



THE
Future of
American
Grand
Strategy

October 9–10, 2020



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

MERSON CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY STUDIES

Conference Program

Friday October 9

9:30–9:45

Randall Schweller: *Opening Remarks*

9:45–11:00

Tim Luecke and Sonja Niemeier: *Why Trump?*

11:00–12:15

David McCourt: *The End of Engagement: Expertise, Domestic Politics, and U.S.-China Strategy Under Trump*

12:15–1:15

Break

1:15–2:30

William Wohlforth: *Theory, Counterfactuals, and the U.S. Grand Strategy Debate*

2:30–3:45

Hal Brands: *One War Is Not Enough*

3:45–4:00

Break

4:00–5:15

Daniel Drezner: *Grand Strategy in a Fractured Marketplace of Ideas*

Saturday October 10

9:00–10:15

Sarah Croco: *Making them Pay: Using the Norm of Honesty to Generate Costs for Political Lies*

10:15–10:30

Break

10:30–11:45

Lindsay Cohn: *The Institutionalization of Foreign Policy Constraint: Cost Perception and Public Opinion*

11:45–12:45

Break

12:45–2:00

Christopher Gelpi: *The Trump Taboo Test: Elite Rhetoric and the Normative Foundations of American Grand Strategy*

2:00–2:15

Break

2:15–3:30

Kathleen Powers: *What's Fair in International Politics? Equity, Equality, and Foreign Policy Attitudes*

3:30–3:45

Break

3:45–4:00

Randall Schweller: *Concluding remarks*

Conference Statement

The conference has three purposes. First, we will explore why Donald J. Trump became president of the United States. Why did Americans vote for Trump? What do they claim they were trying to achieve with their vote? Second, what is the current debate over U.S. grand strategy, and what should be America's grand strategy moving forward? The simplest way to think of grand strategy is as a road map between means and ends. Grand strategies determine the state's core interests, how it can best pursue its objectives, and what most threatens them. China's rise to the status of a peer competitor puts it front-and-center in any discussion of American grand strategy. What is the current Trump strategy towards Beijing, and how should the U.S. deal with China in the future? More broadly, is grand strategy still possible? Finally, we will investigate public opinion and foreign-policy attitudes as they relate to American grand strategy. These discussions will include the normative foundations, perceptions of costs and fairness, and elite rhetoric that either buttress or undermine American grand strategy and associated foreign policies.

This conference is sponsored by the Program for the Study of Realist Foreign Policy at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, The Ohio State University, and the Charles Koch Foundation.

Conference Participants



Hal Brands is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, where he studies U.S. foreign policy and defense strategy. Concurrently, Dr. Brands is the Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

He is also a columnist for Bloomberg Opinion.

Dr. Brands has previously worked as special assistant to the secretary of defense for strategic planning and lead writer for the National Defense Strategy Commission.

Dr. Brands is the author, coauthor, or editor of several books, including "The Lessons of Tragedy: Statecraft and World Order" (Yale University Press, 2019); "American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump" (Brookings Institution Press, 2018); "Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order" (Cornell University Press, 2016); "The Power of the Past: History and Statecraft" (Brookings Institution Press, 2016); "What Good Is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush" (Cornell University Press, 2014); "Latin America's Cold War" (Harvard University Press, 2010); and "From Berlin to Baghdad: America's Search for Purpose in the Post-Cold War World" (University Press of Kentucky, 2008). In addition to his regular Bloomberg column, Dr. Brands has been widely published and interviewed in the popular print and broadcast media. His work has been published in *Commentary*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Security*, *The American Interest*, *The National Interest*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *The Weekly Standard*, and other policy and academic journals.

Dr. Brands graduated from Yale University with a PhD, MA, and MPhil in history. He also received a BA in history and political science from Stanford University.



Lindsay Cohn's research and publications focus on military organizations, civil-military relations, international law of war, and foreign policy/public opinion. Dr. Cohn has been invited to speak on civil-military relations or military manpower issues in the U.S., Germany, France, and Denmark.

She has split her time between academic and policy work, and serves on the boards of the Inter-university Seminar on Armed

Forces and Society, APSA's section on International Security and Arms Control, and the editorial boards of the journals *Res Militaris* and *Armed Forces and Society*.



Sarah Croco is an associate professor in the Department of Government and Politics and a faculty associate at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland. She is also the Political Methodology field chair. She received her Ph.D. in

political science from the University of Michigan in the spring of 2008. Her research interests include: international conflict; the process by which citizens assign leaders responsibility for international wars; the value of policy consistency in elections; territorial disputes and civilian targeting. Her book is *Peace at What Price?: Leader Culpability, Domestic Politics, and War Termination*. Her dissertation won the 2009 Best Dissertation Prize from the Committee for the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy. She has also won numerous teaching awards. Her work has appeared in *The American Political Science Review*, *The American Journal of Political Science*, *The Journal of Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and *World Politics*, among others.

Dr. Croco has won several teaching awards and regularly teaches classes about statistical methodology, research design, and programming in R.



Daniel W. Drezner is professor of international politics, a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and a contributing editor at *The Washington Post*. Prior to joining The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, he taught at the University of Chicago and the University of Colorado at Boulder. He has previously held positions with Civic Education Project, the RAND Corporation and the U.S. Department of the Treasury, and received fellowships from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Council on Foreign Relations, and Harvard University. Drezner has written five books, including "All Politics is Global" and "Theories of

International Politics and Zombies," and edited two others, including "Avoiding Trivia." He has published articles in numerous scholarly journals as well as in *The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Politico*, and *Foreign Affairs*, and has been a contributing editor for *Foreign Policy* and *The National Interest*.

Drezner received his B.A. in political economy from Williams College and an M.A. in economics and Ph.D. in political science from Stanford University. His blog for *Foreign Policy* magazine was named by TIME as one of the 25 best blogs of 2012, and he currently writes the Spoiler Alerts blog for *The Washington Post*.



Christopher F. Gelpi (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1994) is Director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Chair of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, and Professor of Political Science at The Ohio State University. His primary research interests are

the sources of international militarized conflict and strategies for international conflict resolution. He is currently engaged in research on American public opinion and the use of military force, on popular attitudes and beliefs about terrorism, on modeling international conflict behavior in the laboratory, and on the impact of peace education curricula on the development of empathy. He has also published works on American civil-military relations and the use of force, the impact of democracy and trade on international conflict, patterns of transnational terrorist violence, the role of norms in crisis bargaining, alliances as instruments of control, diversionary wars, deterrence theory, and the influence of the international system on the outbreak of violence. He is author of *The Power of Legitimacy: The Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining* (Princeton University Press, 2002), co-author (with Peter D. Feaver) of *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton University Press, 2004), and co-author (with Peter Feaver and Jason Reifler) of *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts* (Princeton University Press, 2009). Some of his other works have appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, the

American Journal of Political Science, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, International Organization, the Journal of Conflict Resolution, the Journal of Peace Research, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Political Behavior, American Behavioral Scientist, Political Science Quarterly, and Public Opinion Quarterly.



Tim Luecke has spent much of his life thinking and writing about politics and social life in general. He received his Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from the University of Chicago and his Ph.D. in Political Science with a focus on International Relations from The Ohio State University. His dissertation was about political generations and how they change the world. During this time, he conducted in-depth interviews with German politicians, including Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the former foreign minister of Germany. During and after his Ph.D. studies, he also managed “International Theory: A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy” published by Cambridge University Press. After 15 years in the United States, he has returned to his hometown Cologne, Germany and is currently working on a generational history of Germany, told through an autobiography and a biography of his grandfather Paul Lücke, who was minister of housing and the interior for the conservative party (CDU) in post-war Germany.



David M. McCourt is an international political sociologist. His primary research interests lie with the social sources of state action in international politics, with an empirical focus on the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union. He also is interested in theory—both sociological and international.



Sonja Niemeier has been a professional photographer since 2004. She has a degree in graphic design with a focus on photography and illustration from the University of Applied Science in Duesseldorf. As a concert photographer for the German and British radio stations 1Live, WDR 2, BFBS (British Forces Broadcasting Services), BBC 6 Music Sonja has photographed artists, such as The Police, Bruce Springsteen, Pearl Jam, and David Bowie. Via the Ex-Smiths guitarist Johnny Marr, Sonja also had an exhibition in Manchester’s famous Night and Day Café. Amongst other things, she is currently working on the art project “6 Questions about Music”, where she photographs musicians, such as Peter Hook (New Order/Joy Division), and asks them to answer six questions about music in their own hand writing and drawing. The photos and answers will be published in a book.



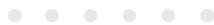
Kathleen Powers is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Government. Before joining the Dartmouth faculty, I was a post-doctoral fellow at the Dickey Center for International Understanding (2015-2016) and taught at the University of Georgia. My research brings psychology to international relations to understand how people think about foreign policy and make decisions about war and peace. I am currently working on two primary projects: My book manuscript investigates how national and transnational identities shape conflict and cooperation, and a series of articles probes how values inform foreign policy public opinion in the U.S. and abroad.



Randall L. Schweller is Professor of Political Science, Director of the Program for the Study of Realist Foreign Policy, a Social and Behavioral Sciences Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow at The Ohio State University, and editor-in-chief of Security Studies. Schweller joined OSU in 2004. He is the author of *Maxwell's Demon and the Golden Apple: Global Discord in the New Millennium* (Johns Hopkins University, 2014); *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power* (Princeton University Press, 2006); and *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* (Columbia University Press, 1998). He has also published many articles in leading journals, including *World Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Security*, *American Political Science Review*, *Global Governance*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Review of International Studies*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *The National Interest*, *International Theory*, and *Security Studies*. He is currently a member of the editorial boards of *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Foreign Affairs Review* (China), and the *Studies in Asian Security* book series published by Stanford University Press.



William Wohlforth is a member of the Government Department's faculty since 2000. I teach and conduct research on international relations, with an emphasis on international security and foreign policy. Before coming here, I taught at Princeton and Georgetown. I graduated with a degree in international relations from Beloit College, worked as a legislative aid in the U.S. House of Representatives and did my graduate work at Yale University, earning an MA in international relations and PhD in Political Science. My personal website has all the details on current research and teaching.





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