

790:322 Strategies of International Relations

Instructor: Dr. Ion Marandici
Office: 402 Hickman Hall
Meeting time: W 11:30–2:30
Meeting place: CAC SC-101
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Office hours: Monday 2:10–3:30 and Wednesday after class

Course description

This course is about grand strategies in international relations. It provides an overview of the grand strategies of three major players – the United States, China, and Russia. We want to understand how the rise of China and its partnership with Russia will shape the future of America’s global primacy. Will the United States maintain its global influence in the next decades? Will China’s rise lead to a major conflict with the United States (Thucydides Trap)? Can and should the United States contain Russia’s influence in Eastern Europe, in the Caucasus, and in Central Asia? How do strategic thinkers and elites in Russia and China view the role their countries play in the international system? Is it in the interest of the United States to maintain an international liberal global order? Or is the United States better off as a benevolent hegemon? Is there a European grand strategy?

The answers to these questions will vary depending on where one stands and on which theoretical lens one adopts. This course provides an overview of the major strategic doctrines within the three countries of interest. It focuses on a series of events to better understand under what conditions states are inclined to use force in the international arena. We will review the assumptions behind the “China threat theory” and explore the drivers behind the American pivot to Asia, the reorientation of the American foreign policy toward the Western Pacific region. The adepts of the “China threat theory” contend that a stronger China will attempt to change the global order to better suit its needs much like Great Britain and the United States did at the peak of their power. Other scholars suggest that China is merely a regional power influencing its neighborhood. This echoes similar debates concerning the role of the Soviet Union and Russia in the region and in the world.

At the same time, we will pay attention to strategic doctrines and views within China and Russia, which are largely ignored in the West. Therefore, in order to understand how the Chinese and Russian political elites conceive the future of their countries, we will dissect visions of the global order proposed by Chinese and Russian thinkers as well.

Required readings

- 1) George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago), 2012.
- 2) Barry Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2014.
- 3) Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*, Brookings Institution Press, 2015.
- 4) Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- 5) Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, Princeton University Press, 2011.

* Additional readings will be posted on Sakai.

Grading

- Midterm 35%
- Final Paper 35%
- Attendance/Participation 10%
- Online Forum Posts 10%
- Short essay assignment 10%

University policies

Disability Accommodation: Information on Rutgers Disability Support Services can be found at <http://disabilityservices.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers Student Code of Conduct & Academic Integrity rules are enforced in this class. See details at <http://studentconduct.rutgers.edu>

Attendance: Random attendance checks. If you are going to miss a class, please use the university reporting system available at <https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>. Absences for religious observance are excused without penalty and do not need to be reported, but you do need to notify me in advance. For medical problems please provide a doctor's note. If you have more than two unexcused absences, points will be deducted from the final grade.

Please keep in mind that effective learning is a common enterprise requiring both a prepared instructor and a responsible student.

Sessions

PART I. America's Grand Strategy.

Week 1: Introduction. What is a strategy? Games of strategy. America's 2017 National Security Strategy.

* Avinash K. Dixit and Barry J. Nalebuff, *The Art of Strategy*, 2008, Ch. 1, 2 and 3.

* [America's 2017 National Security Strategy](#)

* [China's reaction to the NSS 2017](#)

Week 2: US and its role in World War I and World War II.

* George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago), 2012, Ch. 1–5.

Week 3: Grand Strategy during the Cold War. The Korean War. The Cuban Missile Crisis. The War in Vietnam.

* Gary R. Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War* (2nd edition), 2009, Ch. 1, 2, 3, 4. (on Sakai)

Week 4: The End of the Cold War and the New World Order. The missing grand strategy. Unipolarity.

* Paul Kennedy (1987) The (relative) decline of America. *The Atlantic Monthly*: 29–38.

* Charles Krauthammer, [The Unipolar Moment](#), 1990.

* Christopher Layne, [From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy](#), *International Security*, 1997.

* Christopher Layne (2002) [Offshore balancing revisited](#). *The Washington Quarterly* 25: 233–248.

* William C. Wohlforth, "[The Stability of a Unipolar World](#)," *International Security* 21: 1 (Summer 1999), 5-41.

Week 5: 9/11. The Bush doctrine and the War on Terror. Afghanistan and Iraq. ISIS and the Pivot to Asia. **Short Essay Assignment Due on Sakai.**

* Robert Delahunty & John Yoo, *The Bush Doctrine: Can Preventive War Be Justified*, 2009.

* Killing Bin Laden: [How it went down](#) by Graham Allison

* Jessica Stern and J.M. Berger, [ISIS and the Foreign Fighter Phenomenon](#), 2015.

* Hillary Clinton, (November 2011). "[America's Pacific Century](#)". *Foreign Policy*.

Recommended:

* [Vice News documentary about ISIS](#)

* [PBS Frontline documentary about ISIS](#)

* Senate Hearing, [Inside the Mind of ISIS: Understanding Its Goals and Ideology to Better Protect the Homeland](#), January 20, 2016.

^ Senate Hearing, [The Impact of ISIS on Homeland and Refugee Resettlement](#), Nov 19, 2015.

Week 6: Restraint (I)

* Barry R. Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy*, 2014, 1–131.

* Daniel Drezner (2013) [Military primacy doesn't pay \(nearly as much as you think\)](#). *International Security* 38: 52–79.

* Robert Pape (2009) [Empire falls](#). *The National Interest*: 21–34.

* Stephen Brooks, John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, [Don't Come Home America: The Case Against Retrenchment](#), *International Security* 37 (3), 2012.

Week 7: Restraint (II). Midterm review.

* Barry R. Posen, *Restraint*, 135–177.

* S. Walt (2011) [The end of the American era](#). *The National Interest* 116: 6–16.

Week 8: MIDTERM Postponed to March 28.

PART II: Eurasianism – Russia's grand strategy?

Week 9: Putin's operational code and beliefs (I)

* Pual Bushkovitch, *Russia*, Ch. 5 in *The Imperial Moment* (ed. Kimberly Kagan)

* Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*, Ch. 1–9.

* Excerpt from Marlene Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire*, 2008.

Week 10: Putin's operational code and beliefs (II)

* Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*, Ch. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (227–381).

PART III. China's Rise

Week 11: The origins of China's Grand Strategy (I).

* Zheng Bijian, [China's Peaceful Rise to Great Power Status](#), *Foreign Affairs* 84 (5), 2005, 18–24.

* Wang Jisi, [China's Search for a Grand Strategy - A Rising Great Power Finds its Way](#), *Foreign Affairs*, 2011.

* Nathan and Scobell, *China's Search for Security*, Ch. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7.

Week 13: The Origins of China's Grand Strategy (II)

* Nathan and Scobell, *China's Search for Security*, Ch. 8, 9, 10, and 11.

* Selections from Yan Xuetong.

* Theresa Fallon, [The New Silk Road: Xi Jinping's Grand Strategy for Eurasia](#), *American Foreign Policy Interests: The Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy*, Volume 3, 2015.

* Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu. "[After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline](#)." *International Security* 36, no. 1 (2011): 41-72.

Week 14: The Power Transition Theory

* Ronald Tammen et al., *Power Transitions – Strategies for the 21st Century*, Ch. 1, 7–8.

* Stephen G. Brooks and William Wohlforth, "The Once and Future Superpower: Why China Won't Overtake the United States", *Foreign Affairs* March-April 2016, 91-104.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-04-13/once-and-future-superpower>

FINAL PAPER DUE MAY 8, 11:00 AM.