dominant partner. NATO and the Warsaw Pact survived until the end of the Cold War, but alliances in the developing world – CENTO and SEATO, or the Sino-Soviet alliance – often proved more fragile. This case study provides an opportunity to re-examine the positive and negative aspects of alliance commitments. What are the best determinants of success and failure over time, and how do great powers most effectively keep alliances together in both war and peace?

In addition to improvements in conventional weapons, technological advancements fundamentally changed the kinds of nuclear forces available to each side. Thermonuclear weapons capable of landing in the heartlands of both countries changed strategic calculations about the utility of these forces – a debate that continues today. What size and types of arsenals most effectively deter rivals from destabilizing uses of force (conventional or nuclear)? Under what circumstances is nuclear coercion feasible? What might justify the use of nuclear brinkmanship? Are there thresholds below which small nuclear exchanges might take place (on the battlefield, for example) without risking escalation to a much broader nuclear war? What steps can be taken – including arms control – to help limit the risks of inadvertent nuclear war? An ongoing concern is the risk of horizontal proliferation – new nuclear states emerging to further complicate nuclear strategy and to raise concerns about other sources of nuclear escalation, including regional war.

War termination emerges as a repeated theme in the Cold War, including the end of the Second World War, the Korean War ceasefire, the withdrawal from Vietnam, and the eventual Soviet collapse. The United States-Soviet competition began during the prolonged effort to terminate the Second World War. Indeed, efforts by each side to terminate this war more

favorably may have contributed to the emergence of the Cold War. Three decades later, policymakers pursued détente to ratchet down superpower rivalry, reduce the likelihood of a nuclear exchange, and potentially end the Cold War. Critics of détente argued that it rested upon fundamental misperceptions about the nature of the conflict and the enemy, replacing grand strategy with wishful thinking. Studying the last decade of the conflict gives students an opportunity to enter the ongoing debate about how great power transitions occur. Although a few suspected that Soviet collapse – anticipated by Kennan – might occur, almost all analysts and policymakers were shocked by the timing and the rapidity of the meltdown. Did U.S. actions accelerate the decline of the Soviet Union, or did Moscow collapse under its own weight? How did the United States deal with the imploding Soviet empire? What were the results? Unlike the Second World War, the West was largely unprepared, and improvised responses that may not have contributed to long-term security and stability.

Today, the U.S. confronts “strategic competition” with both Russia and China. In the case of Russia, Vladimir Putin’s policies appear aimed at reestablishing the Russian Empire, if not the Soviet Union itself (which he deeply admires). In the case of China, U.S. analysts and journalists frequently refer to “Cold War 2.0”, implicitly accepting the Cold War as a model for the new competition (assessments that will be discussed in the final case in the course). As students study this case, they may be drawn to both parallels and differences in the ideological, economic, political, and military conditions that make the Cold War distinct and unique, and at best an imperfect model for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. In a speech given at Princeton University on February 22, 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall stated: “I doubt very seriously whether a man can think with full wisdom and with deep convictions regarding certain of the basic international issues of today who has not at least reviewed in his mind the period of the Peloponnesian War and the Fall of Athens.” What did he mean? Do you agree?

2. Could U.S. or Soviet leaders have prevented the Cold War through better handling of the termination of the Second World War?

3. Was détente the Cold War’s Peace of Nicias?

4. Basil Liddell Hart argued that “the object in war is to attain a better peace—even if only from your point of view. Hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire.” Did U.S. strategy during the Cold War achieve and maintain a better peace from the American point of view?

5. What advantages did alliances, formal and informal, give to the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War?

6. Could the United States more effectively have attacked its enemy’s alliances?

7. How significant was military power in determining the course and eventual outcome of

the Cold War?

8. Could Soviet leaders have pursued a different grand strategy that would have prevented its defeat in the Cold War?

9. What factor best explains the collapse of the Soviet Union—the weakness of the Soviet regime, U.S. strategy, Soviet blunders, chance, or something else?

10. The United States fought limited wars in peripheral theaters partly to reassure its key allies in Europe and Asia. Was this necessary?

11. Did the advent of nuclear weapons constitute a revolution in strategic affairs?

12. Did the existence of nuclear weapons make the Cold War more or less dangerous?

13. To what extent was the Cold War a “war” as defined by Clausewitz?

14. In what significant ways does the Cold War resemble other large, multi-theater wars that we have studied in the Strategy and Policy Course?

15. Which superpower did a better job of reassessing and adapting its strategy during the Cold War?

16. What lessons can be drawn from the Cold War for the termination of large, multi-theater wars?

17. One commentator has called NSDD-75 “the strategic plan that won the Cold War.” Is that description warranted?

18. Throughout the course, we have seen policymakers believe that war is an instrument they can control to achieve their goals. How did Cold War era policymakers compare with their predecessors?

19. Why were the superpowers deterred from attacking each other?

20. In what ways does the Cold War resemble the current global security environment? In what ways does it differ? What are the most useful lessons to be learned from the Cold War in approaching the current age of strategic competition?

### **Readings:**

1. Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War*. revised and expanded edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pages 3-23, 125-161, 197-234, 272-306, 342-379. **BOOK**

[Gaddis provides an overview of the evolution of strategy in the United States. The selections

cover the end of World War II and the origins of the Cold War, as well as different approaches to containment in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, and Reagan administrations.]

2. Zubok, Vladislav M. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Pages 95-153, 192-226, 265-335. **BOOK**

[Zubok offers an overview of Soviet strategy from the 1940s through the 1980s, focusing especially on leaders' personalities and priorities. Students should compare U.S. views outlined in reading no. 1 against Soviet conceptions of alliance diplomacy, economics, and nuclear strategy.]

3. Edelman, Eric S. "Nuclear Strategy in Theory and Practice: The Great Divergence." In *The New Makers of Modern Strategy*, edited by Hal Brands. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pages 665-690. **BOOK**

[Ambassador Edelman discusses the profound differences between military and civilian interpretations of the role nuclear weapons might play in US national security during the Cold War. Ideas from the 1940s remained as the underpinnings of US nuclear thought throughout the Cold War and after.]

4. Barrass, Gordon S. "Renaissance in American Strategy and the Ending of the Great Cold War." *Military Review* 90, no. 1 (2010). Pages 101-110. **(Leganto)**

[In this essay, the author argues how the U.S. sought to leverage its technological strengths to create a new style of warfare that would allow the U.S. to achieve its goals without the use of nuclear weapons.]

5. Wohlstetter, Albert. "The Delicate Balance of Terror." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 37, no. 2 (January 1959). Pages 211-234. **(Selected Readings)**

[Drawing on a longer RAND study, Wohlstetter argued that deterrence was fragile because U.S. strategic forces were potentially vulnerable to surprise attack. His analysis spoke to a deeper issue: whether the mere possession of nuclear weapons would deter adversaries, or whether careful planning, diverse forces, and multi-layered defenses were required.]

6. Biddle, Tami Davis. "Coercion Theory: A Basic Introduction for Practitioners." *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 2 (Spring 2020): 94-109. **(Selected Readings)**

[Biddle introduces Thomas Schelling's ideas on coercion and deterrence which had a significant effect among policymakers in understanding the Cold War's nuclear and conventional competition and confrontation.]

7. Strange, Susan. "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony." *International Organization* 41, no.4 (1987): 551-574. **(Selected Readings)**

[Strange offers a counterpoint to other accounts of U.S. power in the Cold War. Her focus upon

the political economy of the competition as well as the production of knowledge offers another perspective in understanding the long struggle.]

8. Friedberg, Aaron L. *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and its Cold War Grand Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Pages 62-80. **(Selected Readings)**

[Friedberg examines how the United States and the Soviet Union conceptualized the classic “guns versus butter” tradeoff in their defense postures in the Cold War, and why they arrived at different answers.]

9. Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas.” *International Security* 25, no. 3 (2001). Pages 3-53. **(Leganto)**

[In this essay, the authors draw heavily on international relations theory to address arguments about the role of ideas in political change. They discuss how the Soviet Union and the United States addressed the material constraints that their economic and technological bases presented for their strategies for waging the Cold War.]

10. National Security Decision Directive 32, “U.S. National Security Strategy,” May 20, 1982. **(Selected Readings)**

[NSDD-32 was the Reagan administration’s classified national security strategy. Notably in 1986, the National Security Council staff conducted a review of the document with an eye toward revising it but found that it remained fundamentally sound.]

11. National Security Decision Directive 75, “U.S. Relations with the U.S.S.R.,” January 17, 1983. **(Selected Readings)**

[NSDD-75 outlined U.S. strategy towards the Soviet Union in the last decade of the Cold War. The document offers steps geared towards “Maximizing Restraining Leverage over Soviet Behaviors.” Students should consider what that means, whether the steps described were necessary to achieve it, and whether the document offered a practical strategy-policy match.]

12. Kotkin, Stephen. *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pages 1-85. **BOOK**

[Kotkin examines the long-term, structural factors—especially economic stagnation—that contributed to the end of the Soviet Union. This provides a counterpoint to explanations that focus on the Gorbachev-Reagan relationship and emphasize the role of American military policy in bringing about the events of 1989-1991.]

13. Radchenko, Sergey. “The Sino-Soviet Split,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Vol. 2, Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pages 349-372. **(Leganto)**

[Radchenko surveys the collapse of the Sino-Soviet alliance, which nearly brought the U.S.S.R. and China to war in 1969 and had crucial consequences in subsequent decades of the Cold War. Radchenko explains this development by examining the divergence of Soviet and Chinese national interests, the influence of individual leaders, and domestic political pressures.]

## **X. AMERICA AND THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST: FROM THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION TO THE WAR ON TERROR**

**General:** The catastrophic attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 ushered in an era in American foreign policy that has come to be known as the “Global War on Terror.” This post-2001 period was characterized by unprecedented U.S. military intervention and two decades of costly conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Although the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan were mainly focused on combatting transnational terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda and later, ISIS, American policy and strategy in the larger region of the Middle East has much deeper origins that predate 9/11 by several decades. Indeed, as far back as the Nixon Administration, American policymakers sought to assure regional allies that it could guarantee a measure of security and stability in an otherwise volatile region. From the 1970s onward, freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf, one of the world’s most important energy-producing regions, was at the forefront of U.S. strategy in the Middle East. Following the Iranian Revolution of 1979, and again following the end of the Cold War, the U.S. and its allies found themselves responding to dramatic shifts in the regional landscape which in turn, forced the U.S. to reconsider how, where, and when to employ its national instruments of power. Since 1979, enduring regional rivalries, repressive regimes, devastating intra- and inter-state wars, as well as an exponential increase in lethal global terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda have shaped and reshaped regional dynamics and bedeviled American strategic thinkers. Overall, U.S. administrations have found that achieving even modest objectives at an acceptable cost has been increasingly difficult.

This case seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the significant shifts and themes in U.S. policy and strategy in the Middle East from 1979 onward. It aims at broadening and deepening the way in which the “war on terror” is understood and by extension, how current or emerging strategic dilemmas might affect future grand strategy objectives. The case offers students a wide aperture through which to view a lengthy period of U.S. engagement in the region, both before and after September 2001. It examines the long-term competition with Iran, Iranian regional ambitions, and Iran’s support for terrorism as elements driving U.S. strategy. It also seeks to encourage conversation about how the U.S., as well as other states, have managed conflict with state and non-state actors in the larger setting of the international system since WWII, and how other prevailing global conditions, such as the end of the Cold War, have shaped grand strategic objectives in long-term competitions.

Three course themes form the basis for this case: the Interrelationship of Policy, Strategy and Operations; Interaction, Adaptation, and Reassessment; and finally, the Cultural and Social Dimensions of Strategy.

The Interrelationship of Policy, Strategy and Operations has been one of the most complex problem-sets that has faced U.S. policymaking over more than seven presidential administrations. In some cases, the complexity has been driven by larger grand strategy objectives nested in Cold War policies, while at other times, the dilemmas arise from the demands of global coalition-building in a unipolar world. The rise of powerful regional states – Iran and Iraq – with hegemonic ambitions and a willingness to use military aggression, state-sponsored terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction shaped American involvement in the gulf



region in the 1980s and 1990s. Despite the many efforts to extract the United States from long-term conflicts in the region, including the 2022 withdrawal from Afghanistan, securing long-term stability and security for the United States and its allies has proven especially elusive. The United States, as well as some of its allies, struggles to determine what military force can and cannot accomplish in protracted conflicts against violent extremism in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. In some cases, whether these conflicts should be characterized as terrorism or insurgency, or as other types of conflicts has also shaped the interrelationship of policy, strategy, and operations.

The second important course theme is Interaction, Adaptation, and Reassessment. The belligerents in this case, whether states or non-state actors, have employed their own set of strategies and policies, often leading to intense cycles of Interaction, Adaptation, and Reassessment on all sides. Iran had to respond to abrupt shifts in US strategy and policy and to shifts in U.S. interests. These included episodes of cooperation over common interests. (deconfliction with Iranian-backed militias in the fight against ISIS and Al Qaeda and attempts to make a deal to cap Iranian fissile material production (JCPOA)) in return for sanctions relief.

This need for adaptation and reassessment affected Al Qaeda as well. Did al-Qaeda's leadership, for example, reassess its strategy following the September 11 attacks and if so, with what long-term consequences? How did al-Qaeda's success in attacking the United States encourage other violent extremists following 9/11? How well did U.S adversaries like Iran adapt to the changing nature of the conflict over this period? Like other protracted wars and strategic competitions in this course, U.S engagement in the Middle East has grappled with adaptation and reassessment in the wake of events such as the Arab Spring and the Syrian Civil War in ways that have profoundly affected the emerging grand strategic environment.

The third theme highlighted in this case is the Cultural and Social Dimensions of Strategy. The readings provide background on the modern foundations of global jihad and delve into the history of extremist groups. They also offer insights into the broader historical trends that have shaped the region and its peoples. Exploitation of the Sunni-Shi'a divisions in the Greater Middle East region, for example, shaped both local and regional responses. Iran's explicitly Shi'a Islamic Republic shocked the Sunni world. Iran has been accused of forming a Shi'a Crescent including Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. The overthrow of Saddam put a Shi'a coalition in power (representing the majority Shi'a population), created alarm in the former ruling Sunni majority – a fear both Al Qaeda and ISIS successfully exploited. Vulnerable Shi'a communities were routinely the victims of persecution and terrorism as far east as Pakistan.

Students are encouraged to apply a critical eye as to how culture, religion, and ideology have shaped the environment of strategy-making on all sides and how these attitudes have changed and evolved over time. How, for example, have perceptions of culture and religion shaped U.S. strategies to combat terrorism and insurgency? Also relevant are the foundational concepts of the course, including Clausewitz's trinity, centers of gravity, and culminating points of victory and how and where these might apply to long term competitions where cultural, religious, and ethnic factors have been and continue to be present.

Like previous case studies in the Strategy and Policy Course, this case covers significant historical ground. The post-9/11 world, while not unprecedented in historical terms, has made it vitally important to study how American grand strategy against state and non-state terrorism evolved over time. It is also critical to place it alongside other regional dynamics and U.S. engagement in the region prior to the War on Terror. This case affords students the opportunity to consider and debate the outcomes of decades of U.S. engagement in a challenging yet critically important region even as the United States and its allies reassess their global priorities within the new Era of Great Power Competition. Students will have the opportunity to weigh whether, as strategist Liddell-Hart asks, any of the belligerents has attained “a better peace?”

Finally, as the United States transitions to confronting the rising powers of China and Russia in an emerging era of great power competition, how should the United States and its allies assess the future threats posed by violent state and non-state actors in this region? Should the United States prepare for a new phase in the War on Terror, perhaps in the maritime domain, as part of its long-term strategy on Great Power Competition or turn its attention to other global objectives? This case study presents a complex and currently relevant strategic puzzle whose effective solution will likely shape U.S. grand strategy for decades to come.

### **Essay and Discussion Questions:**

1. Has U.S. engagement in the Greater Middle East during the War on Terror suffered more from problems of good strategy and poor execution, or simply bad strategy?
2. Sun Tzu emphasizes the importance of understanding oneself and the enemy. Who has better fulfilled that prescription in this case: the United States or one of its adversaries?
3. In what ways has the United States adapted its policies and strategies during the War on Terror?
4. Which belligerent—the United States and its allies or al-Qaeda/ISIS —has done a better job of adapting and reassessing during the period covered by this case?
5. In what ways does the ideological competition of the War on Terror differ from the ideological competition of the Cold War?
6. How did the strategic logic for opening new theaters in the Middle East during the War on Terror differ from other examples in this course?
7. What lessons can be drawn, if any, by comparing the war against violent extremism described in this case study to wars against non-state actors in other case studies?

8. Which best explains the U.S. inability to defeat its enemy in Vietnam and Afghanistan: the failure of political leaders to produce clear and achievable political aims or the failure of military leaders to implement adequate strategies to defeat the enemy?

9. Were there realistic opportunities for war termination during any of the phases of this conflict? If so, when and how? If not, why not?

10. Why did the United States and its allies find it difficult to achieve their objectives in Afghanistan and Iraq?

11. Which belligerent—the United States, Iran, or al-Qaeda/ISIS—gained more from protraction of the conflicts addressed in this case study?

12. In what ways have culture and religion shaped American involvement in the Middle East and how does this compare with other case studies in this course?

13. Drawing on this case and others in the course, what conditions compel an adversary to reassess and adapt its strategic priorities when engaged in a long-term competition?

14. Drawing on this case and others in the course, how have states utilized non-state actors to advance their own objectives?

15. Did the United States achieve “a better state of peace” in the War on Terror?

16. Did elements of “strategic culture” shape the ways in which U.S. leaders approached the problem of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency?

17. Over the period covered in this case, what were the most important objectives of U.S. leaders in the Greater Middle East and how did these objectives shape specific strategic choices?

18. What role did maritime power play in shaping the long- and short-term objectives of U.S. administrations in the Greater Middle East during this period?

19. How does the long-term competition between the United States and Iran differ from other long-term competitions studied in this course?

20. What key lessons on the impact of culture and the role of non-state actors can contemporary leaders draw from the U.S. experience in the Middle East?

## Readings:

1. Simon, Steven. *The Grand Delusion: The Rise and Fall of American Ambition in the Middle East*. New York: Penguin Press, 2023. Pages 1-353. **BOOK**

[Simon, a veteran diplomat with the U.S. Department of State, presents a comprehensive overview of more than four decades of American involvement in the Middle East from the vantage point of both a scholar and participant. The book begins with a chapter titled “What Went Wrong” and subsequent chapters are organized around presidential administrations beginning with President Carter. Simon provides some insights and opinions from his own career and participation in key events, but the book also provides historical material as it relates to U.S decision making from Carter to the present.]

2. Robinson, Glenn. “The Four Waves of Global Jihad, 1979-2017,” in *Middle East Policy* 24:3 [Fall 2017]. Pages 70-88. **(Leganto)**

[Robinson traces the origins of global jihad into four distinct waves beginning with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and continuing through the present. He then explains how different motivations have defined each of the four waves. He explores whether global jihad can be compared to other types of violent social and political movements, to include those in some of the other cases in this course.]

3. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2004. Pages 55-70, 108-119, 145-156, 330-338. **(Selected Readings)**

[The 9/11 Commission provides background on the emergence of al-Qaeda as a threat to the United States, the escalation and interaction leading up to 9/11, U.S. attempts to develop an interagency policy-strategy match before 9/11, and early strategic planning by the Bush Administration to respond to the 9/11 attacks.]

4. Salloukh, Bassel. “The Sectarianization of Geopolitics in the Middle East,” in *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, Hashemi and Postel, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pages 35-52. **(Leganto)**

[Salloukh argues that the process of current sectarianization in the region is not a result of “ancient hatreds” among peoples, but rather part of a long-term competition between powerful regional states that are reacting to both domestic and regional security threats. The rise of nonstate and transnational movements such as al-Qaeda and ISIS are symptoms, not causes, of this larger regional power competition, but their growth has exacerbated and prolonged conflict.]

5. Douglas, Frank, Heidi Lane, Andrea Dew, eds. *In the Eyes of Your Enemy: An Al-Qaeda Compendium*. Newport: U.S. Naval War College, 2019. **(Selected Readings)**

[This reading includes translated speeches and documents from al-Qaeda leadership highlighting their strategic vision, ideology, version of history, and image of the United States. The focus is on actual pronouncements made by Osama bin Laden and Ayman Zawahiri, which represent key strategic communications efforts by al-Qaeda's senior leadership, and on the letters exchanged between Zarqawi and Zawahiri, which suggest tensions between al-Qaeda's strategic leaders and its theater commanders, as well as the efforts of al-Qaeda to cope with the competing vision of ISIS. These documents are then paired with U.S. presidential speeches spanning four presidential administrations and the Doha Agreement that represent competing efforts to frame and re-frame the war from its beginning to its conclusion in August 2021.]

6. Crenshaw, Martha and Gary LaFree. *Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions*. Brookings Institution Press, 2017. Pages 99-129. **(E-book/Leganto)**

[The chapter included in this reading asks students to consider key ingredients to strategy making in the War on Terror. The authors, long-time experts on terrorism, raise questions of how terrorism and counterterrorism have been viewed and defined, and how various measures of effectiveness can be determined.]

7. Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pages 272-350. **(E-book/Leganto)**

[This selection portrays Afghanistan as a strategic environment for the war against al-Qaeda. It describes the country's political evolution since the rise of the Taliban.]

8. Malkasian, Carter. *The American War in Afghanistan: A History*. Oxford University Press, 2021. Pages 423-461. **(Selected Readings)**

[This reading covers the U.S./Taliban peace talks starting in 2018 culminating with the Doha Peace Agreement in February 2020 and a retrospective of the "Longest War" with discussions on why the United States ultimately failed in its mission in Afghanistan.]

9. Boot, Max. "America Still Needs Counterinsurgency: The "Forever Wars" Are Ending, But the Fight Against Terrorists and Guerrillas Will Go On." *Foreign Affairs*, June 2, 2021. **(Selected Readings)**

[Boot argues that COIN remains a doctrine of lasting value, even with a shift in U.S strategy towards Great Power Competition. For democracies, there is not yet a better alternative for effectively managing or eliminating terrorist safe havens.]

## **XI. THE RETURN TO GREAT POWER COMPETITION: THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN POWER AND THE CHINA CHALLENGE**

**General:** This case is where students deploy the intellectual arsenals they have built up this term, putting strategic theory, history, and course themes to work appraising a contemporary world in constant flux. Some overarching questions can help frame this *tour d'horizon*. What are America's purposes in the world? What are the most important security challenges confronting U.S. leaders? Are we witnessing the emergence of a post-American world where the United States is no longer the leading global power? Is major power war unthinkable, or will arms competitions among the great powers increase the probability of war? How is technological innovation driving the quest for security in the international system? How can the United States deter war and curtail violence in international affairs? Does the United States have sufficient reserves of power to meet challenges posed by international rivals and compete effectively against them?

An assessment of U.S. foreign policy choices and strategic priorities requires us to examine the sources of power sustaining the United States' international position. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has conducted military campaigns throughout the greater Middle East. The growth of China's power and Russia's turn to aggression, however, have prompted U.S. leaders to reassess their strategic priorities. The war on terror has given way on the list of priorities to efforts to manage competition among great powers and deter conflicts that could upend the international order that has existed since 1945.

The motivations for reshuffling priorities are clear. Russia's invasion of Ukraine spelled an end to the relative calm that Europe enjoyed after the Cold War. Vladimir Putin's decision in 2022 to launch a major war in Europe shocked leaders in Europe and around the world. Many liberal democracies have rallied behind Ukraine, underscoring the burgeoning clash between defenders of the U.S.-led world order and the authoritarian great powers intent on overturning it. Deterring an even larger war in Europe and containing Russian power have become crucial aims for the United States.

The peace in Asia also appears increasingly precarious, endangered by Chinese ambitions and military might. While Russia's assault on Ukraine has focused attention on Europe, American leaders view China as the greatest challenge to the liberal world order. China's rulers might use their nation's growing strength to seize Taiwan during the coming decade. By staging military exercises of increasing sweep, China has demonstrated the capability of its armed forces to project power in the Western Pacific. An assault on Taiwan would compel the United States and its major partners – especially Japan, Australia, and South Korea, its principal allies – to choose whether and how to resist Chinese aggression. How to deter such a war ranks foremost in the minds of U.S. and allied leaders.

In examining the challenges faced by the United States, this final case study thus pays particular attention to the threat posed by China's ambition to transform the U.S.-led international order. In examining the challenge from China, it is useful to recall

Thucydides' claim that honor, fear, and interest are three of the most powerful motives goading competitors to go to war. These three impulses have driven China to acquire greater capabilities to wage war, and fear of China's ambitions and capabilities prompts the U.S. and partners to respond in kind.

Rising powers such as Athens, Napoleonic France, imperial and Nazi Germany, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China figure prominently in the Strategy and Policy Course. Why has the rise of some powers – but not others – culminated in a war? As past rising powers have done, could China launch a war yet miscalculate how America responds to aggression? Or will China seek to win without fighting in the tradition of Sun Tzu? Are there actions the United States can take to deter China from using force, or does the decision for war reside in Beijing? Could allies or coalition partners spark a maritime war between the United States and China – much as fighting between Corinth and Corcyra escalated into wholesale conflict between Athens and Sparta?

In many ways the rise of China as a sea power resembles the rivalries Mahan examined in his classic books. In a 2018 speech during China's largest display of maritime power ever, President and General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping called for his country to construct a world-class navy. As Xi spoke, forty-eight surface vessels and submarines steamed across the South China Sea, including the aircraft carrier *Liaoning*, while scores of aircraft flew overhead. He told the assembled officers and crews that there had never been a more pressing need for a powerful Chinese navy. This display of naval might boosted Chinese nationalism while rallying support for the regime.

Xi's speech calls to mind past appeals to national greatness from rising naval powers. At the turn of the twentieth century, Kaiser Wilhelm II insisted that his country, historically a land power, urgently needed a larger navy to challenge Britain. The Kaiser saw a formidable navy as a token of Germany's standing in the international arena and a way to unite the German people behind a national endeavor. However, Germany's naval buildup challenged Britain's position as the world's leading sea power. The antagonism caused by the Anglo-German rivalry at sea sent a strong undercurrent propelling Germany and Britain toward war. The World War I case study, in other words, is a warning from the past that danger gathers when great sea powers struggle for master of the maritime commons.

Thinking about U.S.-China relations requires understanding the strengths and limitations of all instruments of national power possessed by both countries. Sea powers typically have to integrate multiple elements of national power – most notably trade, finance, diplomacy, and military and economic aid. Like Britain and Japan, China depends on food and energy imports. What part will these dependencies play in a competition among the great powers, and more importantly during war? Any U.S.-China conflict will have global ramifications. How will U.S. allies and enemies respond? And what are the strategic dangers posed by a partnership between Xi's China and Putin's Russia? How can strategic planners develop strategies for global force management to meet threats to the security of the United States and partner countries?

It is vital that political leaders, national security professionals, and strategic planners try to foresee not only how a war might start, but how it might end. What courses of action might

deliver desired political objectives at a cost and risk commensurate with the value of the object? What actions would produce a better state of peace, and what actions might make things worse? Of particular importance is the threat of nuclear escalation in a U.S.-China conflict. How might a naval conflict escalate into conventional or even nuclear attacks on each country's homeland? Great-power war will also see the use of advanced technologies that promise to shape the course and outcome of fighting. How can the examples of past technological innovations and transformations in warfare inform decisions about strategy? What roles will data-driven technologies, artificial intelligence, machine learning, and cyberspace play in a conflict, and which side will derive more competitive advantage from employing them?

Decisions to escalate the fighting demand rigorous moral and ethical questioning as part of strategic deliberations. These considerations attest to the wisdom of Sun Tzu's opening lines: "War is a matter of vital importance to the State; the province of life and death; the road to survival and ruin. It is mandatory that it be thoroughly studied." This past term we have followed Sun Tzu's mandate to study war – its origins, its conduct, and its consequences – and to master the skills of critical strategic analysis. These skills have never been needed more.

### **Discussion Questions:**

1. What are the main sources of American strength and weakness in competitions with international rivals?

2. Is the United States in retreat and decline as a world power? If so, what does it mean for the security and well-being of the American people and for its allies? If the United States is not in decline, why is that the case?

3. What insights can the study of Thucydides provide about the nature of contests between democracies and authoritarian regimes?

4. Before going to war, Pericles, the Athenian leader, and the Spartan king Archidamus provided net assessments about the wisdom of fighting. What would national security professionals present to an American President as the main elements of a net assessment involving a contest between China and the United States? What would Chinese strategic analysts present as a net assessment to China's rulers?

5. To what extent is the Cold War a useful analogy for thinking about the rivalry between the United States and China?

6. What will it take to deter war with China?

7. What strategic guidance can American political and military leaders derive from Mahan? What lessons might China's political and military leaders learn from studying Mahan?



8. Are the strategic theories of Mahan and Corbett still applicable?
9. Can the United States retain command of the commons in the face of China's growing operational capabilities to contest the maritime domain?
10. Do nuclear and cyber weapons, artificial intelligence and machine learning make war between great powers more or less likely? Do these capabilities enhance deterrence or increase the prospects for escalation?
11. In what ways can military planners integrate land, naval, air, nuclear, space, and cyber capabilities to achieve maximum strategic effectiveness?
12. What limitations will constrain the optimal integration of land, naval, air, nuclear, space, and cyber operations?
13. What guidance can the strategic theorists examined in the Strategy and Policy Course offer for understanding conflict in the cyber domain?
14. What role will nuclear weapons play in a conflict involving China and the United States? Can leaders avoid escalation that leads to their use, or is it likely that they will be employed once fighting starts?
15. China and the United States fought each other during the Korean War. What strategic insights does that conflict hold for American planners preparing for war with China? What lessons might Chinese leaders draw from the study of this conflict against the United States?
16. What role will America's allies play in meeting the challenge posed by China?
17. How has Russia's War on Ukraine affected China's foreign policy ambitions?
18. How can the United States, as a global power, best balance its capabilities between Russia's threat to European security and the strategic challenge posed by China in Asia?
19. Some argue that the United States could stumble into a war with China without first considering the costs, risks, and likely course of a conflict. Do you agree that U.S. leaders could commit to war without a clear idea of what they want to achieve and what strategy to follow?
20. How would a war between China and the United States end?

**Readings:**

1. Spykman, Nicholas John. *The Geography of the Peace*, Helen R. Nicholl, ed. Frederick Sherwood Dunn, intro. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1944. Pages 3-13, 35-62. **(Selected Readings)**

[Together with readings no. 2-3 below, this wartime classic from Spykman, a professor at Yale, sets the context for thinking about great power strategic competition. It reminds readers that strategy plays out within a fixed arena bounded by geography.]

2. O'Rourke, Ron. *Great Power Competition: Implications for Defense – Issues for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, February 28, 2024. Pages 1-36. **(Selected Readings)**

[This regularly updated report from the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service explores the nature and dynamics of great-power competition, highlighting issues relevant for congressional deliberations. O'Rourke takes account of the China challenge while also widening our view to encompass related challenges from Russia, a “no-limits” partner of China, as well as other competitors such as Iran and North Korea.]

3. “American Power: A Special Series on America’s Changing Geopolitical Standing,” *The Economist*.

- a. Paul Kennedy on whether China’s rise means America’s fall. **(Selected Readings)**
- b. Kori Schake on why America should keep faith in the rules-based order. **(Selected Readings)**
- c. Anne-Marie Slaughter on why America’s diversity is its strength. **(Selected Readings)**
- d. Nirupama Rao on America’s need for wisdom and allies in Asia. **(Selected Readings)**

[This series of articles features some of the world’s leading public intellectuals and policy makers. Collectively, the articles address the question of the position of the United States in world politics. These articles are meant to provoke the reader into considering what the future holds in store for the United States and its coalition partners. Is the United States a superpower in retreat and decline, or will there be a renewal of American power and purpose in world politics?]

4. Yoshihara, Toshi, and James R. Holmes. *Red Star Over the Pacific*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, second edition, 2018. Pages 19-99, 220-247, 292-307. **BOOK**

[Two leading scholars of sea power and maritime strategy—a former and a current professor in the Strategy and Policy Department—provide a comprehensive analysis of the competition between China and the United States, examining the strategic contours as well as the capabilities of the American and Chinese armed forces.]

5. Beckley, Michael, and Hal Brands. “What Will Drive China to War,” *The Atlantic* (November 1, 2021). **(Selected Readings)**

[Two distinguished scholars of international relations examine the current-day challenge posed by China and whether the United States can deter Beijing from starting a war.]

6. Economy, Elizabeth. “Xi Jinping and the Strategy of China’s Restoration,” in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy*, Hal Brands, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pages 972-995. **BOOK**

[Economy analyzes the internal challenges that confront the Chinese regime. Her analysis highlights the internal problems that will prove difficult for the regime to address. Economic and social difficulties will hinder the regime's ability to achieve its ambitions on the world stage.]

7. China Aerospace Studies Institute. *In Their Own Words: Science of Military Strategy 2020*. Montgomery, AL: China Aerospace Studies Institute, Air University, 2022. Pages 26-52. **(Selected Readings)**

[This reading lets Chinese military specialists speak for themselves. It is a translation of an authoritative work compiled periodically by a team of coauthors from China's National Defense University. It compliments readings no. 4-6 above. The selections here review the Chinese armed forces' general approach to active defense for deterrence and conventional warfare while explaining how party officials and military commanders apply this Maoist strategic concept to such emerging warfare domains as outer space and cyber space.]

8. U.S. Department of Defense. *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2023. Pages 1-116. **(Selected Readings)**

[This annual report out of the Pentagon provides a rich net assessment of China's goals, strategies, and capabilities across its various tools of national power. If knowing potential opponents is crucial to operational and strategic success, this document must read for anyone in the U.S. fighting forces and the national security apparatus at large. Students should ponder whether reading no.9 below proposes a concept capable of accomplishing U.S. strategic goals in Asia in the face of Chinese resistance.]

9. Headquarters, United States Marine Corps. *Tentative Manual for Expeditionary Advanced Base Operations*, second edition. Washington, DC: U.S. Marine Corps, 2023. Chapters 1, 2, 6, and 7. **(Selected Readings)**

[This manual lays out the U.S. Marine Corps leaderships vision for operating on and around islands, chiefly in the Pacific theater, to help the Navy fleet deny antagonists control of the sea, balking their strategies until the sea services, the joint force, and allied forces can win sea control for themselves.]

10. Rovner, Joshua. "Strategy and Grand Strategy in New Domains," in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy*, Hal Brands, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pages 1067-1091. **BOOK**

[A former professor of the Strategy and Policy Department examines the role of strategic theory for examining the impact of new technologies for driving the changing character of warfare.]

11. Krepinevich, Andrew F. "The New Nuclear Age: How China's Growing Nuclear Arsenal Threatens Deterrence." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 101, no. 3 (May-June 2022). Pages 92-98, 100. **(Selected Readings)**

[A leading thinker on strategy offers an important analysis of the shifting nuclear balance of power and the growth of China’s nuclear forces.]

12. Bracken, Paul. “The Intersection of Cyber and Nuclear War.” *The Strategy Bridge*, 2017. <https://thestategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/1/17/the-intersection-of-cyber-and-nuclear-war>

[Bracken is one of the foremost strategic thinkers on nuclear strategy, command and control, organizational theory, technological innovation, deterrence, and inadvertent escalation. This article explores the effect of new technologies for strategic theory, nuclear deterrence, and targeting. Will new technologies undermine deterrence during a confrontation between nuclear-armed countries?]

13. Fischerkeller, Michael P., Emily O. Goldman, and Richard J. Harknett. “Persistent Engagement in Cyberspace Is a Strategic Imperative.” *The National Interest* (July 6, 2022). **(Selected Readings)**

[Three leading authorities on cyberspace examine the challenges and strategic importance of the competition in the cyber domain.]

## STRATEGY AND POLICY DEPARTMENT FACULTY

**Marybeth P. Ulrich** serves as professor and chair of the Strategy and Policy Department. She has also taught at the U.S. Army War College, the Naval Postgraduate School, and the U.S. Air Force Academy, where she founded the Academy Oath Project. Her publications include a book, *Democratizing Communist Militaries: The Cases of the Czech and Russian Armed Forces* (University of Michigan Press). Her articles have appeared in *Armed Forces and Society*, *The Journal of Military Ethics*, *Parameters*, *Aether*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, and *Joint Forces Quarterly* and she has published other monographs, book chapters, and policy pieces on strategic studies, national security democratization, Eurasian security, NATO, and civil-military relations. She served 34 years in the U.S. Air Force, including 15 years in the Air Force Reserve where her last assignment was the Air Reserve Attaché to the Russian Federation. Dr. Ulrich's appointments as the Scowcroft National Security Senior Fellow at the U.S. Air Force Academy and Senior Fellow at West Point's Modern War Institute focus on education for military service in a democracy. Dr. Ulrich received her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Illinois and is a Distinguished Graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy. She is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations and is a recipient of the U.S. Army Superior Civilian Service Award for her long service at the U.S. Army War College.

**Captain Jeffrey M. DeMarco, U.S. Navy**, Executive Assistant of the Strategy and Policy Department, graduated The Citadel with a BS in business administration and computer science, the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School with an MA in Homeland Security and Defense, and the U.S. Naval War College with an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies. CAPT DeMarco is designated as an Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) Officer, Diving Officer, Surface Warfare Officer, and Naval Parachutist. Sea duty and operational assignments include USS CORMORANT (MHC-57), EOD Mobile Unit FOUR (EODMU-4) in the Kingdom of Bahrain, Naval Special Clearance Team ONE/EODMU-1 in San Diego, CA., Combined Joint Special Operations Task Force-Arabian Peninsula in Balad, Iraq, Executive Officer for EODMU1, Commanding Officer for EODMU8 in Rota, Spain, and Commander Task Group 68.3/Sixth Fleet Mine Countermeasures Detachment Rota, Spain. During these assignments he has conducted EOD, underwater and surface naval mine countermeasures, and special operations in Central America, Central and East Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. Shore assignments include Flag Aide to the Commander, Naval Mine and Anti-Submarine Warfare Command (NMAWC), Aide-de-Camp to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and Branch Chief, Counter-Improvised Explosive Device and Identity Activities, J34, U.S. Africa Command.

**Captain Everett Alcorn, U.S. Navy**, is a 1998 graduate of the United States Naval Academy with a degree in Computer Science. He is also a graduate of the Naval Postgraduate School, Marine Corps University and the NATO Defense College. A career Naval Aviator, he completed tours with Helicopter Combat Support Squadron Six (HC-6), Helicopter Sea Combat Squadron Three (HSC-3), *John C. Stennis* (CVN 74) and Helicopter Anti-Submarine Squadron Eleven (HS-11). Staff tours include Helicopter Sea Combat Wing Atlantic, U.S. European Command, and as a Military Professor in the National Security Affairs Department at the U.S. Naval War College. He commanded Helicopter Sea Combat Squadron Two Eight (HSC-28) and Officer Training Command Newport, where he oversaw the Navy's Officer Candidate School,

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**Colonel Joshua D. Anderson, U.S. Marine Corps**, joined the Strategy and Policy Department in the summer of 2024, previously serving as the Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations, G-3, 3d Marine Logistics Group, III Marine Expeditionary Force in Okinawa, Japan. He graduated from the University of Richmond with a BA in Political Science and an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies from the U.S. Naval War College. Additionally, Colonel Anderson is an Olmsted Scholar who studied International Relations at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade (Serbia), and a distinguished graduate of the Marine Corps Command and Staff College. He is a career logistics officer with additional occupational specialties as a Eurasian foreign area officer and foreign security force advisor. Previous assignments include various staff and command positions in the operating forces and positions in the service supporting establishment and Joint Staff. His combat assignments include deployments in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

**Vanya E. Bellinger** is an Assistant Professor in the Strategy and Policy Department. She earned a Ph.D. in History at King's College, London, UK. Bellinger is the author of *Marie von Clausewitz: The Woman Behind the Making of On War* (Oxford University Press USA, 2015). She is the winner of the 2016 Society for Military History Moncado Prize for her article "The Other Clausewitz: Findings from the Newly Discovered Correspondence between Marie and Carl von Clausewitz." Bellinger is the first scholar to work with the complete correspondence between the Clausewitz couple. Previously, Bellinger taught as a Visiting Professor at the U.S. Army War College (2016-2018) and Assistant Professor at the Air University (2018-2022). Her scholarly articles have appeared in *The Journal of Civil War Era and Military Strategy Magazine* and in popular outlets such as *The Strategy Bridge* and *War on the Rocks*. She holds a BA in Journalism and Mass Communication from Sofia University, Bulgaria. Before transitioning to academia, Bellinger worked as a journalist and international correspondent for various European media.

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**Commander Scott E. Brickner, U.S. Navy**, graduated from the University of San Diego with a BS in business administration and the U.S. Naval War College with an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies. A career Surface Warfare Officer, he has made several deployments to the

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**Reed Chervin** is a Postdoctoral Teaching and Research Fellow in the Strategy and Policy Department. He received his PhD in International History from the University of Hong Kong in 2019. His research focuses on East and South Asian foreign relations during the 1950s and 1960s. Reed's most recent publication, *The Cold War in the Himalayas* was published by Amsterdam University Press in February 2024. His other work has appeared in the *Journal of Cold War Studies*, *The China Quarterly*, and the *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, among other venues.

**Captain Craig H. Connor, U.S. Navy**, graduated from Ohio University with a BS in Environmental Geography and the U.S. Naval War College with an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies. A career Naval Aviator, he has executed 4,000 flight hours and 600 carrier landings in the E-2C, EA-6B, and EA-18G, as well as several training aircraft. His operational tours include five deployments to the Western Pacific and Arabian Gulf with Airborne Early Warning Squadron ONE SIX (VAW-116), Electronic Attack Squadron ONE THREE SEVEN (VAQ-137), and Electronic Attack Squadron ONE THREE FOUR (VAQ-134). Additionally, he deployed to the Western Pacific as the Operations Officer onboard USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT (CVN 71). While assigned to VAQ-137 and VAQ-134, CDR Connor flew multiple combat missions supporting OPERATION NEW DAWN, OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM, and OPERATION INHERENT RESOLVE. His shore duty assignments include Deputy Director, Plans Division (J5) at Joint Electromagnetic Preparedness for Advanced Combat (JEPAC), USSTRATCOM, and Commanding Officer for Training Squadron TWO (VT-22).

**Michael A. Dennis** is an Associate Professor who received his doctorate in the history of science and technology from the Johns Hopkins University in 1991. After postdoctoral fellowships at the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum, as well as the Science Studies Program at the University of California, San Diego, he served as an Assistant Professor in Cornell University's Department of Science and Technology Studies and in the Peace Studies Program. After Cornell, he worked as an adjunct at several universities in the Washington, DC area, including Georgetown University's security studies, and its science, technology and international affairs programs; he also taught courses on technology and national security in George Mason University's BioDefense program. His research focuses on the intersection of science, technology and the military with a special emphasis on World War II and the Cold War. He is currently completing a book manuscript entitled, "A Change of State: Technical Practice, Political Culture and the Making of Early Cold War America." His 2013 article, "Tacit Knowledge as a Factor in the Proliferation of WMD: The Example of Nuclear Weapons," won a

prize from the Editorial Board of Studies in Intelligence. In 2018, he and Professor Anand Toprani received a grant from the Stanton Foundation to develop a course, “The Political Economy of Strategy,” for both NWC and Brown University students.

**John F. Garofano** is a Fulbright Scholar (2020) who previously served as Dean of Academics from July 2009 to July 2015. Previously, he taught in the Department of National Security Affairs and held the CAPT Jerome Levy Chair in Economic Geography. Garofano’s research interests include military intervention, Asian security, and the making of U.S. foreign policy. Publications include *The Indian Ocean: Rising Tide or Coming Conflict*, *The Intervention Debate: Towards a Posture of Principled Judgment*, *Clinton’s Foreign Policy: A Documentary Record*, and articles in *International Security*, *Asian Survey*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Orbis*, and the *Naval War College Review*. In 2011 Dr. Garofano deployed to Helmand Province, Afghanistan, to support the First Marine Expeditionary Force in assessment and red-teaming. Prior to joining the War College, Garofano was a Senior Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has taught at the U.S. Army War College, the Five Colleges of Western Massachusetts, and the University of Southern California. He received his PhD and MA in government from Cornell University, an MA in security studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (Bologna/Washington), and a BA in history from Bates College.

**Marc A. Genest** is the Forrest Sherman Professor of Public Diplomacy in the Strategy and Policy Department and is Area Study Coordinator for the Insurgency and Terrorism electives program. From 2008-16, he served as the founding Co-Director of the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups (CIWAG) at the Naval War College. In 2011, Professor Genest was a civilian advisor at Division Headquarters for Regional Command—South in Kandahar, Afghanistan where he assessed the division’s counterinsurgency strategy. In 2009, Genest received the Commander’s Award for Civilian Service from the Department of the Army for outstanding service as a Special Adviser to the Commander of Task Force Mountain Warrior while stationed in Regional Command-East in Afghanistan. Dr. Genest earned his PhD from Georgetown University in international politics. Before coming to the Naval War College, Professor Genest taught at Georgetown University, the U.S. Air War College, and the University of Rhode Island. While at the University of Rhode Island, Professor Genest received the University’s Teaching Excellence Award. He is also a political commentator for local, national and international radio news and television stations as well as for local and national print media. In addition, Genest worked on Capitol Hill for Senator John Chafee and Representative Claudine Schneider. His books include *Negotiating in the Public Eye: The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations*; *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*; and *Stand! Contending Issues in World Politics*. He is the co-editor of *From Quills to Tweets: The Evolution of American Wartime and Revolutionary Communication Strategies*. He has also written articles dealing with international relations theory, strategic communication, American foreign policy and public opinion.

**Lieutenant Colonel David C. Gorman, U.S. Air Force**, commissioned through Officer Training School after earning a BS in Business Management from Marist College. After attending undergraduate air battle manager training at Tyndall AFB, he was assigned to Tinker AFB and completed operational deployments as the US Liaison Officer to the Royal Australian



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**Commander Joshua A. Hammond, U.S. Navy**, graduated from the University of Michigan with a BA in classical languages and the U.S. Naval War College with an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies. While at the NWC, he received the Adm. Richard G. Colbert Memorial Prize for professional writing and research. A career naval flight officer, he has over 2,300 hours and 500 carrier landings in the F-14D and F/A-18F in support of operations in the Arabian Gulf and Western Pacific. Other assignments include air operations officer on USS CARL VINSON and an exchange assignment with the Royal Navy in carrier doctrine development.

**Michael Hicks** is an Assistant Professor of Strategy and Policy. He graduated with a PhD in modern Chinese history and African Diasporic Studies from Penn State University. Dr. Hicks is working on his first book manuscript, which examines how Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party linked revolution in China with decolonization in Africa. Dr. Hicks has lived and worked in China and Taiwan for a total of six years and has extensive travel experience in the Indo-Pacific region.

**James R. Holmes** is the inaugural J. C. Wylie Chair of Maritime Strategy. He is a graduate of Vanderbilt University, Salve Regina University, Providence College, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Holmes graduated from the Naval War College in 1994 and earned the Naval War College Foundation Award as the top graduate in his class. He previously served on the faculty of the University of Georgia School of Public and International Affairs. A former U.S. Navy surface warfare officer, he served as engineering and gunnery officer on board USS WISCONSIN (BB-64), directed an engineering course at the Surface Warfare Officers School Command, and taught Strategy and Policy at the Naval War College, College of Distance Education. His books include *Theodore Roosevelt and World Order: Police Power in International Relations*; *Chinese Naval Strategy in the 21st Century: The Turn to Mahan*; *Indian Naval Strategy in the 21st Century*; *Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age: Power, Ambition, and the Ultimate Weapon*; two editions of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy*; *A Brief Guide to Maritime Strategy*; and, most recently, *Habits of Highly Effective Maritime Strategists*. His books appear on the U. S. Navy, Marine Corps, and Indo-Pacific Command professional reading lists.

**Timothy D. Hoyt** is the John Nicholas Brown Chair of Counterterrorism Studies and serves as Academic Director and Senior Mentor for the Advanced Strategy Program. Hoyt earned his undergraduate degree from Swarthmore College, and his PhD in international relations and strategic studies from the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Before joining the Naval War College's Strategy and Policy Department, he taught at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Dr. Hoyt's research interests include South Asian security, irregular warfare in the 20th and 21st centuries, national security policy in the developing world, nuclear proliferation, and the relationship between insurgency and terrorism. He previously served as Co-Director of the Indian Ocean Regional Studies Group at the Naval War College. He is the author of *Military Industries and Regional Defense Policy: India, Iraq and Israel* and over fifty articles and book chapters on international security and military affairs. He is currently working on a book on the strategy of the Irish Republican Army from 1913-2005, and on projects examining the future of the U.S.-Indian security relationship, the strategy of the African National Congress in the South African freedom struggle, Israel's defense industry, and the relationship between irregular warfare and terrorism in the 20th and 21st centuries.

**Burak Kadercan** is an Associate Professor who holds a PhD and MA in political science from the University of Chicago and a BA in politics and international relations from Bogazici University in Istanbul, Turkey. Dr. Kadercan specializes in the intersection of international relations theory, international security, military-diplomatic history, and political geography. Prior to joining the Naval War College, he was Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Reading (United Kingdom) and Assistant Professor in International Relations and Programme Coordinator for the MA in international security at Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). In addition to Reading and IBEI, he has taught classes on the relationship between war and state-formation, privatization of military power, research methods, international security, diplomatic history, foreign policy, and nations and nationalism at the University of Chicago, University of Richmond, and Bogazici University. He is currently working on three projects. The first scrutinizes the relationship between territory and interstate conflict, with an emphasis on nationalism's place. The second explores the conceptualization of empires in international relations theory and historiography with a special focus on the Ottoman Empire. The third project examines the association between civil-military relations and the production and diffusion of military power. Dr. Kadercan's scholarly contributions have appeared in *International Security*, *Review of International Studies*, *International Studies Review*, *International Theory*, and *Middle East Policy*. Dr. Kadercan is the author of *Shifting Grounds: The Social Origins of Territorial Conflict* (Oxford University Press, 2023).

**Heidi E. Lane** is a Professor of Strategy and Policy and Director of the Greater Middle East Research Study Group at the Naval War College. She specializes in comparative politics and international relations of the Middle East with a focus on security sector development, ethnic and religious nationalism, and rule of law in transitioning societies. Her edited book *Building Rule of Law in the Arab World and Beyond* was published in 2016 with co-editor Eva Bellin. She is currently completing research for a book on counterterrorism and state liberalization in the Middle East. Dr. Lane has served as a visiting research affiliate with the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a U.S. Fulbright scholar in Syria, and as a research fellow with the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science

and International Affairs at Harvard University. She is currently a senior associate at the Center for Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups (CIWAG) at the Naval War College. She holds an MA and PhD in Islamic Studies from the Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, and a BA from the University of Chicago, and is trained in Arabic, Hebrew, and Persian and is proficient in German.

**John H. Maurer** serves as the Alfred Thayer Mahan Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy. He also holds the title of Distinguished University Professor. He is a graduate of Yale College and holds a MALD and PhD in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is the author or editor of books examining the outbreak of the First World War, military interventions in the developing world, naval competitions and arms control between the two world wars, a study on Winston Churchill and British grand strategy, and the great-power contest in Asia and the Pacific that led to Pearl Harbor. He served for eight years as Chairman of the Strategy and Policy Department. He teaches in the advanced strategy program and an elective course on Winston Churchill and the history of the two world wars. Before coming to the College, he held the positions of research fellow and executive editor of *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs* at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He served on the Secretary of the Navy John Lehman's special advisory committee on naval history. In recognition of his contribution to professional military education, he has received the U.S. Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Award and Superior Civilian Service Award.

**Kevin D. McCranie** is the Philip A. Crowl Professor of Comparative Strategy. He earned a BA in history and political science from Florida Southern College, and an MA and PhD in history from Florida State University. Before joining the faculty of the Naval War College, he taught history at Brewton-Parker College in Mount Vernon, Georgia. In 2001, he held a fellowship at the West Point Summer Seminar in Military History. Specializing in warfare at sea, navies, sea power, and joint operations, he is the author of *Admiral Lord Keith and the Naval War against Napoleon* as well as *Utmost Gallantry: The U.S. and Royal Navies at Sea in the War of 1812*. His recent writing compares the sea power and maritime strategic theories of Alfred Thayer Mahan and Sir Julian Corbett in a Naval Institute Press book titled *Mahan, Corbett, and the Foundations of Naval Strategic Thought*. His articles have appeared in *War on the Rocks*, *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings Online*, *Naval History*, *Journal of Military History*, *Naval War College Review*, and *The Northern Mariner*.

**Kenneth L. Meyer** is a Department of State Faculty Advisor to the U.S. Naval War College. Most recently, he served as Management Officer at the U.S. Tri-Mission in Rome, Italy, where he headed logistical operations, led the Covid-19 Task Force, and coordinated closely with military colleagues on Operation Allies Refuge. His Foreign Service career has taken him across several continents in a variety of capacities. Prior to Italy, Meyer served overseas in Cambodia, China, the Czech Republic, Iraq, Japan, and Slovakia. His primary specialization in the Foreign Service is logistics and resource management. He has published three papers on pandemics and climate change and their implications for U.S. national security. He graduated from the U.S. Naval War College, College of Naval Warfare in 2019, and also has a BS in Mechanical Engineering from The Ohio State University, an MS in Management from Purdue University, and an MA in History from the University of Cincinnati. He has received several Department of

State awards and, while a student at the Naval War College, received Honorable Mention for the Admiral Richard G. Colbert Memorial Prize.

**Captain James P. Murray, U.S. Navy**, graduated from Fordham University in 1984 with a BA in History. He received his commission through Officer Candidate School in 1985. He earned an MBA from the University of Washington in 2001 and an MS in National Security Resource Strategy from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in 2011 where he also received the Mashburn Leadership Award from his graduating class. A career Surface Warfare Officer and a Joint Qualified Officer, his operational tours include USS HERMITAGE (LSD-34), Harbor Defense Command Unit 113, Inshore Boat Unit 12, Naval Central Forces Command, Multi-National Corps-Iraq, and the Office of Defense Representative-Pakistan at the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad. His ashore tours include Navy Recruiting District New York, OPNAV N3N5, and the U.S. State Department as the Senior Military Advisor on the Pakistan Desk. He most recently served on the Navy Faculty at the German Armed Forces Staff College in Hamburg, Germany. He proudly served overseas in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and as a member of the AFPAK Hands program in FREEDOM'S SENTINEL.

**Lieutenant Colonel Brendan R. Neagle, U.S. Marine Corps**, graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 2006 with a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering. An Infantry Officer and Operations and Tactics Instructor, his assignments include Rifle Platoon Commander, Company Executive Officer, Rifle Company Commander, Battalion Landing Team Operations Officer, and Marine Expeditionary Unit Operations Officer. His operational experience includes two tours in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom, seven Marine Expeditionary Unit deployments to the European, African, Central, and Indo-Pacific theaters, and a deployment to Djibouti, Italy, and Spain as a mission commander and assistant operations officer for the Special Purpose Marine Air Ground Task Force – Crisis Response – Africa. His previous assignment was as a planner for Task Force 76/3, a combined Navy and Marine Corps littoral warfare staff in Okinawa, Japan. He is a graduate of the Republic of Korea's Joint Forces Military University.

**Colonel Matthew P. Nischwitz, U.S. Army** joined the U.S. Naval War College in 2020 as a member of the Strategy and Policy Department. He commanded at the battalion level and served in various staff positions. His past assignments included the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), Combined Joint Task Force – Operation Inherent Resolve, U.S. Army Transportation School, 17th Field Artillery Brigade and U.S. Military Academy. He received his B.S. from Indiana University and M.A. from Columbia University and the United States Naval War College.

**Commander Timothy D. O'Brien, U.S. Navy**, graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 2002 with a BS in history and holds a MS in operations management from the University of Arkansas and a MA in National Security and Strategic Studies from the U.S. Naval War College. A career helicopter pilot, he has flown over 2,000 flight hours, chiefly in the SH-60B and MH-60R. Commander O'Brien's operational tours were with west coast squadrons: Helicopter Anti-Submarine Squadron Light FOUR THREE (HSL-43) and Helicopter Maritime Strike Squadron FOUR NINE (HSM-49). He deployed multiple times to the southern and western Pacific on board frigates and cruisers, and with aircraft carrier strike groups. A designated Seahawk Weapons and Tactics Instructor, CDR O'Brien served as an instructor at the Helicopter Maritime

Strike Weapons School Pacific, and as the Tactics Officer for Helicopter Maritime Strike THREE SEVEN (HSM-37). Additionally, prior to his assignment at the Naval War College, he served a staff tour with Navy Personnel Command.

**Michelle D. Paranzino** is an Associate Professor and the director of the Latin America Studies Group. She earned her PhD in history at the University of Texas at Austin and also holds a BA in history from the University of California, Santa Cruz and an MA in history from California State University, Northridge. Her research areas include Latin America, U.S. and Soviet foreign policy, and the international Cold War. She has been a Dickey Center and Dean of the Faculty Postdoctoral Fellow in International Security and U.S. Foreign Policy at Dartmouth College, and a Summer Research Fellow at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. She is the author of *The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Cold War: A Short History with Documents* and is currently writing a book about Ronald Reagan and the drug wars.

**Michael F. Pavković** is the William Ledyard Rodgers Professor of Naval History at the College and also serves as Senior Historian for the John B. Hattendorf Center for Maritime Historical Research. He received his BA in history and classics from Pennsylvania State University and his PhD in History from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Before joining the Naval War College, he served as an Associate Professor of History at Hawai'i Pacific University, where he also coordinated graduate and undergraduate programs in Diplomacy and Military Studies. He has published a number of articles, book chapters, and reviews on topics relating to ancient, early modern, and Napoleonic military history. He is co-author of *What is Military History?* which is now in its 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. He is currently completing a book on sea power in the ancient world.

**Captain Joseph A. Pommerer, U.S. Navy**, graduated from the United States Naval Academy with a BA in Systems Engineering and the U.S. Naval War College with an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies. A career Naval Flight Officer, he has over 2,750 flight hours and 600 carrier arrested landings in the F-14D Tomcat and F/A-18F Super Hornet. His operational tours include multiple deployments to the Western Pacific and Arabian Gulf with Fighter Squadron THREE ONE (VF-31), as Operations and Safety Officer with Strike Fighter Squadron ONE ZERO THREE (VFA-103), and as Executive Officer and Commanding Officer of Strike Fighter Squadron NINE FOUR (VFA-94) flying combat missions in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF), Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (OEF), Operation INHERENT RESOLVE (OIR), and Operation FREEDOM SENTINEL (OFS). Other assignments include flight instructor at Strike Fighter Squadron ONE ZERO SIX (VFA-106), assistant operations officer at Carrier Air Wing SEVENTEEN (CVW-17) where he deployed in support of JTF-Haiti during Operation UNIFIED RESPONSE and Operation SOUTHERN SEAS 2010, as Strike Syndicate Lead for Carrier Strike Group FIFTEEN (CSG-15), and as operations officer and prospective commanding officer course lead at the Naval Leadership and Ethics Center.

**Katrina Ponti** is a Postdoctoral Teaching and Research Fellow in the Strategy and Policy Department. She earned her Ph.D. in history from the University of Rochester in 2022. Before joining the Strategy and Policy Department, she was an Ernest May Postdoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center, Harvard Kennedy School. Her research is supported by fellowships from Fulbright Canada, the Smith Richardson Foundation, and the Notre Dame International Security Center. Dr. Ponti has published on topics related to the diplomatic and maritime history of the

early United States. Her forthcoming book *Virtuous Emulations of Liberty* charts the creation of U.S. diplomatic culture after the Revolution. In addition to her interests in history and policy, she is a trained historical archaeologist. During the summer, she can be found in Bermuda helping to excavate Jamestown's sister colony with the Smith's Island Archaeology Project.

**Commander Daniel R. Post, U.S. Navy**, joined the Strategy and Policy department in fall 2021 as a Permanent Military Professor fellow. He received a BS in mathematics from the United States Naval Academy (with Honors), an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies from the U.S. Naval War College (with Highest Distinction), an MA in Political Science from Brown University, and his PhD in Political Science (International Relations) from Brown University. His research focuses on nuclear strategy and policy, deterrence, escalation dynamics, limited nuclear war, and conflict termination. This includes studies of past wargaming and military exercises to explore potential escalation dynamics in limited nuclear wars. Additionally, he conducts experimental survey work and interview-based research centered on nuclear deterrence strategies and escalation dynamics. He is a former Navy Helicopter Pilot, and his most recent assignment was as Nuclear Strike Advisor and the Chief of Strike Advisor Training, Global Operations Center at U.S. Strategic Command.

**Lieutenant Colonel Luis R. Rivera, U.S. Army**, joined the Strategy and Policy Department in 2022. LTC Rivera has commanded at the company and battalion level. Additionally, he has served tours as a member of the general staff at the strategic, operational, and tactical level commands. His combat and operational deployments include Iraq, Afghanistan, Kuwait, Poland, and Germany whilst supporting U.S. Army and joint named operations throughout the Middle East. He is a graduate of the Sistema Universitario Ana G. Mendez (B.S. in Biology) and the Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University (M.S. in Global Logistics and Supply Chain Management). LTC Rivera's professional military education includes the Combined Logistics Captain's Career Course, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and the Command and General Staff School for Command Preparation – Battalion Pre-Command Course.

**Nicholas E. Sarantakes** is an Associate Professor who earned a BA from the University of Texas. He has a MA from the University of Kentucky and holds a PhD from the University of Southern California, all in history. His first three books dealt with the Pacific War: *Keystone: The American Occupation of Okinawa and U.S.-Japanese Relations*; *Seven Stars: The Okinawa Battle Diaries of Simon Bolivar Buckner, Jr. and Joseph Stilwell*; and *Allies Against the Rising Sun: The United States, the British Nations, and the Defeat of Imperial Japan*. His fourth book *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* is a diplomatic history of the 1980 Olympic boycott. His fifth book *Making Patton: A Classic War Film's Epic Journey to the Silver Screen* used film history to look at public opinion towards defense and foreign policies. His sixth book looked at political communications and social policy in *Fan-in-Chief: Richard Nixon and American Sports, 1969-1974*. He is currently writing two World War II books: one on the battle of Manila, which is a study of urban warfare, and another on the home front. He has written a number of articles in journals and publications such as *Diplomatic History*, *English Historical Review*, *Journal of Military History*, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, and ESPN.com. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and has received five writing awards.

He previously taught at Texas A&M University—Commerce, the Air War College, the University of Southern Mississippi, and the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

**George D. Satterfield** is an Associate Professor who holds a PhD in history from the University of Illinois. Before joining the Naval War College, he served as an assistant professor at Morrisville State College, and as an associate professor at Hawaii Pacific University. Dr. Satterfield is the author of *Princes, Posts, and Partisans: The Army of Louis XIV and Partisan Warfare in the Netherlands, 1673-1678*, which received a distinguished book award from the Society for Military History. Dr. Satterfield is also the author of articles on several topics in military history, including irregular warfare and revolutions in military affairs.

**Lieutenant Colonel Michael C. Shaw, U.S. Army**, is a 21-year Army Aviator with combat deployments in support of Operation Enduring Freedom, Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Inherent Resolve. LTC Shaw is a qualified attack helicopter pilot (AH-64 C/D/E) and is instructor pilot-rated. He holds a MS and PhD in Human Resource Management with special emphasis in Leader Development from Louisiana State University and is a graduate of the Army War College. LTC Shaw collaborates with Louisiana State University's Leader Development Institute, where they are exploring the domain of self-development and retention among professionals.

**Lieutenant Colonel Daniel J. Sieben, U.S. Air Force**, commissioned through Officer Training School after earning a BA in Political Science from St. Cloud State University. He attended pilot training at Columbus AFB and was assigned to fly the C-17 at McGuire AFB. He then volunteered for unmanned flying in the MQ-1B and stood up a new squadron at Whiteman AFB. During this time, he completed his MBA with a concentration in conflict management. His next assignment was as instructor and evaluator pilot in the formal training unit at Holloman AFB, finishing as Chief of Group Stan/Eval for the MQ-1. He then went to the University of Hawaii for an MA in English before proceeding to the USAF Academy, where he was an instructor in the Department of English and Fine Arts. While teaching at the academy, he deployed to CENTCOM as an Air Defense Liaison in Bahrain and earned his JD from Mitchell Hamline School of Law. Lt Col Sieben is married, and he and his wife have seven children.

**David R. Stone** serves as the William E. Odom Professor of Russian Studies. He received his BA in history and mathematics from Wabash College and his PhD in history from Yale University. He taught at Hamilton College and at Kansas State University, where he served as director of the Institute for Military History. He was also a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. His first book *Hammer and Rifle: The Militarization of the Soviet Union, 1926-1933* won the Shulman Prize of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies and the Best First Book Prize of the Historical Society. He has also published *A Military History of Russia: From Ivan the Terrible to the War in Chechnya*, and *The Russian Army in the Great War: The Eastern Front, 1914-1917*. He edited *The Soviet Union at War, 1941-1945*; *The Russian Civil War: Campaigns and Operations*; and *The Russian Civil War: Military and Society*. He is the author of several dozen articles and book chapters on Russian / Soviet military history and foreign policy. Professor Stone also has two lecture series with The Great Courses on *Battlefield Europe: The Second World War* and *War in the Modern World*.

**Cavender S. Sutton** is a Postdoctoral Teaching and Research Fellow in the Strategy and Policy Department. He received his BA in History from the University of Georgia, his MA in History from East Tennessee State University, and his PhD in Military History from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Before beginning his undergraduate studies, Dr. Sutton served four years in the United States Marine Corps, during which time he deployed to Afghanistan twice, participated in a variety of combat operations, and advised Afghan National Security Forces personnel. His research focuses on the relationship between small unit culture and military adaptation to assess how armed forces learn and change over time, with a particular emphasis on the U.S. military during the Cold War and the Global War on Terror. His dissertation and forthcoming book use the U.S. Marines' Combined Action Platoon program as a window into how Marines understood insurgencies during the Cold War and how that knowledge, in turn, influenced their operations in Vietnam.

**Anand Toprani** is an Associate Professor of Strategy and Policy specializing in diplomatic and military history, energy geopolitics, and political economy. He is a graduate of Cornell, Oxford, and Georgetown, and he has held fellowships at Yale and Harvard as well as from the Stanton and Smith Richardson foundations. He is the author of *Oil and the Great Powers: Britain and Germany, 1914-1945* (Oxford University Press, 2019), which received the 2020 Richard W. Leopold Prize from the Organization of American Historians, and the co-author with RADM Dave Oliver (USN-ret.) of *American Defense Reform: Lessons from Failure and Success in Navy History* (Georgetown University Press, 2022). He is co-editing with S.C.M. Paine a book on the strategy of sanctions and embargoes for the University of Michigan Press and writing another about Secretary of the Navy John Lehman for Stanford University Press. Anand previously served as an historian at the U.S. Department of State, an intelligence analyst at U.S. Central Command, a Visiting Associate Professor at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown University, and a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is currently a fellow with the Truman National Security Project and a contributor to Poland's official history of the 1939 campaign.

**Jesse C. Tumblin** is an Assistant Professor of Strategy and Policy specializing in political and military history, conceptions of security, and the current and former British world. He earned his PhD and MA from Boston College and his BA from the University of Tennessee. He is a past Fellow in International Security Studies at Yale University. He is the author of *The Quest for Security: Sovereignty, Race, and the Defense of the British Empire, 1898-1931*, as well as an article on Britain's attempts to secure its Indo-Pacific empire that won the Saki Ruth Dockrill Prize for International History from the Institute for Historical Research, University of London.

**Andrew R. Wilson** is the Naval War College's John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies. After majoring in East Asian studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara he earned his PhD from the History and East Asian Languages Program at Harvard University. Before joining the War College faculty in 1998, he taught introductory and advanced courses in Chinese history at Harvard and at Wellesley College. Professor Wilson lectures on Chinese history, Asian military affairs, and the classics of strategic theory at military colleges and civilian universities across the United States and around the world and has worked on curriculum development with command and staff colleges in Latin America and Africa. He has written several pieces on Chinese military history, Chinese sea power, and the Art of War, including a



new introduction for Lionel Giles' classic translation of Sun Tzu. His books include *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant-Elites in Colonial Manila, 1885-1916*; *The Chinese in the Caribbean*; and *China's Future Nuclear Submarine Force*. Professor Wilson is also featured on The Great Courses with lecture series including *The Art of War*, *Masters of War: History's Greatest Strategic Thinkers*, and *Understanding Imperial China: Dynasties, Life, and Cultures*.

**STRATEGY & POLICY SLC WINTER 2024-2025 LECTURE SCHEDULE**

TOPIC	DATE	PRESENTER	PRESENTATION TITLE
<b><u>INTRODUCTION</u></b>	12 NOV	PROF ULRICH	Strategy and Policy: Concept and Course
<b><u>CASE I:</u></b> THEORIES OF WAR, STRATEGY, AND GREAT POWER COMPETITIONS	14 NOV	PROF MCCRANIE	Origins of Strategic Thought
	14 NOV	PROF BELLINGER	Clausewitz
	15 NOV	PROF WILSON	Sun Tzu
	15 NOV	PROF HOYT	Great Power Competitions
<b><u>CASE II:</u></b> PELOPONNESIAN WAR	22 NOV	CDR HAMMOND	The Rise of Athens
	22 NOV	PROF MAURER	The Peace of Nicias
	26 NOV	PROF PAVKOVIĆ	The Fall of Athens
	26 NOV	PROF GENEST	Thucydides as Theorist
<b><u>CASE III:</u></b> WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON	5 DEC	PROF SATTERFIELD	Revolution in France and Transformation in War
	5 DEC	PROF PAVKOVIĆ	Napoleon's Aims and Way of War
	6 DEC	PROF MCCRANIE	Corbett and British Strategy
	6 DEC	PROF MAURER	Coalitions, Napoleon's Downfall, and War Termination
<b><u>CASE IV:</u></b> WORLD WAR I	12 DEC	PROF MAURER	The Causes of War
	12 DEC	PROF BELLINGER	Germany's Aims and Way of War
	13 DEC	PROF TUMBLIN	Britain's Grand Strategy
	13 DEC	PROF HOLMES	Mahan and Naval Rivalries
<b><u>CASE V:</u></b> INTERWAR EUROPE <b>Lectures on 9 January will be held in Pringle Auditorium</b>	9 JAN	PROF LANE	A Better State of Peace: Post-War Settlements
	9 JAN	PROF TUMBLIN	Britain's Strategic Dilemmas
	10 JAN	PROF SATTERFIELD	Transformation of Warfare
	10 JAN	PROF TOPRANI	The Impact of the Great Depression

**STRATEGY & POLICY SLC WINTER 2023-2024 LECTURE SCHEDULE**

<b>TOPIC</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PRESENTER</b>	<b>PRESENTATION TITLE</b>
<b><u>CASE VI:</u> WWII AND THE EARLY COLD WAR: RISE OF THE SUPERPOWERS</b>	16 JAN	PROF SARANTAKES	Strategic Concepts for Global War
	16 JAN	PROF STONE	Rise of the Soviet Union
	17 JAN	PROF DENNIS	War Termination and Global Order
	17 JAN	PROF TOPRANI	Economics of Total War
<b><u>CASE VII:</u> THE RISE OF COMMUNIST CHINA</b>	24 JAN	PROF HICKS	Mao and Grand Strategy
	24 JAN	PROF WILSON	The Chinese Civil War
	28 JAN	PROF SARANTAKES	The Korean War
	28 JAN	PROF HOLMES	China and Taiwan
<b><u>CASE VIII:</u> THE THREE INDOCHINA WARS</b>	31 JAN	PROF PARANZINO	The First Indochina War
	31 JAN	PROF GAROFANO	The Second Indochina War
	31 JAN	PROF STONE	Hanoi's Wars
<b><u>CASE IX:</u> THE LATE COLD WAR</b>	6 FEB	PROF DENNIS	The End of the Cold War
	6 FEB	PROF PARANZINO	The Cold War and the Third World
	7 FEB	CDR POST	Deterrence Theory and Nuclear Strategy
	7 FEB	PROF ULRICH	Civil-Military Relations and Great Power Competition
<b><u>CASE X:</u> AMERICA AND THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST</b>	12 FEB	PROF BERENJI	Strategic Overview
	12 FEB	PROF KADERCAN	Clash of Ideologies
	13 FEB	PROF LANE	Iranian Grand Strategy
	13 FEB	PROF GENEST	Afghanistan: Retrospect and Prospect

**STRATEGY & POLICY SLC WINTER 2023-2024 LECTURE SCHEDULE**

<b>TOPIC</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PRESENTER</b>	<b>PRESENTATION TITLE</b>
<b><u>CASE XI:</u></b> <b>THE RETURN TO GREAT POWER COMPETITION</b>	<b>20 FEB</b>	<b>PROF STONE</b>	<b>Russia and World Order</b>
	<b>20 FEB</b>	<b>PROF WILSON</b>	<b>Chinese Power and Purpose in the World</b>
	<b>21 FEB</b>	<b>PROF HOLMES</b>	<b>Sea Power in the Pacific</b>
	<b>24 FEB</b>	<b>PROF HOYT</b>	<b>Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Retrospect and Prospect</b>

Updated 9/27/2024