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This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

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Director MGIMO Library _____ Marina Reshetnikova

PART 1: INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION AND COURSE DESCRIPTION

1.1 General information

- Full course title: Grand Strategy
- Type of course: Elective
- Level of course B.A.
- Year of study: 2nd
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 1
- Name of the instructor: Dr. Vladimir A. Zhdanov
- E-mail: zhdanov.v@my.mgimo.ru

1.2 Course aims and learning outcomes

This elective course examines the theoretical and historical evolution of Grand Strategy (policy for integrating all instruments of power—diplomatic, informational, military, and economic—to advance national security) by providing a survey of the major academic approaches to its study. The course starts with a survey of the theoretical heritage of the field's founding fathers (Sun Tzu, Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Clausewitz) and proceeds with an analysis of the grand strategies of the present day's leading powers.

Learning outcomes

By the end of this course students should be able to understand the processes, developments and dynamics related to international conflicts from a historical and contemporary perspectives, compare the approaches to strategic studies and the current explanations of Grand Strategy by the major players of modern world politics.

1.3 Course requirements and grading plan

Course requirements

Students are required to attend no less than 80% of classes and be prepared for class discussions. Reading of the required materials and active engagement in class discussions is mandatory.

Grading plan

Grading is on a Pass/Fail basis.

Two 25-minute in-class tests – 50% each.

Participation in class discussions – additional 10%.

Required reading materials in the form of the instructor's handouts (about 7-8 single spaced pages) will be uploaded to the corresponding Google Classroom site.

PART 2. COURSE CONTENT

2.1 Types of work

Types of work	Academic hours	ECTS credits
Total	84	2
Total for lectures and discussions	16	
Lectures	8	
Discussions	8	
Homework	68	
Reading assignments	32	
Preparation for the first test	18	
Preparation for the second test	<u>18</u>	

2.2. Course content and readings by topic

Topic 1: Introduction (lecture and discussion)

The grand strategy paradigm (the Classicist and International Relations interpretations). Grand strategy as a plan. Grand strategy as an organizing principle. Grand strategy as a pattern of behavior. Security as the preservation of sovereignty, safety, territorial integrity, and power position. The fundamental importance of grand strategy to successful statecraft.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Balzacq T., Dombrowski P., Reich S.* 'Is Grand Strategy a Research Program? A Review Essay.' – *Security Studies*. Vol. 28 (2019), no. 1, p. 58-86.
2. *Brands H.* The Promise and Pitfalls of Grand Strategy. Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2012. Chapter 1 (p. 2-15).
3. *Howard M.* 'Grand Strategy in the Twentieth Century.' – *Defence Studies*. Vol. 1 (2001), no.1, p. 1-10.
4. *Layton P.* 'The Idea of Grand Strategy.' – *The RUSI Journal*. Vol. 157 (2012), no. 4, p. 56-61.
5. *Popescu I.C.* 'Grand Strategy vs. Emergent Strategy in the conduct of foreign policy.' – *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Vol. 41 (2018), no. 3, p. 438-460.
6. *Silove N.* 'Beyond the Buzzword: The Three Meanings of "Grand Strategy".' – *Security Studies*. Vol. 27 (2018), no. 1, p. 27-57.

Topic 2: The Historical Background of Grand Strategy (lecture and discussion)

The founding fathers: Sun Tzu, Kautilya, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Clausewitz.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Kagan K.* 'Redefining Roman Grand Strategy.' – *The Journal of Military History*. Vol. 70 (2006), no. 2, p. 333-362.
2. *Martel W.C.* Grand Strategy in Theory and Practice. The Need for an Effective American Foreign Policy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Chapter 4 (p. 57-81).
3. *Milevski L.* 'The idea of genius in Clausewitz and Sun Tzu.' – *Comparative Strategy*. Vol. 38 (2019), no. 2, p. 139-149.
4. *Platias A.G., Koliopoulos C.* 'Grand Strategies Clashing: Athenian and Spartan Strategies in Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War".' – *Comparative Strategy*. Vol. 21 (2002), no. 5, p. 377–399.
5. *Tsakiris T.G.* 'Thucydides and Strategy: Formations of Grand Strategy in the History of the Second Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.)' – *Comparative Strategy*. Vol. 25 (2006), no. 3, p. 173–208.
6. *Zaman R.U.* 'Kautilya: The Indian Strategic Thinker and Indian Strategic Culture' – *Comparative Strategy*. Vol. 25 (2006), no. 3, p. 231-247.

Topic 3: The Modern U.S. Grand Strategy (lecture and discussion)

American messianism, exceptionalism, and frontierism. Schools of American foreign policy (Hamiltonian, Wilsonian, Jeffersonian, Jacksonian). U.S. strategic alternatives (selective engagement, cooperative security, neo-isolationism, primacy). Institutions, processes, instruments.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Brands H.* 'The Unexceptional Superpower: American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump.' – *Survival*. Vol. 59 (2017), no. 6, p. 7-40.
2. *Hooker R.D., Jr.* 'Understanding U.S. Grand Strategy.' – *Orbis*. Vol. 59 (2015), no. 3, p. 317-330.
3. *Löfflmann G.* 'From the Obama Doctrine to America First: the erosion of the Washington consensus on grand strategy' – *International Politics*. Vol. 57 (2019), no. 4, p. 588-605.
4. *Menon R., Ruger W.* 'NATO enlargement and US grand strategy: a net assessment.' – *International Politics*. Vol. 57 (2020), no.3, p. 371–400.
5. *Porter P.* 'Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment' – *International Security*. Vol. 42 (2018), no. 4, p. 9-46.
6. *Walt S.M.* 'US grand strategy after the Cold War: Can realism explain it? Should realism guide it?' – *International Relations*. Vol. 32 (2018), no. 1, p. 3-22.

Topic 4: The Modern Grand Strategy of European Great Powers – I (lecture and discussion)

British grand strategy. The prominence of history. The subject to the contestation of domestic politics. The bilateralism in British grand strategy. British strategy-making institutions, processes, and instruments. The continuing challenges and constraints of British grand strategy.

Grandeur and the historical foundations of France's grand strategy. The strategy of liberal engagement. French strategy-making institutions, processes, and instruments.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Cornish P.* 'United Kingdom.' – *Biehl H., Giegerich B., Jonas A.* (eds.). *Strategic Cultures in Europe. Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent.* Potsdam: Springer VS, 2013. P. 371-385.
2. *Heuser B.* 'Britain and the Origins and Future of the European Defence and Security Mechanism.' – *The RUSI Journal.* Vol. 162 (2017), no. 2, p. 16-23.
3. *Irondelle B., Schmitt O.* 'France.' – *Biehl H., Giegerich B., Jonas A.* (eds.). *Strategic Cultures in Europe.* P. 125-137.
4. *Pannier A.* 'From one exceptionalism to another: France's strategic relations with the United States and the United Kingdom in the post-Cold War era.' – *Journal of Strategic Studies.* Vol. 40 (2017), no. 4, p. 475-504.
5. *Simón L.* 'The Spider in Europe's Web? French Grand Strategy From Iraq to Libya' – *Geopolitics.* Vol. 18 (2013), p. 403–434.
6. *Stokes D., Whitman R.G.* 'Transatlantic triage? European and UK 'grand strategy' after the US rebalance to Asia.' – *International Affairs.* Vol. 89 (2013), no. 5, p. 1087–1107.

Topic 5: The Modern Grand Strategy of European Great Powers – II (lecture and discussion)

German grand strategy. The EU leader by default. The strategic triangle: Bonn-Paris-Washington. A "civilian power." German strategy-making institutions, processes, and instruments.

The grand strategy of the Russian Federation. The perception of strategic environment and the characterization of threats. Russia's strategy-making institutions, processes, and instruments.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Applebaum A.* 'Putin's Grand Strategy.' – *South Central Review.* Vol. 35 (2018), no. 1, p. 22-34.
2. *Forsberg T.* 'From *Ostpolitik* to 'frostpolitik'? Merkel, Putin and German foreign policy towards Russia.' – *International Affairs.* Vol. 92 (2016), no. 1, p. 21-42.
3. *Haftendorn H., Kolkmann M.* 'German Policy in a Strategic Triangle: Berlin, Paris, Washington ... and What about London?' – *Cambridge Review of International Affairs.* Vol. 17 (2004), no. 3, p. 467-480.
4. *Junk J., Daase C.* 'Germany.' – *Biehl H., Giegerich B., Jonas A.* (eds.). *Strategic Cultures in Europe.* P. 139-152.

5. *Monaghan A.* 'Putin's Russia: shaping a 'grand strategy'?' – *International Affairs*. Vol. 89 (2013), no. 5, p. 1221–1236.
6. *Sushentsov A.A., Wohlforth W.C.* 'The tragedy of US–Russian relations: NATO centrality and the revisionists' spiral.' – *International Politics*. Vol. 57 (2020), no. 3, p. 427-450.

Topic 6: The Modern Grand Strategy of China (lecture and discussion)

The historical continuities of Chinese grand strategy. China's strategy-making institutions and processes. The Belt and Road Initiative as an external manifestation of Chinese grand strategy.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Danner L.K.* *China's Grand Strategy. Contradictory Foreign Policy?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
2. *Friedberg A.L.* 'Globalisation and Chinese Grand Strategy.' – *Survival*. Vol. 60 (2018), no. 1, p. 7-40.
3. *Liu G.* 'Domestic Sources of China's Emerging Grand Strategy.' – *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. Vol. 43 (2008), no. 5, p. 543-561.
4. *Ploberger C.* 'One Belt, One Road – China's new grand strategy.' – *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies*. Vol. 15 (2017), no. 3, p. 289-305.
5. *Zhang F.* 'Rethinking China's grand strategy: Beijing's evolving national interests and strategic ideas.' – *International Politics*. Vol. 49 (2012), no. 3, p. 318–345.
6. *Zheng Y., Lye L.F.* 'China's Foreign Policy: The Unveiling of President Xi Jinping's Grand Strategy.' – *East Asian Policy*. Vol. 7 (2015), no. 1, p. 62-82.

Topic 7: The Modern Grand Strategy of Asian Great Powers (lecture and discussion)

The grand strategy of India. British colonial heritage. The persistence of key security challenges. A pivot in a new triangle (the USA, China, and India). Strategic links with the USA. Secessionist movements and insurgencies. India's strategy-making institutions, processes, and instruments. The grand strategy of Japan. "Increasingly severe security environment and complex national security challenges." Japan's strategy-making institutions, processes, and instruments. Alliance with the USA and partnerships in the region.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Bajpai K., Basit S., Krishnappa V.* (eds.). *India's Grand Strategy*. London: Routledge, 2014.
2. *Dittmer L.* 'Japan, China, Russia, and the American "Pivot": A Triangular Analysis' – *Inoguchi T., Ikenberry J.G.* (eds.). *The Troubled Triangle. Economic and Security Concerns for the United States, Japan, and China*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. P. 185-211.

3. *Hosoya Y.* 'The Rise and Fall of Japan's Grand Strategy: The "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" and the Future Asian Order.' – *Asia-Pacific Review*. Vol. 18 (2011), no. 1, p. 13-24.
4. *Mohan C.R.* 'India and the Balance of Power' – *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 85 (2006), no. 4, p. 17-32.
5. *Oros A.L.* 'Japan's Strategic Culture: Security Identity in a Fourth Modern Incarnation?' – *Contemporary Security Policy*. Vol. 35 (2014), no. 2, p. 227-248.
6. *Scott D.* 'India's "Grand Strategy" for the Indian Ocean: Mahanian Visions. *Asia-Pacific Review*. Vol. 13 (2006), no. 2, p. 97-129.

Topic 8: The future of Grand Strategy (lecture and discussion)

Hegemonic cycles. "The rise of the rest." The crumbling US accommodation of PRC. China as a revisionist state. New Containment. New dimensions of hegemony. The rise of AI as the cause of disruption to the existing westernized global order. Hybrid warfare and the use of proxies.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Chekov A.D., Makarycheva A.V., Solomentseva A.M., Suchkov M.A., Sushentsov A.A.* 'War of the Future: A View from Russia.' – *Survival*. Vol. 61 (2019), no. 6, p. 25-48.
2. *Demchak C.C.* 'China: Determined to dominate cyberspace and AI.' – *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Vol. 75 (2019), no. 3, p. 99-104.
3. *Herberg-Rothe A.* 'New Containment Policy: A Grand Strategy for the Twenty-first Century?' – *The RUSI Journal*. Vol. 153 (2008), no. 2, p. 50-54.
4. *Mastanduno M.* 'Partner Politics: Russia, China, and the Challenge of Extending US Hegemony after the Cold War.' – *Security Studies*. Vol. 28 (2019), no. 3, p. 479-504.
5. *Weber V.* 'Linking cyber strategy with grand strategy: the case of the United States.' – *Journal of Cyber Policy*. Vol. 3 (2018), no. 2, p. 236-257.

Readings

Applebaum A. 'Putin's Grand Strategy.' – *South Central Review*. Vol. 35 (2018), no. 1, p. 22-34.

Balzacq T., Dombrowski P., Reich S. 'Is Grand Strategy a Research Program? A Review Essay.' – *Security Studies*. Vol. 28 (2019), no. 1, p. 58-86.

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Zhang F. 'Rethinking China's grand strategy: Beijing's evolving national interests and strategic ideas.' – *International Politics*. Vol. 49 (2012), no. 3, p. 318–345.

Zheng Y., Lye L.F. 'China's Foreign Policy: The Unveiling of President Xi Jinping's Grand Strategy.' – *East Asian Policy*. Vol. 7 (2015), no. 1, p. 62-82.