



Forging an American Grand Strategy: Securing a Path Through a Complex Future

A symposium hosted by
-- The Institute for National Strategic Studies --
National Defense University

Related Reference Articles, Projects and Events

This is not intended to represent a comprehensive listing of national security strategy publications or resources, but to offer a sampling of for research and the range of points of view on the subject.

Official USG sources:

National Security Strategy (May 2010)

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf

Abstract: The National Security Strategy is “focused on renewing American leadership so that we can more effectively advance our interests in the 21st century. We will do so by building upon the sources of our strength at home, while shaping an international order that can meet the challenges of our time. This strategy recognizes the fundamental connection between our national security, our national competitiveness, resilience, and moral example. And it reaffirms America’s commitment to pursue our interests through an international system in which all nations have certain rights and responsibilities. This will allow America to leverage our engagement abroad on behalf of a world in which individuals enjoy more freedom and opportunity, and nations have incentives to act responsibly, while facing consequences when they do not.”

Quadrennial Defense Review 2010 – Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Policy)

<http://www.defenselink.mil/qdr/>

Abstract: The Quadrennial Defense Review will assess the threats and challenges the nation faces and re-balance DoD's strategies, capabilities and forces to address today's conflicts and tomorrow's threats. The QDR is one of the principal means by which the tenets of the National Defense Strategy are translated into potentially new policies, capabilities and initiatives. This website offers links to past QDRs and current Department of Defense QDR activities.

Leading Through Civilian Power - The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR)

<http://www.state.gov/s/dmr/qddr/>

Abstract: The QDDR provides a blueprint for elevating American "civilian power" to better advance our national interests and to be a better partner to the U.S. military. Leading through civilian power means directing and coordinating the resources of all America's civilian agencies to prevent and resolve conflicts; help countries lift themselves out of poverty into prosperous, stable, and democratic states; and build global coalitions to address global problems.

The National Military Strategy of the United States of America (2011)

[http://www.jcs.mil//content/files/2011-02/020811084800_2011_NMS - 08 FEB 2011.pdf](http://www.jcs.mil//content/files/2011-02/020811084800_2011_NMS_-_08_FEB_2011.pdf)

Abstract: This National Military Strategy emphasizes how the Joint Force will re-define America's military leadership to adapt to a challenging new era. It identifies trends in the strategic environment, explains how we will address them, and articulates regional and functional capability priorities. This strategy will serve as the foundation for the annual Chairman's Risk Assessment. While acknowledging that hard near-term choices must be made in light of broader economic constraints, it places a clear priority on our people and their families as they are the truly indispensable elements of any strategy.

Celebrate, Innovate & Sustain Toward 2015 and Beyond: The United States Strategy for Meeting the Millennium Development Goals, (July 2010)

http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/mdg/

Abstract: The United States seeks a safer, more prosperous, more democratic, and more equitable world. We cannot reach that goal when one-third of humankind lives in conditions that offer them little chance of building better lives for themselves or their children. As recognized in the U.S. National Security Strategy, we believe that development is a moral, strategic, and economic imperative. The successful pursuit of development is essential to advancing our national security objectives: security, prosperity, respect for universal values, and a just and sustainable international order. Countries that achieve sustained development gains can be more capable partners, participate in and contribute to the global economy, and provide their people with the opportunity, means, and freedom to improve their lives. Therefore, we are elevating development as a key pillar of our foreign policy and making it central to our engagement with the world...

A New U.S. Grand Strategy (Part 1 of 2)

<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-110hrg44340/pdf/CHRG-110hrg44340.pdf>

Abstract: Report of Hearing before the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services of the One Hundred Tenth Congress. The ongoing shifts in relative power and increasing interconnectedness in the international order indicate a strategic inflection point. This requires America's foreign policy to employ an adaptive blend of diplomacy, development, and defense. While the strength of our military will continue to underpin national security, we must continuously adapt our approaches to how we exercise power. Leadership is how we exercise the full spectrum of power to defend our national interests and advance international security and stability.

A New U.S. Grand Strategy (Part 2 of 2)

<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-110hrg45060/pdf/CHRG-110hrg45060.pdf>

Abstract: Report of Hearing before the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services of the One Hundred Tenth Congress. The Asia-Pacific's strong response to the worldwide economic crisis, its burgeoning military modernization programs and growing integration are evidence of the region's expanding global power. At the same time, the region is home to burgeoning transnational threats, developed nations and emerging states, authoritarian regimes and democratic polities – as well as a resident power that has long enjoyed preeminence in the region: the United States. As global power shifts from the Atlantic to the Pacific, American strategists must articulate a comprehensive and forward-looking strategy to deal with the complexities of this increasingly vital region.

Other Commentaries on Strategy, Grand Strategy, & Education : (listed by date of publication)

That Used to be US: How America Fell Behind in the World It Invented and How We Can Come Back,

Thomas Friedman and Michael Mandelbaum (2011)

<http://us.macmillan.com/book.aspx?isbn=9780374288907>

Abstract: Thomas L. Friedman and Michael Mandelbaum analyze globalization, the revolution in information technology, the nation's chronic deficits, and its pattern of energy consumption. They offer a way out of the trap into which the country has fallen, which includes the rediscovery of some of the most valuable traditions and the creation of a new third-party movement.

Reducing Uncertainty by Thomas Fingar, (2011)

<http://fsi.stanford.edu/people/thomasfingar>

Abstract: Reducing Uncertainty describes what Intelligence Community analysts do, how they do it, and how they are affected by the political context that shapes, uses, and sometimes abuses their output. In particular, it looks at why IC analysts pay more attention to threats than to opportunities, and why they appear to focus more on warning about the possibility of "bad things" happening than on providing the input necessary for increasing the likelihood of positive outcomes.

Applied Grand Strategy: Making Tough Choices in an Era of Limits & Constraint, By Clark Murdock & Kevin Kallmyer, Orbis (Fall 2011)

Abstract: This article hopes to contribute to the strategic content of U.S. foreign policy by offering a definition of grand strategy and case for reorienting U.S. policy around it. Rather than advocate a specific grand strategy—a matter still open for debate—the analysis concludes with a set of attributes to assess whether a proposed grand strategy constitutes a “good” grand strategy. It concludes by introducing the concept of an applied grand strategy approach, which may help to identify and assess the strategic implications of foreign policy choices.

A National Strategic Narrative by Mr. Y (Wayne Porter and Mark Mykleby, Apr 2011)

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/A%20National%20Strategic%20Narrative.pdf>

Abstract: This Strategic Narrative is intended to frame our National policy decisions regarding investment, security, economic development, the environment, and engagement well into this century. It is built upon the premise that we must sustain our enduring national interests – prosperity and security – within a “strategic ecosystem,” at home and abroad; that in complexity and uncertainty, there are opportunities and hope, as well as challenges, risk, and threat. The primary approach this Strategic Narrative advocates to achieve sustainable prosperity and security, is through the application of credible influence and strength, the pursuit of fair competition, acknowledgement of interdependencies and converging interests, and adaptation to complex, dynamic systems – all bounded by our national values.

The Shaping of Grand Strategy- Policy, Diplomacy, and War, Edited by: Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich , James Lacey. Cambridge University Press (March 2011)

http://www.cambridge.org/us/knowledge/isbn/item5745050/The%20Shaping%20of%20Grand%20Strategy/?site_locale=en_US

Abstract: Within a variety of historical contexts, The Shaping of Grand Strategy addresses the most important tasks states have confronted: namely, how to protect their citizens against the short-range as well as long-range dangers their polities confront in the present and may confront in the future. To be successful, grand strategy demands that governments and leaders chart a course that involves more than simply reacting to immediate events. Above all, it demands they adapt to sudden and major changes in the

international environment, which more often than not involves the outbreak of great conflicts but at times demands recognition of major economic, political, or diplomatic changes. This collection of essays explores the successes as well as failures of great states attempting to create grand strategies that work and aims at achieving an understanding of some of the extraordinary difficulties involved in casting, evolving, and adapting grand strategy to the realities of the world.

Defining and Teaching Grand Strategy by Timothy Andrews Sayle (Jan 2011)

<http://www.fpri.org/telegram/201101.sayle.teachinggrandstrategy.pdf>

Abstract: This essay argues that a working definition of grand strategy serves an important function in a course on the subject. First, it helps to organize a reading list and suggests which historical episodes or theoretical writings are suitable. Second, a working definition provides a common language and useful tool to guide classroom discussion. Both the historical and political science approaches offer methods for inquiry into formulating grand strategy.²⁶ The study of grand strategy requires reading political, cultural, diplomatic, and military history and theory, but it also provides a new framework by asking students to consider the relationship between these topics rather than examining each one discretely.

Grand Strategies: Literature, Statecraft, and World Order, by Charles Hill (May 2010)

<http://yalepress.yale.edu/book.asp?isbn=9780300163865>

Abstract: “The international world of states and their modern system is a literary realm,” writes Charles Hill in this powerful work on the practice of international relations. “It is where the greatest issues of the human condition are played out.” Hill aims to revive the ancient tradition of statecraft as practiced by humane and broadly educated men and women. Through lucid and compelling discussions of classic literary works from Homer to Rushdie, *Grand Strategies* represents a merger of literature and international relations, inspired by the conviction that “a grand strategist . . . needs to be immersed in classic texts from Sun Tzu to Thucydides to George Kennan, to gain real-world experience through internships in the realms of statecraft, and to bring this learning and experience to bear on contemporary issues.”

Teaching Strategy: Challenge and Response, edited by Gabriel Marcella (Mar 2010)

<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=976>

Abstract: Teaching all strategy, from grand to military, is essential in the preparation of national security professionals and military leaders. The experience of the armed forces in recent wars recommends that those involved with the system of military education seriously study the way strategy is taught. The task is even more imperative because the ambiguous conflicts and the complex geopolitical environment of the future are likely to challenge the community of strategists, civilian as well as military, in ways not seen in the past. In this context, developing the appropriate curriculum and effective methods of teaching strategy will be the responsibility of universities, colleges, and institutions of professional military education. The authors of this compendium ask and answer the central question of how to teach strategy. The findings, insights, and recommendations in this volume are those of professionals who are accomplished in the classroom as well as the crucible of strategy.

Rethinking US Grand Strategy and Foreign Policy,

<http://outerdnn.outr.jhuapl.edu/rethinking/PastSeries/Rethinking20092010.aspx>

Rethinking US Grand Strategy and Foreign Policy was the focus of the 2009-2010 Rethinking Seminar Series hosted by The Johns Hopkins University / Applied Physics Laboratory. It explored the concept that although there has been a widely held assumption that both the world and the United States have changed a great deal recently, it was not clear that US Grand Strategy or its foreign policy had. Questions covered included:

- What are the nature and components of US grand strategy and national interests?
- How are US grand strategy, national interests, and policies likely to be influenced by trends in global interdependence and shifting power arrangements?
- Where is the US headed? What is the future international environment in which the US will form and execute its foreign and security policies?
- Who are likely to be the major players in the future? (New partnerships? New adversaries?)
- What nation states, non-nation state groups, and areas of the world are of special national security importance to the United States? Russia? China? Pakistan? India? North Korea? Iran? Latin America? Israel/Palestine?

Seeing the Elephant: The U.S. Role in Global Security

<http://www.potomacbooksinc.com/Books/BookDetail.aspx?productID=148989>

An intellectual history of U.S. national security thinking since the end of the fall of the Soviet Union, *Seeing the Elephant* is an attempt to see the evolving international security system and America's role in it through the eyes of more than fifty perceptive authors who have analyzed key aspects of the unfolding post-Cold War drama. Its premise is that, like the blind men in the Buddhist fable who each feels a different part of an elephant, these authors and their assessments, taken together, can give us a better view of where the world is headed.

Schools for Strategy: Teaching Strategy for 21st Century Conflict, By Colin Gray (Nov 2009)

<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=947>

Abstract: All would-be strategists would benefit by some formal education. However, for education in strategy to be well-directed, it needs to rest upon sound assumptions concerning the eternal nature yet ever shifting character, meaning, and function of strategy, as well as the range of behaviors required for effective strategic performance. The author emphasizes the necessity for strategic education to help develop the strategic approach, the way of thinking that can solve or illuminate strategic problems. He advises that such education should not strive for a spurious relevance by presenting a military variant of current affairs. The author believes that the strategist will perform better in today's world if he has mastered and can employ strategy's general theory.

"What Is Grand Strategy?", by John Lewis Gaddis, Duke University (Feb 2009)

<http://www.duke.edu/web/agsp/grandstrategy.pdf>

Abstract: Prepared as the Karl Von Der Heyden Distinguished Lecture, Duke University, February 26, 2009, the keynote address for a conference on "American Grand Strategy after War," sponsored by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies and the Duke University Program in American Grand Strategy.

CSIS Congressional Dialogue on National Security (2009)

<http://csis.org/event/congressional-perspectives-national-security>

Abstract: CSIS hosted a Congressional Dialogue event with members of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees. Four key policymakers shared their views on the Quadrennial Defense Review and U.S. national security strategy. They were:

Senator Mark Udall (D-CO)

Senator Roger Wicker (R-MS)

Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-TX)

Rep. Jim Marshall (D-GA)

The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy at Yale University

<http://iss.yale.edu/brady-johnson-program-grand-strategy-and-studies-grand-strategy-graduate-seminar>

Abstract: The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy seeks to revive the study and practice of grand strategy by devising methods to teach that subject at the graduate and undergraduate levels, by training future leaders to think about and implement grand strategies in imaginative and effective ways, and by organizing public events that emphasize the importance of grand strategy.

International Security Studies launched the Grand Strategy Project in January 2000 with a seminar on 'Studies in Grand Strategy' and an accompanying lecture series. This seminar has been offered each year starting in the 2002 calendar year.

America's Role in the World Foreign Policy Choices for the Next President

http://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/isd/Americas_Role_in_the_World.pdf

This working group report seeks to identify the foreign policy choices that will face the next president of the United States. These choices, however, will not be taken in a vacuum, and so this report examines the geopolitical and domestic American environment in which decisions will be made. The report is divided into five parts. Part I examines the contemporary, dynamic, and fast-changing geopolitical environment, focusing particular attention on "drivers" of change. Part II anticipates the range of foreign policy and related domestic challenges that will confront America's next president. Part III assesses America's "capacity" to provide global leadership—constraints on America's decision-making that will constrict presidential choices. Part IV discusses the spectrum of potential debate about the "lessons" of the Iraq War for America's future decisions. Part V identifies fundamental choices that will help determine America's role in the world in the early decades of the twenty-first century.

CSIS Commission on Smart Power

http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf

Implementing a smart power strategy will require a strategic reassessment of how the U.S. government is organized, coordinated, and budgeted. The next president should consider a number of creative solutions to maximize the administration's ability to organize for success, including the appointment of senior personnel who could reach across agencies to better align strategy and resources.

Strengthening U.S. Strategic Planning, by Aaron L. Friedberg, *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 1, Winter 2007-08

http://twq.com/08winter/docs/08winter_friedberg.pdf

Abstract: The former director of policy planning in the Office of the Vice President argues that the U.S. government has lost the capacity to conduct serious, sustained national strategic planning and proposes three ways by which the next president could improve it.

Grand Strategy as Liberal Order Building, By Ikenberry, John (May 2007)

<http://www.princeton.edu/~gji3/Ikenberry-Grand-Strategy-as-Liberal-Order-Building-2007-word.pdf>

Abstract: Today, security interdependence has been dramatically intensified. In a world where the threats and challenges are so diffuse and deeply entrenched, the United States needs a grand strategy of global order-building that puts in place frameworks for sustained partnership and collective action on many fronts. What people do and how they live matter in ways that were irrelevant in earlier eras. How people burn energy, provide public health, treat minorities and establish rules and enforce treaties matter more today—and will matter even more tomorrow. This has created a growing demand for security cooperation—deep, intrusive, institutionalized, multifaceted...

U.S. National Security Strategy: Lenses and Landmarks, Richard Betts (Nov. 2004)

<http://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/betts.pdf>

Abstract: How do we know if a country has the "right" National Security Strategy? One approach to assessing national security is to ask a general set of questions that by themselves will generally fall short of an absolute solution, but may be used to "characterize" a country's National Security Strategy. This essay spans the US's historic strategic continuum asking those crucial questions while offering insights into what a future U.S. grand strategic vision may look like.

A Grand Strategy for America, Robert J. Art, (June 2003) Cornell University Press

<http://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/?GCOI=80140100809520>

Abstract: The United States today is the most powerful nation in the world, perhaps even stronger than Rome was during its heyday. It is likely to remain the world's preeminent power for at least several decades to come. What behavior is appropriate for such a powerful state? To answer this question, Robert J. Art concentrates on "grand strategy"—the deployment of military power in both peace and war to support foreign policy goals. Art makes a strong case for selective engagement as the most desirable strategy for contemporary America. It is the one that seeks to forestall dangers, not simply react to them; that is politically viable, at home and abroad; and that protects all U.S. interests, both essential and desirable. Art concludes that "selective engagement is not a strategy for all times, but it is the best grand strategy for these times."

Competing Visions for U.S. grand Strategy, Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross (1996) International Security, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 5–53.

<http://www.comw.org/pda/14dec/fulltext/97posen.pdf>

Abstract: The authors suggest that the events that marked the end of the Cold War and the end of the twentieth century require the United States to reconsider its national security policy. They pose the following questions:

What are U.S. interests and objectives?

What are the threats to those interests and objectives?

What are the appropriate strategic responses to those threats?

What principles should guide the development of U.S. policy and strategy? In short, what should be the new grand strategy of the United States?

They suggest that four grand strategies, relatively discrete and coherent arguments about the U.S. role in the world, compete in public discourse. They may be termed neo-isolationism; selective engagement; cooperative security; and primacy. Each of these four strategies are described, borrowing liberally from the academics, government officials, journalists, and policy analysts who have contributed to this debate, but

on issues where others have kept silent, or been inconsistent, they impose consistency in the interest of clarity. The authors stated purpose is not advocacy, but transparency, with the hope to sharpen the public debate. They offer their characterization and critique of the evolving grand strategy of the Clinton administration, an uneasy amalgam of selective engagement, cooperative security, and primacy. They also speculate on what might cause the United States to make a clearer grand strategy choice.