United States Grand Strategy and Taiwan: A Case Study Comparison of Major Theories

Ty Hoskins

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of Political Science,
Indiana University

August 2013

Accepted by the Faculty of Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Scott Pegg, Ph. D., Chair

John McCormick, D Ph.

Master's Thesis Committee

Aaron Dusso, Ph. D

Table of Contents

Introduction

There are few topics within the field of political science that draw as much attention as United States foreign policy. Our political, military, and economic heavy-weight status insures that any policy or action undertaken by the U.S. is thoroughly debated and analyzed. The foreign policies the United States employs are influential around the world. They frequently go through a rigorous process of debate before they are finally hatched as policy and implemented.

Walter Russell Mead has written of this political process and how he believes the U.S. contains a variety of viewpoints from which its foreign policies are determined. He explains that these many views are why, "…a democratic republic with a notoriously erratic and undisciplined foreign policy process has nevertheless found its way...to foreign policies that have consistently advanced the country toward greater power and wealth than any other power in the history of the world" (2000, p. 96). This process extends even into the realm of military strategy where debates over the goals, use, and influence of U.S. power are commonplace.

The debates that I refer to are not about specific instances of military action or inaction, but rather about how the military is utilized as a tool to accomplish our overarching goals. This roughly describes the use of grand strategy, and it is a topic on which there is little agreement. Though this is not entirely unforeseeable due to the nature of military strategy, there exists little agreement on what current strategies are even in the theoretical discussions. Some political scientists and commentators even suggest that

there has been no overarching grand strategy since the fall of our last great rival in the Soviet Union.

It is interesting that the world's single most powerful and influential state appears to operate without a fundamental consensus about what its grand strategy should be. My central research question is thus are U.S. actions controlled by a grand strategy that coordinates how the military is used around the world and, if so, what is it? Though such open-ended subjects rarely find absolute answers this paper will seek to provide some solid explanations and potentially offer useful suggestions for future policy and for theoretical academic research.

Format

The paper is divided into six chapters which progress as follows:

Chapter one introduces the topic of United States Grand Strategy and lays out the fundamental elements of my argument. It provides the groundwork for the rest of the paper and advances my own thesis at the end of the chapter.

Chapter two discusses the methodology that is used for this study as well as some brief details explaining the suitability of it. There is some discussion of the methodological theory found behind what is selected, but mostly this is a description of the study that is conducted. Those methods are laid out as extensively as possible in order to indicate all steps and allow for replication or duplication if necessary. This involves a discussion of how and why Taiwan has been selected as the case for this study.

Chapter three advances two primary purposes; it discusses the approaches political scientists use in relation to international relations and it provides a history of U.S. policies in order to show the necessary context of grand strategy decisions. This background is needed in order to understand the formation of modern grand strategy theories.

Chapter four presents the most prevalent grand strategy theories available today. This chapter illustrates the theories and possible strategy options necessary to perform the case study analysis found in the next chapter.

Chapter five contains most of the substance of this paper. In it is the full analysis of the case selected for the study, Taiwan. This includes a discussion of its history, U.S. and foreign interests, and the possible implications for it of a variety of grand strategy theories.

The grand strategy theories will include the major feasible ideas identified in the previous chapter as well as what their goals consist of. These theories are used to find an answer to the questions of, “What is the current grand strategy being applied to the situation in Taiwan?” and “What kind of strategy should the U.S. implement going forward?”

Chapter six then combines all the information available to determine the best available answer to those questions. This chapter will present the conclusions for the previous discussions based on the analyses of the major theories of U.S. grand strategy. It also provides policy advice and suggestions for further academic research.

Chapter One: A Primer on Grand Strategy

> *Around the world, the United States is leading once more. From Europe to Asia, our alliances are stronger than ever. Our ties with the Americas are deeper. We're setting the agenda in the region that will shape our long-term security and prosperity like no other — the Asia Pacific. We're leading on global security — reducing our nuclear arsenal with Russia, even as we maintain a strong nuclear deterrent; mobilizing dozens of nations to secure nuclear materials so they never fall into the hands of terrorists; rallying the world to put the strongest sanctions ever on Iran and North Korea, which cannot be allowed to threaten the world with nuclear weapons.*
>
> -President Barack Obama, May 2012

This quote by President Obama shows clearly the role that the United States plays, and will continue to play, in world politics. It also reveals, however, that the U.S. is not alone in wanting to press its own goals throughout the international arena. Ever changing, that arena has forced American strategy to adapt alongside it in order to better achieve the goals laid before us.

This changing international system shows just how important the United States' role in world politics is. Since it became the uncontested hegemonic power following the demise of the Soviet Union the U.S. has had greater advantages, and yet unforeseen difficulties in pursuing the agendas it desires. Indeed, the shift away from a bipolar system has proven beneficial to the United States even though the long-term sustainability of the unipolar system that emerged has been called into question.

Many authors have written about the unipolar system that has emerged (though there are many who would identify it as multipolar or at least as increasingly multipolar)

and how it operates. Most recently Nuno Monteiro has combined the works of others and defined unipolarity as an interstate system that operates anarchically and which has only one great power (2011, p. 13). This “one great power” is one that operates as the strongest power in the anarchic system, yet is unable to assert that power over the entirety of that system and the other minor powers within it. If such were ever the case, empire would be a more appropriate term than hegemon. Also, the unipolar order is described in contrast to one of bipolarity, which entails two similarly capable great powers, and multipolarity, which is comprised of several or many of these balancing powers.

If this unipolar system is sustainable, which Monteiro questions, or whether the United States is instead only the most powerful nation among many is increasingly unimportant when compared with the weight of its current actions and abilities. The power it holds is quite literally unrivaled, and clearly places the United States in the role of unipolar hegemon.

Power, especially when discussing the massive supply the U.S. possesses, must be understood as a complex concept. Military might, diplomatic resources, and influence over friendly nations can all be seen as different forms of power. Joseph Nye categorized these varieties by saying, “Coercing other states to change is a direct or commanding method of exercising power. Such hard power can rest on inducements (“carrots”) or threats (“sticks”). But there is also a soft or indirect way to exercise power. A country may achieve its preferred outcomes in world politics because other countries want to emulate it or have agreed to a system that produces such effects” (2004, p. 62).

Another description of power's influence comes from Hans Morgenthau; "Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim" (1973, p. 27). He goes on to define the concept as, "…man's control over the minds and actions of other men" (p. 28). K.J. Holsti takes this definition further by dissecting the qualities of power as they relate to international politics. He says, "…for purposes of analyzing international politics, we can break down the concept of power into three separate elements: power is (1) the act (process, relationship) of influencing other factors; (2) it includes the capabilities used to make the wielding of influence successful; and (3) the responses to the act" (1964, p. 182).

These variations of the same concept act as a precursor to the discussion of varying schools of thought in political science. They are each valid depending on which ideas one prescribes to even though they may imply differences in how the world and the international system are viewed. This is especially true in foreign policy actions as the definitions of security, sovereignty, terrorism, etc. can be just as varied and still vitally important.

In the textbook International Relations Joshua Goldstein and Jon Pevehouse define foreign policy as, "…the strategies used by governments to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue…as well as the general means by which they intend to pursue those objectives" (p. 139). This broad definition capably reveals that the scope of US foreign policy is enormous and must further be broken down to study proficiently.

This is where grand strategy comes into play. There are many differing descriptions of this kind of strategy, but it generally refers to an overarching plan with which a nation can plan its actions. Christopher Layne says of it; “Distilled to its essence, grand strategy is about determining a state’s vital interests-those important enough to fight over-and its role in the world. From that determination springs a state’s alliances, overseas military commitments, conception of its stake in the prevailing international order, and the size and structure of its armed forces” (2006, p. 13). Many define grand strategies in this way, as an all encompassing stratagem for a nation’s focus, but it can be filtered to be more precise.

Grand strategy is indeed the main focus here, but not necessarily in this wide reaching form. Instead, since the main interest in this thesis is the United States military and the plans that involve it a different definition is necessary. Robert Art provides such and he defines it as,, “…a broad subject: a grand strategy tells a nation’s leaders what goals they should aim for and how best they can use their country’s military power to attain those goals” (2003, p. 1). While this sounds extremely close to the actual description of foreign policy there is a major difference. He goes on to explain this distinction by emphasizing that grand strategy, “…deals with the full range of goals that a state should seek, but it concentrates primarily on how the military instrument should be employed to achieve them” (2003, p. 2).

This military aspect is important, as it distinguishes the type of grand strategy being discussed here, versus an all-encompassing grand strategy which might also include economics, diplomatic talks, think tanks, etc. Those points too are important to

U.S. foreign policy and even in some ways when observing military strategy, but this thesis keeps its focuses as tightly limited to the military aspect as possible.

American military power is not simply a tool for warfare. Its vast size and incredible capabilities also make it one of the more powerful methods of applying pressure into political and diplomatic talks. Positioning and the implications of potential force are often just as potent a device as any other in U.S. capabilities. One must also consider the benefits of providing security in otherwise hostile areas, providing aid in humanitarian crises, or stabilizing trade or transportation traffic in a region. Though typically associated with the physical, hard power, attributes military forces provide there are also soft power benefits as well (Nye, 2004, p. 116).

The Discussion of Modern Grand Strategy

Though there are vast quantities of literature on historical grand strategies of world hegemons and of the United States this thesis is primarily concerned with the modern era. This period refers to the time since the fall of the Soviet Union and the coinciding rise of the U.S. as the world's singular superpower.

Those older grand strategies, and the literature that originate from those experiences, are not to be set aside though. Even with the primary focus on modern policies the lessons from previous strategies remain incredibly relevant. Such policies need to be understood in order to fully grasp modern scenarios and to better comprehend the strategies that would confront them.

Some theorists, for example, believe that U.S. involvement around the world has become too entrenched and hazardous to maintain in its current state. Many believe that there needs to be a reevaluation of how we utilize our military resources and in what theatres we use them at all. There are a variety of advocates that advance moral, economic, and political grounds to support this strategy in one form or another (Gholz, Press, and Sapolsky, 1997; Layne, 1997, 2006, 2009).

Others, however, think just the opposite and believe that a continuing deployment of U.S. assets should be retained at any location that might support or extend our power internationally. The proponents of such primacy theories believe that a more powerful, more actively entrenched United States would provide better protection within our borders than alternative options. (Art, 2003, 2009; Posen and Ross, 1996). Such theories typically imply expanding U.S. operations in areas that are insecure in order to more easily accomplish whatever goals we might wish to fulfill.

Still others have proposed combinations of these strategies or approached the subject from entirely different angles. Some of these academics desire a greater amount of international cooperation or even greater support for organizations such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and assorted regional security regimes (Brooks, Ikenberry, and Wohlforth, 2013; Ikenberry, 2001, 2011).

Then of course there are still others that cannot currently pinpoint any coherent grand strategy. In these cases the suggestions are usually to seek out any grand strategy that can provide a groundwork for U.S. actions at home and abroad. Drezner (2011), for

example, discusses how even if the Obama administration has a firm grand strategy selected it needs to state such clearly. He says, “If the president is not clear about his grand strategy, foreign policy critics and political opponents will be happy to define it for him, using less than flattering language” (p. 68).

The differing world views found in the field of political science demand different strategies since they each anticipate different understandings of international relationships, actions, and even the very nature of the system in which the nation states of the world reside. Such quintessential perceptions yield drastically differing views of what goals should be pursued and which actions provide the desired results. These many viewpoints will be discussed briefly in the next section, but for now it is sufficient to say that because there is no absolute agreement on how the international system operates there can never be a single answer to which goals, and thereby strategy, are or should be sought. As Jack Snyder has stated, “…the most prudent course is to use the insights of each of the three theoretical traditions as a check on the irrational exuberance of the others” (2004, p. 61).

While agreement would be useful it is not necessary in order to observe how these differing views have affected U.S. grand strategy development or how further strategies might be developed for the future. Such multiple viewpoints can even be seen as constructive since they allow academics, military strategists, and policy makers to observe many possibilities before deciding on a specific suggestion or course of action (Mead, 2001). Snyder comments on this by saying, “Each theory offers a filter for looking at a complicated picture. As such they help explain the assumptions behind

political rhetoric about foreign policy. Even more important, the theories act as a powerful check on each other. Deployed effectively, they reveal the weaknesses in arguments that can lead to misguided policies" (2004, p. 55).

In this paper I will revisit several of the major approaches to international relations and the most popular grand strategies that have resulted from them in order to compare and contrast them in relation to their potential application to a specific case; Taiwan. This will offer insight into both the current United States strategy as well as into the country's future direction. I aim to address first the research question of "What is the current United States grand strategy" and then compare possible alternative strategies in order to determine if they might yield more beneficial results.

The study of Taiwan and the theoretical application of the prominent grand strategy theories performed here demonstrates that current U.S. military deployments most closely resemble both strategies of selective engagement and the liberal milieu, which are discussed in chapter 4 below. This gives credence to those that submit there is no true grand strategy being employed by the U.S. today. However, the liberal strategy put forward by Ikenberry (2012) bears great similarities to currently identified goals of the United States and appears to be the direction in which American policy makers have decided to proceed.

Chapter Two: Methodology of the Study

In order to get to the conclusion of my thesis several arguments first need to be presented. After all, there have been many well written opinions for different theories which will be discussed in the next chapter. Each has their own respective set of strengths and weaknesses, and each would suggest very different paths for United States foreign policy to follow. This chapter will define the specific methods used in order to study those different theories and to arrive at the results I have found herein. My methodological discussion is broken up into four distinct features: The qualitative nature of this thesis, the specific focus and importance of the case selection, the data that has been collected, and the overall procedure.

A Qualitative Case Study

To begin, this is a qualitative study which utilizes many theories related to the study of U.S. grand strategy. It is not a new topic and there are a wide variety of angles from which to approach it as well as a number of experts whose work can be employed. This thesis is a case study which examines U.S. policies, as well as those theories, specifically related to Taiwan. This also necessarily involves the People's Republic of China (PRC) and many others of that region, but the intent is to examine only the policies and theoretical policies directly related to, or stemming from, Taiwan.

There are several alternative methods by which this topic might be approached. A quantitative style or supplement like Oneal and Russett (1997) might yield more precise information, especially in regards to monetary costs or deployment numbers. Another

option might be a qualitative analysis that has a more general focus than that of a specific case like this thesis' focus on Taiwan. These styles are commonly used in the study of grand strategy as can be demonstrated by several of the major authors engaged in this thesis (Art, 2003; Layne, 2006; Ikenberry, 2012).

Each of these approaches are useful in the study of grand strategy. In acknowledgement to the enormity of the topic at hand, and with special interest in the growing importance of China to the foreign policy of the United States, this thesis aims instead to explain a specific instance of that foreign policy and the theories of grand strategy that shape it. In this the qualitative case study approach serves suitably.

A Case Study of Taiwan

This paper will examine a single case in order to provide the best examination possible here. Though the subject would be better suited to a comparison between multiple varying cases in order to see how they have and might later respond, space constraints deter such an effort. The two alternatives then are to either a) observe multiple cases and limit the amount of observations and theoretical applications that are used for each or to b) restrict the quantity of cases. The latter option was selected since it provides a more in depth look at a single case, which might be of use, instead of an introduction to multiple, which would most certainly not.

China, and more specifically Taiwan, is the case study that will be observed here. It holds importance for American politics at home, American military deployments abroad, and also great significance for the entire East Asian region and is therefore a

great candidate for a study of grand strategy. Along with the selected subject of Taiwan there are a variety of other areas of similar interest to the United States. Iraq, Iran, Syria, North Korea, Cuba, a number of regions in Africa and South America could each provide a unique analysis. In the end though, the rising capabilities of China and the ease in which we can observe the necessary qualities of the situation make it a prime focus for study.

China continues to grow in importance to the United States as well as the rest of the world. Its future potential has placed it in an elite group of those who hold the power to affect change around the world, as well as the order of it. In his introduction to the book On China Henry Kissinger said, "The relationship between China and the United States has become a central element in the quest for world peace and global well-being" (2011, p. xvi).

While still trailing the United States in many respects, China is one of few nations progressing so rapidly that many have pointed out the possibility of its eventual usurpation of the United States as the dominant world hegemon. Along with India and the European Union, China's ascent has slowed with the global recession that began in 2008. China was more insulated from that event than other nations however, as Cohen describes; "Practicing state capitalism, China was less exposed to the vagaries of the market, but it could not escape the worldwide downturn. American consumers were the principal purchasers of Chinese exports, and a large percentage of China's trillions of dollars in foreign reserves were in U.S. Treasury bonds" (2010, p. 289). All of this goes

to show the connection the United States shares with China and the vast importance it carries.

Insofar as the case study goes there remains a large assortment of possible observations even within the subject of China. Potential targets of this case study can be found by looking at a variety of issues on which the U.S. and China interact. Ming Chan lists a group of such issues in what he calls the “10 T-s” in Sino-U.S. relations. These points of potential friction are perhaps the most important of note when discussing the two nations. As Ming describes them, these ten points are; Taiwan, Tibet, Trade, Technology, Terrorism, Temperature, Territory, Treasury Bonds, Tiananmen, and Trust (Ming, 2011, pp. 38-42).

Taiwan accounts for only one of these ten points, but it remains perhaps the most significant. Michael Chase describes the importance of the island by noting that “Today, Taiwan is one of the most dangerous flashpoints in the Asia-Pacific and the issue most likely to lead to conflict between the United States and China. In fact, for nearly five decades, Taiwan has been one of the central dilemmas in U.S.-China relations” (2005, p. 163). This is not only because it has been a primary focus of the PRC since its inception, but also due to the number of contested theoretical points the situation contains for American strategists. Balance of power politics, military positioning, maintaining long standing allies, growing international trade, and the spread and defense of democracy are all topics found in the debate on Taiwan.

It is a vital part of the United States' interests in its own right due to the slow growth of democracy on the island and defensive commitments to others in that area like Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. However, Taiwan's importance to China is great enough to make it one of the centerpieces of their foreign policy, and that alone makes it relevant to any relations the U.S. might cultivate with them. That relationship continues to grow in importance because of China's expanding economy, global influence, and military capabilities and so the importance of Taiwan to U.S. foreign policy does as well.

In reference to the theories being studied, Taiwan also provides an excellent case in order to distinguish them. The United States' military position there easily divides the three theories with offshore balancing on the one hand and both the liberal milieu and selective engagement on the other. This allows us to further examine the differences between them more so than simply by their theoretical origins. Understandably, there might be other cases which better distinguish the aspects of all three theories here, but without first observing every possible alternative this is impossible to know for sure. In the absence of that certainty Taiwan remains an excellent case due to its importance to the United States and its ability to distinguish between major differences in the theories at hand.

Now, in comparing the major grand strategy theories the single most important feature to be considered in this paper is both the current and proposed military positioning. This is due to the focus on the military aspects of U.S. grand strategy that were noted in the previous chapter, and while there are certainly other indicators of those strategies it is plainly the most obvious. It should also be noted that because of the

similarities many theories hold to one another it is very possible that other criteria may need to be used in order to further distinguish them, but where possible the focus will remain on the military as it relates to U.S. grand strategy and Taiwan.

Overall, Taiwan, or rather the conflict surrounding Taiwan, presents an excellent case to be observed for the purpose of this study. It offers a monumentally important friction point between the United States and its rising rival China, the ability to observe the U.S. military in terms of strength and action (without requiring a wartime situation), and also allows the easy division between the three theoretical grand strategy options at hand.

Data Collection

The data used in this study is primarily comprised of existing information from previous studies and histories. This is largely due to the bulk of the conversation surrounding U.S. grand strategy being divided by theoretical lenses and not by absolute, or at least easily quantifiable, variables. There are a variety of ways that such perspectives can be used in research. John Creswell (2009) summarily discusses this as a way to direct the focus or questions of research (pp. 61-64). This paper utilizes the theoretical perspectives of other academics in order to compare their results with current real-world situations. Each of the major theories of grand strategy canvassed here have previously been proposed by major academics, and they each originate from a variety of backgrounds. Snyder (2004) promotes the benefits this diversity provides and the original article by Walt that inspired Snyder's response summarizes the thought as follows; "In

short, each of these competing perspectives captures important aspects of world politics. Our understanding would be impoverished were our thinking confined to only one of them" (Walt, 1998, p. 29).

While it may be possible to use other forms of data to study U.S. grand strategy, like the statistics on military deployments mentioned previously, they would produce a vastly different paper than what is found here. For the goals of this study, which are to analyze and compare both active and theoretical grand strategies, existing data provides the best option.

Procedure

In order to compare the various theories of U.S. grand strategy there are four overarching steps which will be followed throughout the analysis;

1. The major potential theories that have been supported or proposed will be distinguished.

2. An analysis of those theories will be performed in order to plainly state what their goals and methods of achieving those goals are. Special notice will be placed on the military positioning each strategy recommends though other goals will also be taken into account.

3. Those ideal types will be applied to the situation in Taiwan in order to produce a reasonable argument for what kind of military strategy each of them would suggest in this specific case.

4. Finally, these “would be” military tactics will be compared against historical and current activities by the U.S. In doing so, the current U.S. military strategies should be easily comparable to the major theories in question. This will also provide insight into future activities for Taiwan and possibly even for U.S. grand strategy overall.

Chapter Three: The Theory and History of U.S. Grand Strategy

A. Developing a Grand Strategy

Each grand strategy discussed has certain underlying principles. They each observe the international system a particular way. They may, as a result, perceive different goals as the most important to pursue. In turn, this generates the multitude of possible strategies previously mentioned.

Due to these competing world views the development of any grand strategy must be developed from the bottom upwards. In order to understand any historical or to contemplate any current grand strategies then, a comprehension must be gained of those world views. The following section will provide a brief overview of the more commonly held views in order to achieve that. This leads into describing the various criteria that grand strategists use when creating such strategies.

Competing Worldviews

There are two leading schools of thought in International Relations theory: Realism and Liberalism. They have, more than any other approaches, inspired political scientists and the way they think of the global international system. In turn, they have also formed the basis for most of the grand strategies that will be discussed. To be clear, there are many more than just these two schools and often a third, Constructivism, is included in foreign policy studies. Based on the amount of benefit it provides to this topic, however, this thesis opts to focus specifically on the variations within the realist and liberal approaches.

To begin any discussion of them, however, it should be noted that there are many different theories even within each of these schools of thought. In fact, the differences between multiple forms of realism explain why two realist grand strategies, which will be discussed later, compete against each other's suggestions.

I. Realism

First, realism is concerned primarily with nations balancing power against one another. It, "…is a school of thought that explain international relations in terms of power" (Goldstein, 2007, p. 55). As such realism is often referred to as power politics or *realpolitik*. Nye better describes it by pointing out the focus of realists saying that, "For the realist, the central problem of international politics is war and the use of force, and the central actors are the states" (2007, p. 4).

Historical figures such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Thomas Hobbes were all notable realists. They each, in their own way, supported the ideas of balancing power in order to gain the advantage in international relations. Other examples can be found from all over the world and in nearly every time period.

Hans Morgenthau is considered to be a founder of sorts for the modern realist tradition in international relations. The six principles of political realism which he laid out still offer an in depth analysis of how realism focused on the human nature of men and therefore of the states and politics they practice (1973, pp. 4-15). This kind of realism is often dubbed "classical realism" and has given way in the years since to the various forms of structural or neorealism.

Kenneth Waltz studied multiple styles of traditional theories of foreign policy in his book *Theory of International Politics* (1979). In doing so he created the beginnings for the neorealist school of thought and formed his own theory of how states function. This new theory rejected the older ideas by suggesting that instead of internal factors, such as domestic politics or man's nature, states act in the manner they do due to the presence of an anarchical international system. He says of the comparison to state systems, "The difference between national and international politics lies not in the use of force but in the different modes of organization for doing something about it...A national system is not one of self-help. The international system is" (pp. 103-104). Stephen Walt says of this theory, "Because the system is anarchic (i.e., there is no central authority to protect states from one another), each state has to survive on its own" (1998). He continues with the implication that, "…this condition would lead weaker states to balance against, rather than bandwagon with, more powerful rivals" (1998).

In response to Waltz's contributions, John Mearsheimer noted some of defensive realism's flaws such as how it offers little incentive for states to ever engage others offensively (2001, pp. 19-20). He goes on to describe his own form of realist theory, offensive realism. He says, "Offensive realists, on the other hand, believe that status quo powers are rarely found in world politics, because the international system creates powerful incentives for states to look for opportunities to gain power at the expense of rivals, and to take advantage of those situations when the benefits outweigh the costs" (2001, p. 21).

These two divisions of offensive and defensive realism remain the dominant forms of that approach, but there is yet another aspect of it that needs to be addressed. As they are focused on power and the transition of power realists have developed a number of theories in international relations that describe how such power transitions can affect the international system. Authors such as Robert Gilpin who discussed the change of power among nations in a systematic fashion (1981) exemplify this realist focus.

Perhaps one of the most important contributions these realist academics have contributed is the hegemonic stability literature. This theory posits that a single dominant state, a great power or hegemon, provides greater global stability for the international regime than the alternatives would. As with much of the rest of this literature such unipolarity can be described in multiple ways, however, Nuno Monteiro sufficiently describes its major qualities as, (a) "…an interstate system…" that is (b) "…anarchical…" and (c) possesses "…only one great power, which enjoys a preponderance of power and faces no competition" (2011, p. 13). This is far from a universally accepted theory, especially to the advocates of a bipolar (a two power system) international setting, but it continues to spark debate based on realist principles of international order.

II. Liberalism

Traditional liberalism descends directly from other classical approaches to social science such as idealism. Many such views owe their origin to the Prussian philosopher Immanuel Kant who formed an early version of a liberal world order in *Perpetual Peace*

(1957). It should also be noted that traditional liberalism as a theory of international relations also takes root in the traditions of John Locke and Adam Smith. These thinkers belong to a much broader spectrum of liberal ideology, but are also responsible for the concepts and formulation of classical liberalism as a school within international relations. Summarily stated,

> The classical liberals advocated policies to increase liberty and prosperity. They sought to empower the commercial class politically and to abolish royal charters, monopolies, and the protectionist policies of mercantilism so as to encourage entrepreneurship and increase productive efficiency. They also expected democracy and laissez-faire economics to diminish the frequency of war. (Oneal and Russett, 1997, p. 268)

Newer formulations of the approach have incorporated these ideas into the structural format of the international setting originally designed by neorealist thinkers. Also called liberal internationalism in the context of foreign policy it disagrees with realism on four major points. Goldstein and Pevehouse (2007) describe these as;

1. "Of course, international interactions are structured by power relations, a position the realists are happy to accept. But order also evolves through norms and institutions based on reciprocity and cooperation, even on law…" (p. 99).

2. "…liberals criticize the notion of states as unitary actors, each with a single set of coherent interests…" (p. 100).

3. "…the [realist] concept of rationality is problematical…" (p. 100). If states are single actors with coherent interests, they often seem to do a poor job in maximizing those interests" (p. 100). This begets a conversation about the preferences of rational actors

and whether states are, "…irrational or merely pursued a goal, interest, or value that we would not consider normal or productive" (p. 100).

4. "…military force as a form of leverage does not seem nearly as all-important as realism implies…" (p. 100).

They go on to describe the foundation of the liberal approach as, "…a concept of rationality…[in which]…rational actors are capable of forgoing short-term individual interests in order to further the long-term well-being of a community to which they belong" (p. 100). While the actors are still considered states in most instances of liberal ideology, the acknowledgement that there are complex relationships within and between these actors and their populations is a key component of liberalism.

The neoliberal approach can be traced to Robert Keohane's <u>After Hegemony</u> (1984) where he compared multiple approaches of international relations in order to study the conundrum of international cooperation. He found that international cooperation existed with hegemons prevalent in the systems not simply because of their presence, as realists would say, but because of the rules and institutions that they upheld. Specifically referring to the U.S. he says,

> Theories that dismiss international institutions as insignificant fail to help us understand the conditions under which states' attempts at cooperation, in their own intersts, will be successful. This is especially true in the contemporary world political economy, since it is endowed with a number of important international regimes, created under conditions of American hegemony but facilitating cooperation even after the erosion of U.S. dominance. (p. 246)

Again, Joseph Nye (2007) articulates the approach more clearly by identifying the context in which liberalism is viewed; “Liberals see a global society that functions alongside the states and sets part of the context for states. Trade crosses borders, people have contacts with each other (such as students studying in foreign countries), and international institutions such as the United Nations create a context in which the realist view of pure anarchy is insufficient” (p. 5).

Keohane described such “institutionalist” approaches by saying they, “…do not expect cooperation always to prevail, but they are aware of the malleability of interests and they argue that interdependence creates interests in cooperation” (1984, p. 8). It is this belief that is at the center of the liberal approach and is also the reason liberalism is generally deemed more optimistic than realism.

Another key point of emphasis for liberals is the democratic peace. This idea originates directly from Kant’s *Perpetual Peace* and has split into a number of differing theories. Two of these are the dyadic and monadic democratic peace theories, which state that democracies are less likely than other forms of government to wage war against each other and against other nations respectively. There are a variety of suppositions that explain this logic such as that all democracies contain certain structural, cultural, or ideological similarities. Such hypotheses state that because of these elements they will be less inclined to go to war in general and much less likely to go to war against friendly like-minded nations. There have been a great many supporters and dissenters for these theories (Oneal and Russett, 1997; Henderson, 2002; Rosato, 2003; Kinsella, 2005) and

there still remains a large amount of debate about them today especially over variable definitions and study methodologies.

The Criteria of a Grand Strategy

The brilliant strategist Zhuge Liang once said on military strategy,

> The Proper course of military action is to establish strategy first, and then carry it out. Monitor the environment, observe the minds of the masses, practice the use of military equipment, clarify the principles of reward and punishment, watch the schemes of enemies, note the perils of the roads, distinguish safe and dangerous places, find out the conditions of the parties involved, and recognize when to proceed and when to withdraw (1989, p. 56).

This example refers strictly to military organization, movement, and engagement, but it remains valuable in any study of large scale tactics. As will be discussed shortly, the debate of U.S. grand strategy today continues to echo Zhuge's advice; we are faced with the decision to push forward or to pull back. Before that conclusion can be reached, we must first identify what kind of strategy is being formulated and also the criteria that determine it.

There are a number of different ways that grand strategies might be designed. To begin, however, there has to be agreement on what exactly is being created. Authors such as Thomas Christensen (1996) start with a different definition of grand strategy, and are therefore concerned with a wider range of applications than just the military instrument. Though this limits the comparative use of Christensen and other like-minded academics in this thesis they are not entirely ruled out as they still aim to achieve goals that promote U.S. interests.

Since his definition of grand strategy is being used here it stands to reason that Robert Art's explanation of how to create one would also remain valid. He provides an excellent example of what it takes to formulate a grand strategy for the United States or, in the case of his book, *A Grand Strategy for America*, multiple grand strategies. In the introduction he states,

> In order to prescribe a grand strategy for the United States, I answer four fundamental questions: First, what are America's interests in the world and what are the threats to these interests? Second, what are the possible grand strategies to protect America's interests from these threats? Third, which of these grand strategies best protects America's national interests? Fourth, what specific political and military capabilities are required to support the grand strategy chosen? (2003, p. 2)

In their book discussing Thucydides and history, Platias and Koliopoulos (2010) simplify the features that decide such strategies. They say, "…the formation of a state's grand strategy is bound to be determined by two factors: a) the balance of power between the state and its strategic opponent; b) the severity of the threats posed to the state by its strategic opponent" (p. 84). Though this is strictly a realist impression of grand strategy, it offers an example of how even ancient city-states developed some form of it.

Other methods, depending on definitions, might also include steps for shoring up domestic support for whatever strategy is selected. Again Christensen (1996) proves valuable for observing these processes (pp. 11-31). Many grand strategists continue to employ more than just the military in the creation of grand strategy like Layne when he describes grand strategy as, "…a three-step process: determining a state's vital security interests; identifying the threats to those interests; and deciding how best to employ the state's political, military, and economic resources to protect those interests" (1997, p. 88).

While these are interesting and useful to an extent they fall outside the purview of this paper.

B. Historical U.S. Grand Strategies

Grand Strategy is not a new concept. Political scientists, military strategists, and historians abound in examples of grand strategy that date back to the emergence of the nation state. Sun Tzu, Julius Caesar, General Clausewitz and every statesman or military commander in the generations since have employed or described some form of strategy to achieve whatever their goals might have been.

While it may be informative to complete a broader study that incorporates all these ancient ideas as well as the more recent, that is beyond the scope of this study. This section will describe the history and theoretical development of U.S. grand strategies since WWII. Though even going as far back as the Second World War may be unnecessary, it does offer a more comprehensive view of how the United States arrived in its current situation.

Before and After WWII

Any nation with sufficient interest in other international actors would necessarily develop such a plan in order to further their goals in the areas they believe it to be possible. The United States' position as a world power makes such areas much more vast and numerous, but it has not always been so. It is only since the drastic upturn in economic and military power after the two World Wars that the U.S. has been considered a powerful world leader.

There are multiple views of how the United States conducted itself before that time. This is largely due to the incredible number of critics to its policies which Walter Russell Mead describes aptly as, “Instead of a clear and consistent indictment, what we get is a barrage of mutually incompatible charges: that American foreign policy is too naïve, too calculating, too openhanded, too violent, too isolationist, too universalist, too unilateral, too multilateral, too moralistic, too immoral” (2001, p. 31).

Mead goes on to provide an interesting commentary on this topic in the book *Special Providence* (2001) in which he discusses the multifaceted nature of American foreign policy. He says, “What seems to happen in the United States is that there is a set of deeply rooted approaches to foreign policy that informs the democratic process and ensures that most of the time the country ends up adopting policies that advance its basic interests…They reflect deep-seated regional economic, social, and class interests; they embody visions for domestic as well as foreign policy; they express moral and political values as well as socioeconomic and political interests…” (pp. 86-87).

This has left plenty of room for varying interpretations of both current and historical policies, and as a result, whether right or wrong, there remain a number of ways to look back on the era of the early 20th century. Commander John Kuehn (2010) describes one of these viewpoints; “Over time, the grand strategy came to encompass military nonintervention outside the Western Hemisphere, free trade access to whatever markets Americans desired, and the right to act as the hemispheric hegemon” (p. 76). He goes on to describe how this policy was forcibly altered saying, “The United States made an effort after 1919 to return to its original grand strategy, but the outbreak of an even

more destructive and dangerous world war in 1939 spelled doom for this effort" (pp. 76-77).

This view articulates that the Second World War demanded a break from the United States' desired grand strategy at the time. Instead of remaining shielded by the two oceans on either side and shoring up support only at home, the U.S. decided to support its allies in an effort to prevent the rise of two continental hegemons in Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan.

Not all agree with this viewpoint as Christopher Layne points out; "Diplomatic historians have shown, however, that during the 1920s the U.S. stance toward Europe was anything but isolationist" (2006, p. 39). Instead he describes that time as, "…a transitional period in which the United States was positioning itself to grasp the mantle of global hegemony that it would seize when World War II ended" (2006, p. 40).

While the accounts of pre-World War II may vary, those of post-war America certainly do not. Layne continues his description of U.S. historical strategy and accurately describes the circumstances. He states, "Because it was the only great power to record absolute and relative gains in wealth and power, the United States emerged from World War II in a position of unprecedented economic ascendance. The United States also emerged from the war predominant militarily" (2006, p. 41). This leads into his description of the strategy he believes the U.S. has followed without fail up through the present which he calls extra-regional hegemony.

Mearsheimer combats this approach by observing that the United States more accurately fits the description of an offshore balancer in the post-war years. He describes this as a regional hegemon that, while preferring to "…buck-pass than to balance when faced with a dangerous opponent," is capable of such balancing when distant great powers are themselves unable (2001, p. 141). He applies this to his own views of realism and says of the U.S., "All of this behavior, as well as the U.S. drive for hegemony in the Western hemisphere during the nineteenth century, corresponds with the predictions of offensive realism" (2001, p. 264).

Another take on the same period is provided by John Ikenberry (2001) who also identifies the U.S. as a hegemon, but one that utilizes its power to install global institutions in order to maintain the balance-of power. He says the postwar international order is, "…notable for the range of institutions that were established: global, regional, economic, security, and political" (p. 48). This exemplifies a more liberal stance on the hegemonic role of the United States in the aftermath of World War II.

The Cold War and Containment

While the United States emerged from the Second World War having gained the most of any nation involved, it was not alone in having gained the status of hegemon. The Soviet Union immediately squared off against the United States in an attempt to balance the scales of power. The Cold War resulted as the world's two dominant nations competed to promote their own ideas, though without direct large-scale engagement.

This international situation presented the United States for the first time with a peer power with which to compete, while not being at war. In this scenario alternative grand strategies such as isolationism were no longer just obsolete, but actually dangerous for the U.S. to embrace. The potential threat of the Soviet Union demanded the attention of American strategists. Though some may consider it to be a part of an overarching grand strategy that began long before, the clear policy the U.S. chose to embrace during this period was that of containment.

The strategy was devised to compete with the Soviet Union wherever possible in order to support U.S. goals at home and abroad and also to hinder those of the potentially threatening state and its philosophy of Communism. The strategy was adopted to restrict any possible Soviet expansion. Goldstein and Pevehouse describe its scope in saying, "The United States maintained an extensive network of military bases and alliances worldwide. Virtually all of U.S. foreign policy in subsequent decades, from foreign aid and technology transfer to military intervention and diplomacy, came to serve the goal of containment" (2007, p. 41). The goals of containment were also further elaborated on by John Lewis Gaddis who said, "…the idea was to prevent the Soviet Union from using the power and position it won as a result of that conflict [WWII] to reshape the postwar international order…" (1982, p. 4).

This worry was legitimate. Major power struggles are nearly always followed by a restructuring of international institutions that favors the victor (Holsti, 1991). John Ikenberry's book *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* also discusses this post-war process and how nations, including

the U.S., always work to push the system in the direction of their own favor. With this in mind at the close of World War II, the containment stratagem was born.

Though containment was the eventual choice of the United States all of the potential strategies to combat the Soviet Union, either by force or ideology, were unified in their belief of the hostility of that opponent. Holsti says of these policies, "Underlying all variations of the deterrence and war-fighting strategies was a consensus on the essential malevolence of the Soviet Union" (1991, p. 292).

The strategy was devised by a great many academics, strategists, and administrations. Specifically, George Kennan is perhaps the person most singly responsible for suggesting the policy of containment, although he has often indicated that his original message was misunderstood. He stated in the famous "X article" that,

> …it will be clearly seen that the Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the western world is something that can be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and manoeuvers of Soviet policy, but which cannot be charmed or talked out of existence (Kennan, 1947, p. 576).

The Presidents from Truman to George H. W. Bush were all involved in the creation, implementation, or review of the policy as well. Containment often shifted to fit changing needs over its nearly sixty year lifespan, but the basic goals remained the same; apply pressure on the Soviet Union in order to weaken its effective power and that of Communism. This also included, to an extent, the strategy of deterrence which aimed to prevent Soviet expansion by threatening particular responses. Most notably this resulted in the stalemate of nuclear weapons use known as mutually assured destruction.

These goals were rarely established quite so clearly except in actual security policy documents such as NSC-68. That document laid out a plan to increase defense expenditures in the United States at a level that the Soviets could not match in the long term (Gaddis, 1982, pp. 87-124).

Stephen Walt (1989) offers another view of the containment grand strategy. He discusses some of the criticisms often laid against it and offers an alternative form of the strategy in response. He calls it finite containment and defines it as, “Unlike global containment, finite containment seeks to prevent Soviet expansion only in the areas Kennan identified as ‘Key centers of industrial power’” (p. 10). He goes on to identify how the change would alleviate pressure on the U.S. economy and yet still permit the U.S. military to maintain its powerful capabilities.

Many debated the specifics of containment and offered alternatives like Walt’s, but in the end the strategy largely worked. The Soviet Union was forced to either retreat (politically and militarily) or to demand more out of its own economy and infrastructure than was feasible. This ultimately caused the collapse of its economy and the complete dismantling of the Soviet Union which left the United States in a stronger, uncontested, position than ever before. However, this also meant the end of the containment strategy as it cannot function properly without an opponent or, more preferably, a competing ideology to focus on. When the Soviet Union fell, it took with it the concern about the potential spread of Communist regimes and the need for a new grand strategy arose.

The Post-Cold War Decade

The new world the U.S. found itself in after the fall of the Soviet Union was drastically different than any it had encountered before. Since its inception the United States has been forced to compete with other nations in order to promote its own security and other objectives around the world. Without the U.S.S.R. to fill this role, however, the international system took on the appearance of unipolarity with the U.S. clearly on top. Many academics and policy makers alike held a somewhat euphoric attitude with the prospect of the country being able to establish whatever type of strategy that it desired.

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross (1996) display a good example of this when they portrayed four varying strategies in the article "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy." These ideas include both realist and liberal views and contain such strategies as primacy, isolationism, selective engagement, and cooperative security. Because these are all still relevant in the conversation today, these will be discussed in more detail later, but it is important to note the wide variety of options that were seen as possibilities at the time.

In that article, Posen and Ross specifically note how each strategy above observes the world in a particular light and would restrain both the force capabilities and political obligations of the United States in the future (pp. 51-52). They say the Clinton administration's policies have, "…found it expedient to draw opportunistically from three grand strategies…" (p. 53) but make note that this is only possible since none of the three were ever fully embraced.

Unlike Ross and Posen, Christopher Layne wrote in 1997 that the United States has, "…pursued the same grand strategy, preponderance, since the late 1940s" (p. 88). He argued that even after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, "…the United States remains wedded to the strategy of preponderance" (p. 91). The strategy of preponderance focuses on the creation of a U.S. led world order that promotes economic interdependence and restricts the rise of world rivals (pp. 86-97).

It is important to note, however, that in the same article Layne suggests and promotes a change of that grand strategy called offshore balancing. This strategy would scale back U.S. military forces, and our use of them, around the world. It would also drop the nation's reliance on international economic interdependence as well as using military force in non-security related issues (pp. 112-119).

Despite the overwhelmingly positive situation the U.S. was in, there were still some that suggested some forms of isolationism after the Cold War. In a 1997 article Gholz, Press, and Sapolsky advocate a "…modern form of isolationism (in which) we adopt its military policy of withdrawal, but reject its traditional economic protectionism" (p. 5). Restraint is described as possible since continental conquest became an obsolete concept with the invention of nuclear arms and is recommended because of the vast burden the current military puts on the U.S. economy (pp. 11-13). Gholz et. al. also discuss the inability of any nation or group of nations to pose a threat to the United States within the foreseeable future, which indicated a lacking need to balance continuously against them. This did not suggest a permanent withdrawal as an eventual need to

"reengage" might arise in the future, but likely not anytime soon. They describe three criteria necessary before such a reengagement would be necessary;

> First, an aggressive state must develop the conventional capabilities for rapid conquest of its neighbors…Second, the aggressor state must threaten to bring together enough power after its conquests to either mount an attack across the oceans or threaten U.S. prosperity by denying America access to the global economy…Finally, any potential aggressor must solve the "nuclear problem" (1997, pp. 46-47).

The Gholz et. al. article is the perfect example for a realist argument for pulling back or retrenchment. This is consistent with the realist pursuit of prudence. However, as the many different options for strategy in that period show, there were also articles suggesting the opposite. This debate, both within and between the liberal and realist camps, is perhaps the most important aspect of Post-Cold War grand strategy to grasp.

Both schools promote furthering the security and advantages of the United States, but since all objectives during and previous to the Cold War, by both groups, revolved around major adversaries the long-term direction these strategies would progress for the first time became extremely visible. For example, the balance of power in that time period suggested two paths for realists; press the advantage so that the U.S. could retain unipolar hegemony for as long as possible by stymieing potential competitors or to reduce our own power projections since no balancing was then necessary on the world stage. Liberals, however, saw the fall of the Soviet Union as an opportunity to advance the agenda of creating friendly international institutions as well as spreading the culture of democracy and human rights.

Post-9/11

Whichever strategy was fully adopted after the Cold War, if any, it is clear that the global situation changed drastically on September, 11, 2001. The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington provoked the United States into reacting to this newly appreciated non-state threat as well as nations that had ties to it. This presented an unexpected shift in the discussion of national security away from traditional views since the international system almost always implies the balancing of states in some way or another. The threat of international terrorist actions and the possibility of weapons of mass destruction being used by them or other non-state actors presented a troubling issue for existing security policies.

The emergence of terrorist organizations as major security threats mandated the reevaluation of all previous grand strategies. Realists and liberals alike failed to include such non-state actors into their previous calculations of U.S. security. While it is true that some previous strategies mention the existence of such organizations and the areas where they operate as threats, they were never considered comparable to the power projected by minor states or regional conflicts, not to mention other major powers. A new set of tactics, or at least a revision of what we already had, was needed.

Almost exactly one year after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 the White House released a document to address how the United States would proceed. That document, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, or NSS 2002, was put forward by President Bush in September 2002 and immediately shifted away from the

lingering policies of before and immediately after the end of the Cold War. This document presents a detailed look at the strategy devised by the Bush administration in order to confront the changing nature of national security. It may perhaps be known by a few choice lines found within it such as this;

> …The United States will use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe. We will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world. The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. (p. iv)

The NSS 2002 describes several major changes to the U.S. security policies and strategies of previous years and administrations. A belief in the necessity of pre-emption (pp. 11-16) and the revamping of the U.S. military and security institutions to be capable of combating forces such as the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan (pp. 29-31) are some of its primary goals. This includes the discussion of containment and its inability to confront this new type of foe. It states, "A military structured to deter massive Cold War-era armies must be transformed to focus more on how an adversary might fight rather than where and when a war might occur" (p. 29). This and other similar statements in the document reveal a complete turn away from the previous strategies of containment and deterrence. NSS 2002 describes in detail how the foes of today cannot be defeated by using strategies from the past that were developed for a completely different type of conflict. It also discusses topics such as promoting the ideals and institutions of democracy around the world, protecting the global environment, and fighting epidemics like AIDS throughout the document.

Finally, NSS 2002 also makes hearty use of appeals to friendly states to aid us in each of these endeavors and warnings against any that might work against any of the goals it presents. This last point indicates a conclusion that the old concepts of great power rivalries might not benefit the nation as well as alternative possibilities. The document specifically mentions Russia, India, and China as nations which are undergoing vast changes that show encouraging signs for a, "…truly global consensus about basic principles…" (p. 26).

The article "A Grand Strategy of Transformation" gives an honest appraisal of the Bush administration document. In it, John Lewis Gaddis (2002) offers an observation of the NSS 2002 strategy that manages to capture some of its more important implications. In the article Gaddis admits that no one really knew if the strategy would work or not (pp. 55-57) but that the possibility of success and what that would bring were good motivations for attempting it. He notes the overwhelming need for international support if the strategy were to have any chance of full success (p. 56).

Not everyone was as optimistic about the policies laid out in the NSS 2002 as Gaddis though. Robert Jervis' "Understanding the Bush Doctrine" (2003) is one example of this. In it Jervis describes the doctrine of President Bush (note this is more inclusive than just NSS 2002) and the impact such policies might have. Jervis summarizes his views,

> The doctrine has four elements: a strong belief in the importance of a state's domestic regime in determining its foreign policy and the related judgement that this is an opportune time to transform international politics; the perception of great threats that can be defeated only be new

> and vigorous policies, most notably preventative war; a willingness to act unilaterally when necessary; and, as both a cause and a summary of these beliefs, an overriding sense that peace and stability require the United States to assert its primacy in world politics (2003, p. 365).

The article goes on to discuss the dangers such policies might present such as the concept of preventative war being used unnecessarily out of the fear of terrorism or weapons of mass destruction (pp. 372-373), American unilateral action causing backlash in the international community (pp. 373-375), and also the implications of stated American hegemony (pp. 376-385). Through these concerns Jervis notes, like Gaddis, that international support is what the United States will require in order to succeed with its foreign policy goals and to extend these policies into long-term fulfillment.

The policies found in the NSS 2002 broke from those of previous U.S. strategies, and while the attacks of September 11th were likely the tipping point it was not an instantaneous switch. Colin Dueck (2004) describes the process of strategic adjustment where new stimuli alter policies. Though this usually refers to changes in the international environment, Dueck shows the alteration of U.S. policies after 9/11 was largely due to internal shifts in ideas. He says, "The initial strategic adjustments undertaken by the Bush administration were much more the result of new ideas in the White House, than of severe external pressures" (p. 534). Dueck's paper describes how these processes caused the move from the theories of the post-Cold War to the push for Primacy which he identifies as the Bush Administration's goal.

Whether or not that conclusion of President Bush's strategy is correct, that shift toward the policies outlined in the NSS 2002 encouraged the engagement of two wars in

Afghanistan and Iraq and the propagation of U.S. efforts to combat terrorist organizations world-wide. Support for those conflicts has undergone a number of high and low points, but the longevity of them has brought about primarily negative reactions. A number of different organizations and their polls can confirm this (Gallup, MSNBC, CBS, CNN, etc.).

These polls and general opinion prompted the Bush administration to release the 2006 version of the National Security Strategy as a toned down update. It still maintained the important aspects of the previous NSS 2002, but with much less inflammatory language.

Perhaps the clearest indicator of U.S. grand strategy and how it has shifted since the Bush Administration's policies can be found in the more recent counterpart to NSS 2002 and NSS 2006; the National Security Strategy 2010. This document, the NSS 2010, performed the same function for the Obama Administration as NSS 2002 did for President Bush's White House. It presents the global situation, U.S. interests, and a variety of goals that the U.S. views as important (from the perspective of the President and his Administration).

Differing from NSS 2002, NSS 2010 was developed in very changed circumstances. It describes that situation,

> The United States is now fighting two wars with many thousands of our men and women deployed in harm's way, and hundreds of billions of dollars dedicated to funding these conflicts. In Iraq, we are supporting a transition of responsibility to the sovereign Iraqi Government. We are supporting the security and prosperity of our partners in Afghanistan and

> Pakistan as part of a broader campaign to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qa'ida and its violent extremist affiliates (p. 8).

It goes on to describe the economic difficulties the world has faced, even as the world market is being reshaped (pp. 8-9). Along with the strain these conflicts have put on our allies, the document makes note of the difficulties the global situation places on the creation of an international order of peace and human virtues.

In this setting, the NSS 2010 describes four points of "enduring interest" on which its strategy is based; "They are:

- The security of the United States, its citizens, and U.S. allies and partners;
- A strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity;
- Respect for universal values at home and around the world; and
- An international order advanced by U.S. leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges" (pp. 7, 17).

These interests show a clear divergence from the strategies of NSS 2002 and suggest a rebuilding of international relationships and institutions, while at the same time performing whatever actions might be necessary to protect the U.S. and its people from major threats like terrorism and nuclear weapons proliferation. It shows that the United States under President Obama is still willing to engage in military action when necessary, but with a greater acknowledgement for the need for international cooperation.

NSS 2010 does not directly refute the policies of the previous administration, such as pre-emptive engagements, but does not mention them specifically either. Instead, it focuses on the need to "renew American leadership" (pp. 2-3). In a *New York Times*

article Susan Rice was quoted as saying of NSS 2010, “It is a rather dramatic departure from the most recent prior national security strategy” (qtd. in Sanger and Baker, 2010).

While NSS 2010 clearly holds liberal methods (though perhaps not necessarily liberal idealism) in a higher standard than the previous NSS 2002 it is easy to note the inclusion of terminology and potential objectives found in a variety of the I.R. approaches in both of those documents. Jervis noted this mingling of ideas in his review of President Bush’s policies by saying, “Notwithstanding their being Realists in their views about how states influence one another, Bush and his colleagues are Liberals in their beliefs about the sources of foreign policy” (2003, p. 367).

Due to this ambiguity there have been many that propose a lack of any cohesive strategy that the United States abides by today like Ross and Posen did with the Clinton administration. Authors such as Ambassador Robert Hunter have made statements such as, “…we have yet to decide upon an overall set of ideas and direction to guide our way forward in these extraordinarily complex times” (2008, p. 1). Perhaps a better example can be found in the aptly titled article “Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy?” In it Daniel Drezner (2011) opens with a litany of authors and public figures including John Mearsheimer and Niall Ferguson that have questioned the presence of an overarching or efficient strategy within President Obama’s administration (p. 57). Drezner continues by saying he believes there has been a strategy in place, but that it has not been expressed. He says clearly, “Unless and until the president and his advisers define explicitly the strategy that has been implicit…the president’s foreign policy critics will be eager to define it—badly—for him” (p. 58).

Chapter Four: Prominent Theories and Suggestions for Modern Grand Strategy

The debate about whether or not the U.S. follows any single grand strategy suggests an alternative method of observing modern grand strategy: what do the major theorists suggest? There are a number of distinguished authors who have presented grand strategy theories that might be pursued by the United States. These theorists have origins on both sides of the political approaches and are varied in their recommendations.

Realists

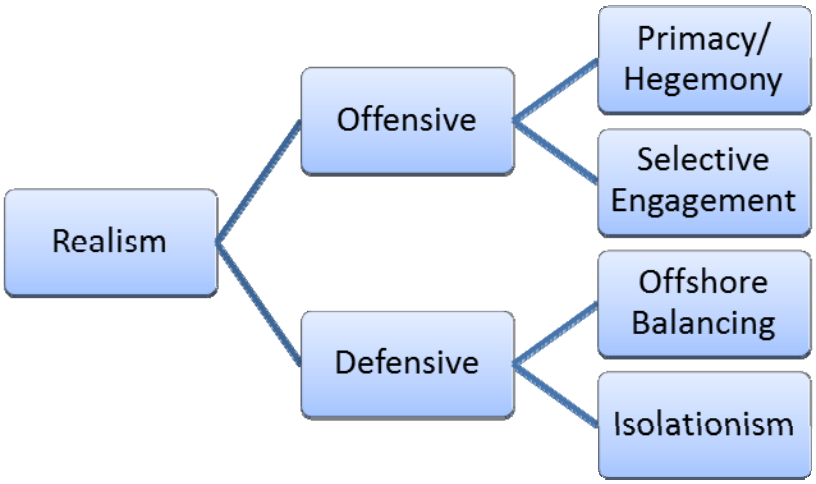
Among the most prominent realists today are John Mearsheimer, Robert Art, Stephen Walt, and Christopher Layne. They agree on some of the more fundamental aspects of realism, such as the position in which the United States finds itself in the international system. Walt (2002) calls this position as, "…best understood as one of primacy. The United States is not a global hegemon, because it cannot physically control the entire globe…Nonetheless, the United States is also something more than just 'first among equals'" (p. 31). This description of both the United States and the global community fits Monteiro's (2011) definition of unipolarity quite well.

This unipolarity and the anarchic system represent specific concepts about the nature of international politics today on which, for the most part, realists can generally agree. However, as Mearsheimer (2001) has shown in *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* those realists are not always in such agreement and the debates between offensive and defensive theories persist. These approaches are especially important in discussing grand strategy because their fundamental ideas about the interests of the nation

vary. Defensive realists believe that a true balance of power in the international system is more conducive to a long-lasting peace than a single more powerful hegemon. Alternatively, offensive realists believe that in order to protect the U.S. and its citizenry it should behave as a great power and pursue strategies that promote its power (Layne 2006, pp. 18-19).

Layne categorizes these differing realist views of grand strategy according to their philosophies. This is necessary because as he says, "…the lines separating primacy from selective engagement and offshore balancing from isolationism easily can be blurred" (2006, p. 159). He describes these in terms of offensive and defensive realism and then further separating them by defining their subtle differences. For instance, he says, "Hegemony seeks to maintain an imbalance of power in Eurasia in America's favor. Selective engagement ostensibly seeks to maintain a multipolar distribution of power" (2006, p. 159). Furthermore, "Unlike offshore balancing, an isolationist approaches to grand strategy assumes that the balance of power in Eurasia is irrelevant to U.S. security, because even a Eurasian hegemon could not threaten the United States" (2006, p. 160).

Example of how Layne separates Realist theories of grand strategy:



Robert Art has written extensively about these alternative choices the U.S. faces today. While there are multiple volumes in which he discusses the variety of possibilities, their pros/cons, and what those strategies would require there are two that sufficiently provide his views; *A Grand Strategy for America* and *America's Grand Strategy and World Politics*.

In these two books Art describes and analyzes a number of potential grand strategies, both the more and less realistic, in an effort to explain his views. These views, which fit into the limited offensive realist category, suggest using America's forward deployed forces, bases, and allies in order to best advance the interests of the United States. As Layne mentioned there are a number of strategies that share such offensive realist perspectives as well as a host that compete against them. Art identifies eight (2003, p. 82) from a variety of theoretical backgrounds which he compares against each other in order to find the best solution for American grand strategy.

After reviewing each of the grand strategy options Art (2003) proclaims that he believes the strategy of selective engagement best suits the U.S.'s goals (p. 222). He says, "Selective engagement steers a middle course between an overly restrictive and an overly expansive definition of America's interests" (2003, p. 121). It is designed to continue the forward presence of the United States in positions around the world, but also to offer greater flexibility on where and how to press military engagements. He details the strategy and its benefits such as how it is a hybrid strategy that combines the best features of the others he observed and has an increased concentration of power on specific targets rather than spreading military assets all around the world (2003, p. 121).

Art is firmly on the realist bench, but he calls selective engagement "*realpolitik* plus" (2009, p. 235) because its aims are higher than those of traditional realism. He says that it promotes six overarching national interests; preventing an attack on the American homeland, preventing great power wars, maintaining secure oil supplies, preserving an open economic order, fostering the spread of democracy and respect for human rights, and protecting the global environment (2009, pp. 234-235).

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross also promote selective engagement. However, they note that it is often left unclear specifically in which situations this strategy would advocate the United States becoming involved (Posen and Ross, p. 22). They say, "…Europe and Asia matter because that is where the major powers reside; and the Middle East matters because of its oil resources. Much of the world, therefore, matters" (p. 22).

As an alternative to the offensive realists like Art, Posen and Ross, Christopher Layne has proposed the strategy of offshore balancing. He describes his defensive preference and the basis for the strategy by stating that, "…balance-of-power strategies are superior to hegemonic ones" (1997, p. 113).

Offshore balancing is described as having four primary goals;

> (1) insulating the United States from possible future great power wars in Eurasia; (2) avoiding the need for the United States to fight 'wars of credibility' or unnecessary wars on behalf of client states; (3) reducing the vulnerability of the American homeland to terrorism; (4) maximizing both America's relative power position in the international system and its freedom of action strategically. (Layne, 2006, p. 160)

This strategy would allow the U.S. to move a large portion of its military away from forward areas, and, in Layne's view, portrays a possible path away from the expansionist policies he says offensive realists pursue. He describes the strategy of offshore balancing as an "exit ramp" which could help to escape the "tragedy of great power politics that befalls those that seek hegemony" (2006, p. 192).

A large portion of this grand strategy option involves removing U.S. forces from positions overseas where, according to realist logic, they are being used to balance against potential rising powers or directly engaging threats to the United States. Layne believes this is unnecessarily expensive and burdensome since the nations that benefit from this balancing are required to do none themselves. Using China as an example he models this point by saying, "Doubtless, Japan, India, Russia (and perhaps Korea) may be worried about the implications of China's rapid ascendance. But this is precisely the point of offshore balancing: because China potentially poses a direct threat to them – not the United States – they should bear the responsibility of balancing against Chinese power" (2006, p. 187).

Art responds to this defensive theory by stating that "This is not a strategy well suited to protect America's interests in the current and foreseeable era" (2009, pp. 376-377). He critiques multiple points in which he believes offshore balancing would fail to achieve the best results and says, "An offshore balancing strategy is a reactive, not a shaping, strategy, and it will put the United States at the mercy of international events, rather than allowing it to help shape them" (2009, p. 377). Layne's (2009) answer to this is that recent studies show the relative decline of the United States' power to be of drastic

importance. He says that we must, "…adjust to incipient multipolarity…" and begin planning for when our military might can no longer guarantee our global interests (p. 9).

Liberals

On the other end of the scale are the supporters of Liberalism. As noted in the previous chapter, Liberalism also has many divisions in its theories, but the primary point remains the same: States are not solid individual actors, but are porous and are filled with individuals and organizations that interact with each other. The resulting economy of ideas, wealth, and mutual benefit create an international interdependence which liberals assert is the single greatest force preventing major wars today. Brooks and Wohlforth describe this as constraining the "…security policies of states, including those at the top of the power hierarchy" (2008, p. 9).

Such views of the international setting have drastic effects on developing policies for grand strategy as the security of nations depends on much more than direct power balancing from states. This means that any factor that may cause regional issues/conflicts to escalate, such as the involvement of weapons of mass destruction, instances of humanitarian crises, and terrorism, are major concerns for any liberal point of view. Cooperation with other nations, the expansion of international institutions, the spread of democratization and multilateral action are all aspects of desired liberal policies.

Many authors have noted the trend of U.S. actions to resemble some such liberal ideals. Brooks, Ikenberry, and Wohlforth submit their analysis of the United States' current policies in the article "Lean Forward." In it they claim, "The details of U.S.

foreign policy have differed from administration to administration, including the emphasis placed on democracy promotion and humanitarian goals, but for over 60 years, every president has agreed on the fundamental decision to remain deeply engaged in the world, even as the rationale for this strategy has shifted" (2013, p. 130).

This strategy and the international order it represents are portrayed in Ikenberry's two books After Victory and Liberal Leviathan. The first describes how throughout history major conflicts have been followed by a restructuring of that international order by the victor. Ikenberry shows how the victors of hegemonic conflict are left with the opportunity to alter that order according to the bargains and institutions that they are capable of creating.

Ikenberry further describes this effect after World War II as, "…a grand narrative about the rise and transformation of the modern international system. It is an account of 'liberal ascendency'" (2011, p. 62) which he details in the second book. This system involves the promotion of the liberal foundations of interdependency, democracy, and human rights with, presumably, the leadership of the United States as the "liberal leviathan" Ikenberry describes.

He argues against realist notions of power balancing in a unipolar world such as what is seen today. Specifically mentioning Layne and his belief that international counterbalancing is inevitable (2011, p. 125), Ikenberry highlights multiple realist theories of how the unipolar, American led, system will eventually be countered. He

notes that this has not happened, however, and it has left the U.S. in a situation capable of transforming the system in whatever manner it desires to pursue (2011, pp. 132-156).

This liberal approach to International relations offers many potential ways to view grand strategy formation. It should be noted though that the concept of an overarching strategy for military movements and positioning to balance against other nations is, by its nature, a realist notion. When paired with liberal goals, however, these military assets become tools for the promotion of those ideas. B. K. Greener says, "Though mistrustful of 'the man on horse-back,' liberals also admit that military forces might be necessary to protect liberal states and societies, and some suggest that such forces may even be used to advance liberal aims" (2007, p. 295).

In this manner grand strategy theories have been developed in order to provide an answer to questions about how liberal strategies might promote U.S. action or, as Ikenberry puts it, "liberal order building" (2011, p. 348). Two commonly used examples of this are collective and cooperative security.

Realist academics consistently note the presence of Nye's "Soft Power" in these strategies, but they frequently focus on the *realpolitik* applications that the liberal theories might imply. For example, where Layne states that the liberal theories will fall apart when some power eventually counters that of the U.S. hegemon, Ikenberry notes the continued peace between major world nations because of the creation of the "…less heralding post-war American project: building a liberal democratic order…" (2002, p. 291).

None of this is meant to say that there can be no true liberal grand strategy, but simply that it must be conceived in a different way than those more exclusively focused on balancing the power created by states and alliances in the world order. Most of what such a strategy entails revolves around the spread of ideas, markets, and forging international bonds with institutions of growing power (Ikenberry, 2002, pp. 281-291), but liberals also realize that the world's many militaries did not disappear at the close of World War II.

Ikenberry prescribes an interesting plan for the United States which would use the strength of the U.S. military to support the spread of those friendly institutions. He describes this as a milieu grand strategy, which is opposed to the traditional challenger-centric positional grand strategies (2011, p. 349). This is designed to be more beneficial for America today because it allows the U.S. to diversify its abilities. Ikenberry continues, "In a world of multiple threats and uncertainty about their relative significance in the decades to come, it is useful to think of grand strategy as an investment problem…Grand strategy is about setting priorities, but it is also about diversifying risks and avoiding surprises" (2011, p. 353).

This strategy has several more abstract goals than its realist counterparts thanks to its liberal nature. As such it promotes the expansion of international institutions, their authority, and their capabilities, as well as the spread of liberal ideologies like democracy, human rights, and open economic systems. While this is still an American grand strategy, and therefore places the security of the U.S. above each of these points, they provide substantial criteria on which to base any future actions. This multitude of

goals also implies a greater demand for action on the international stage than comparable realist strategies, both offensive and defensive. The best example is that of liberalism's promotion of humanitarian interventions. While liberal principles argue for action in such situations to realist theories they matter little. Ikenberry (2011) discusses some of this debate when he says, "If rights are universal, the global political order must be organized in a way to protect and advance these deep and fundamental aspects of humanity" (p. 290). He goes on to describe some of the current failings of such interventionism though such as a weak liberal international community and the threat of "liberal imperialism" (2011, pp. 290-293).

Admittedly, the liberal strategy involves constant reevaluation in order to assess the proper course of action. Especially when combined with the liberal focus of this theory the rapidly shifting situations of international relations must be observed frequently. This is, in essence, observing the ebb and flow of globalization in order to further direct tactical decisions which in turn affect future decisions. Ikenberry describes this process as, "…pushing and pulling the global system forward in a progressive direction" (2011, p. 64). In the end, the liberal milieu strategy prescribes whatever military tactics best promote both American direct security and the spread of those liberal ideologies and international institutions.

Discerning the Free Hand

There is one further point which must be included in the discussion of the previous grand strategy theories. Offshore balancing and similarly isolating theories are

often referred to as the free hand strategies. This is because one of their primary foci is that the suggested action around most of the world is to bring U.S. forces home. This would then, according to these theories, allow those forces to be used in whatever manner and wherever we want instead of being tied down to current engagements worldwide.

Both selective engagement and the liberal strategy do not operate in this manner. They each have specific protocols which determine how U.S. forces should act overseas, but they do not suggest removing the bulk of those forces as do the free hand strategies. This difference is one of Art's major complaints against offshore balancing as he says it is only less expensive and dangerous in the short-term (2003, p. 198).

Interestingly enough, this is a point that each theory and its originators believe they are correct in. The long-term vs. short-term logistics of adopting any of these theories, as well as the immediate use (or not) of military forces cannot be entirely predicted and so none can be proven to hold the "correct" belief.

Summary

This chapter has shown that American grand strategy is anything but uniform or accepted universally. Having only reviewed the U.S. and its policies from the early 20th century onward, and very quickly at that, it should still be apparent that grand strategies and the international setting that shape them evolve constantly. At the same time these strategies continue to press several differing ideologies reminiscent of Mead's (2001) four schools of thought.

Theorists, strategists, and other policy makers continue to propose new ideas about what the U.S. goals are and should be, as well as how it might accomplish them. The bulk of this shifting literature has come from the I.R. traditions of realism and liberalism, but they have become more frequently overlapped and "supplemented" with newer ideas which have generated even more theoretical possibilities than in the past. Grand strategy options are more numerous and more complicated than ever before.

Still, even with the number of possible strategies that are available to the United States to follow today there are only three that remain potentially relevant for application. These grand strategies are: selective engagement, offshore balancing, and the liberal milieu strategy. Each of these theories have been modified from their original conceptions by many academics, but they continue to offer the most complete, though very much competing, views of U.S. policy and its goals. For this reason, they are the theories that will be applied in the following chapter which looks in depth at a specific point of international interest: Taiwan.

Chapter Five: Taiwan and the Application of Likely Theories

A Brief Introduction to China

China is a vast nation composed of many unique peoples and cultures that have as complex a history as any nation in the world. Over the centuries it has been divided, then unified, conquered, then liberated, and in the modern age it has gone through all of this again. Though the People's Republic of China (PRC) is fairly new to the world the history, culture, and legacy of its people are most certainly not. Even in the current topic at hand, strategy, Chinese culture has produced perhaps the finest text in the world concerning its cultivation and use in the form of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*.

Few nations in the world have the capabilities that China has today, and fewer still hold the potential of its economy and workforce. In perhaps the most successful example of development ever, China continues to push itself and its people toward a position of global power. Fareed Zakaria (2009) highlights the nation's growth by observing that "China has grown over 9 percent a year for almost thirty years, the fastest rate for a major economy in recorded history. In that same period, it has moved around 400 million people out of poverty, the largest reduction that has taken place anywhere, anytime" (p. 89).

Unfortunately, this rise in economic, political, and military strength put China on the United States' radar for another reason; it will eventually rise to compete with American global power. In fact, they are number one in the race to contend with U.S. hegemony. China is, in many ways, a rising threat.

As an example, in a 2012 article, Christopher Layne describes the end of America's hegemonic status due to the rise of new great powers, specifically China and India. He says, "Objective indicators confirm the reality of China's rise, and the United States' corresponding relative decline" (p. 205). He goes on to describe some of these: "In 2010, China displaced the United States as the world's leading manufacturing nation...The International Monetary Fund forecasts that China's share of world GDP (%15) will draw nearly even with the United States (18%) by 2014" (2012, p. 205). Layne also discusses rising levels of American debt and the weakening value of the dollar as contributing factors to this end to unipolarity and the rise of competitors (2012, pp. 207-210).

Alternatively, there are others like Michael Beckley who believes that China's rise is less dramatic in reality than most studies would direct us to believe. In "China's Century" he describes these by saying they, "...do not look at a comprehensive set of indicators. Instead they paint impressionistic pictures of the balance of power, presenting tidbits of information on a handful of metrics" (2011, p. 42). Beckley goes on to analyze empirically the relationship between the United States' and China's economy (pp. 58-62), levels of scientific research (pp. 63-73), and conventional militaries (pp. 73-76) and in each case he finds that, while the gap may be shrinking, the United States is still vastly superior to the capabilities of China. He concludes, "...the trends suggest that the United States' economic, technological and military lead over China will be an enduring feature of international relations, not a passing moment in time, but a deeply embedded condition

that will persist well into this century" (p. 77). Cohen also makes this point; "It should not be forgotten that China is still a poor country measured in per capita income" (p. 29).

Whichever argument is true, Ikenberry (2012) accurately describes the situations as this; "Coming decades will almost certainly see further increases in Chinese power and further expansion of its influence on the world stage" (p. 343). China has for the most part, opted to engage in a "peaceful rise" unlike previous encounters between hegemons and notable competitors. It has chosen to press its unique advantages in areas that it can, while slowly easing into areas the United States firmly controls like military power. Even so there are a number of issues in which the U.S. and China are often at odds over.

Among these, Taiwan is perhaps the most volatile. Cohen writes that, "...both Taipei and Beijing are capable of provoking a new crisis at any moment" (2010, p. 288). Both this instability and the United States' long-term involvement in the region make it perhaps the most important aspect of Sino-U.S. relations. Unfortunately, it is an issue without a simple response. Rebecca Karl (2010) calls the conflict between Taipei and Beijing a, "…vestigial territorial problem of the Chinese nation" (p. 72).

However, even as an issue of a divided nation, the situation in Taiwan holds great importance to that entire region. U.S obligations to Japanese and Philippine security as well as nearby interests like Korea are included in this and weigh further on the importance of the island of Taiwan. As such U.S. interests remain focused there. Øystein Tunsjø (2008) accurately describes this as holding the U.S. – China relationship hostage (p. 1).

In any case the situation between the PRC and ROC remains incredibly important to U.S. foreign policy and therefore also to our grand strategy. Important as it may be, the situation there is anything but straightforward and needs to be prefaced by a small history of the two governments and U.S. involvement.

Taiwan – Chinese and American Stances

When the Japanese attacked China in World War II the nation's military was already weakened due to fighting between the Nationalist, called the Guomindang (GMD), and the Communist (CCP) parties in the Chinese Civil War. Though the Civil war took a back seat to Imperial Japan, it was not forgotten. The war itself was incredibly devastating to both the population and infrastructure of China. In the end, however, the massive Chinese landmass combined with aid from foreign allies like the United States and other Allied forces overtook the Japanese capabilities.

The postwar situation quickly regained the sense of internal dispute. "With the Japanese surrender in 1945, China was left devastated and divided. The Nationalists and Communists both aspired to central authority" (Kissinger, 2011, p. 89). The Chinese Civil War recommenced soon afterwards.

After a long period of positioning the Nationalist military position weakened and eventually collapsed. They retreated to the island of Formosa, now called Taiwan, and declared the capital of the Republic of China to be Taipei. They, "…brought with them their military apparatus, political class, and remnants of national authority" (Kissinger, 2011, pp. 89-90).

This was followed in 1949 by the establishment of the People's Republic of China by Mao Zedong, the leader of the Communist Party. By no means did this end the conflict though. "Nobody expected Chiang Kai-shek to take defeat lightly. Paramilitary groups of the GMD funded by the CIA operated out of Tibet and on China's borders, hoping to foment rebellion or chaos" (Karl, 2010, p. 82).

The United States' aid to the GMD and Taiwan's status as an easily defensible island have prevented any major military action since the retreat. In the time since, however, the governments of Taipei and Beijing have situated themselves against each other and this has occasionally resulted in U.S. interventions by the Seventh fleet in order to directly prevent such hostilities.

The conflict has evolved through several distinct phases since the founding of the PRC and exile of the GMD, but it began as an extension of the Civil War. This military standoff can be easily seen in events like the first and second Crises of the Taiwan Strait. During each event the small islands of Quemoy and Matsu, which are under Taiwanese control, were shelled repeatedly. Kissinger (2011) offers a detailed description of each crisis (pp. 151-158, 172-180) and provides an explanation for how the presence of the U.S. fleet that was directed there provided the necessary buffer to prevent an all-out invasion from taking place.

The conflict has also taken on a sense of international competition with both the ROC and PRC. For years each side attempted to nullify the other's political presence around the world and at the same time gain favor with various nations for themselves.

With the rise of the PRC's power this type of pocketbook, or checkbook, diplomacy has continued to lean further in their favor and it is now recognized by over 170 nations. However, since the election of Taiwan's president Ma Ying-jeou this has largely come to a halt. An article by Allen Cheng (2008) says that he, "…promised to put an end to Taiwan's so-called checkbook diplomacy, under which the island has given tens of millions of dollars to a number of countries in an effort to win their diplomatic support" (p. 59).

Before this tug-of-war eased, however, Taiwan lost two major battles on the diplomatic front: its seat at the United Nations in 1971 and the recognition of the PRC by the United States in 1979. This was the culmination of efforts, beginning with President Nixon, to normalize relations with mainland China. Kissinger comments on the rapprochement that, "Though reconciliation was the eventual result, it was not easy for the United States and China to find their way to a strategic dialogue" (2011, p. 215). The PRC has remained the recognized government body of China since, but this did not end the conflict or U.S. involvement in it.

Only months after the recognition of the PRC in 1979 the legislature passed and President Carter signed the Taiwan Relations Act or TRA. Its summary states that it,

> "Declares it to be the policy of the United States to preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan, as well as the people on the China mainland and all other people of the Western Pacific area. Declares that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern" (1979).

Cohen describes several important aspects of the TRA including its legal language providing Taiwan privileges reserved for sovereign nations, even though it is no longer recognized as such, that it commits the U.S. to large and long-term sales of defensive weapons, and perhaps most importantly that "…military or other coercive action against Taiwan would be considered a threat to the peace and security of the region and a matter of 'grave concern' to the United States" (2010, p. 225). Cohen also mentions the PRC reaction simply as, "…outraged" (p.225).

Kissinger describes the change of Administrations and in Congress which brought about such issues for the normalization of relations between the U.S. and the PRC (pp. 381-386). He calls it, "…a study in almost incomprehensible contradictions – between competing personalities, conflicting policy goals, contradictory assurances to Beijing and Taipei, and incommensurable moral and strategic imperatives" (p. 385). Specifically speaking about the TRA, Goldstein and Mansfield (2012) summarize the situation that the contradictions of policy and legislation created;

> Although the United States no longer has a security treaty with (or even recognizes) the ROC, in 1979 the U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). The act asserted a continuing American interest in the island's fate, indicated that the United States might intervene in the event of military conflict in the Taiwan Strait, and established the basis for subsequent decision to sell defensive weapons to the authorities in Taipei. (p. 11)

Perhaps the most important aspect of the TRA is its implication for continued support for the government on Taiwan which at one point even led to the U.S. deploying two aircraft carriers into the Taiwan Strait. This has all led to a status-quo scenario where each side is unable to overcome the other. The U.S.in the meantime is left in the middle

to deal with both sides according to its own needs and obligations. Still, the two sides, "…periodically grow impatient with the diplomatic patchwork…" (Roberge and Lee, 2009).

More recently, the military stalemate may be faltering. In discussing China's growing threat to Japan Emi Mifune (2011) stated, "…the military superiority of Taiwan has already been reversed by China…" (p. 128). She goes on to mention that while both nations have expressed interest in increasing their economic relationship, "…China has taken no action to reduce its military deployment towards Taiwan" (p. 129). Layne (2006) actually describes this as preparation against the U.S. He says, "…Beijing's ongoing military modernization and buildup is driven by the realization that the United States and China are on a possible collision course over Taiwan..." (p. 143).

Such a military buildup is not new for the PRC. Its priority has been complete reunification since its founding and, at least in the case of Taiwan, this has implied the potential need for aggressive action even since the time of Mao. Chan (2011) writes, "…as Beijing has for the past 60 years placed premium emphasis on pursuing China's national reunification and upholding PRC sovereignty…" (p. 35). This has been a cornerstone of PRC policy and is one of the least flexible issues in their eyes. He continues, "To Beijing, these are extremely sensitive issues tied to firmly enshrined core interests and fundamental principles with little room for compromise" (p. 35) and he describes Taiwan as a priority of the PRC related to its very sovereignty, integrity, and national security (p. 38).

Similarly, the government on Taiwan has pressed for reunification, that both Taiwan and the mainland are part of a single China, albeit with themselves as the governing body. However, this is largely the view of the GMD which did not allow democratic elections until 1996, and then was defeated in 2000. This position is not necessarily as unified as it may once have appeared though. Tucker described the change in 2005;

> "Taiwan's rulers initially believed as adamantly as those of the PRC in the unity of China, but declared that Taipei not Beijing was the legitimate capital. More recently, Taiwan has sought increasing autonomy and international space despite Beijing's objections, with the majority of the population favoring a status quo that shuns both independence and Chinese control" (Tucker,, p. 2).

This can be attributed, at least in part, to the newly democratic nature of the government on Taiwan. Though in power for the vast majority of time since 1949 the GMD lost it for the first time in 2000 to the Democratic Progressive Party or DPP. Of their views Roberge and Lee (2009) say, "The DPP envisions Taiwan as an independent nation, separate from China. Taiwanese sovereignty is the first and most prominent issue on the party's platform" (p. 5). They go on to describe the general feeling in Taiwan as, "Although many in Taiwan back the idea of independence, polls suggest they still stop well short of wanting to risk violence" (p. 5).

Officially, the United States position is similar, but not the same as the "one China" principles of the GMD or the PRC. This is well stated in a recent overview document for Congress; "Not recognizing the PRC's claim over Taiwan nor Taiwan as a sovereign state, U.S. policy has considered Taiwan's status as unsettled" (Kan and

Morrison, 2013, p. 4). The document further discusses the three Joint Communiques which developed this policy and summarizes the United States' acknowledged position as, "U.S. policy leaves the Taiwan question to be resolved by the people on both sides of the strait: a 'peaceful resolution,' with the assent of Taiwan's people in a democratic manner, and without unilateral changes. In short, U.S. policy focuses on the process of resolution of the Taiwan question, not any set outcome" (p. 4).

U.S. Grand Strategy Options

In chapter 4, several major theories of U.S. grand strategy were discussed based on their theoretical approaches and how they might prove beneficial. Those same theories are what will be applied here to the case of Taiwan. All of these grand strategies can be assumed to rank their objectives with the security of the United States, its people, and its homeland being the most important goal. After that, they each branch off into their own methods and criteria on which to judge how U.S. policies should be applied.

Since this paper is concerned primarily with the military application of these U.S. grand strategies not all the objectives they seek will necessarily apply. This military focus is absolutely not the entirety of these grand strategies, but it is the feature that I focus on here in order to best differentiate them. Each strategy prescribes a particular usage of U.S. military forces, for a number of different reasons, in order to achieve their goals. These suggested policy actions reveal not only what the theories would like to see out of the United States military in order to achieve their goals, but also how they compare to the current placement of American forces.

This is precisely what will be examined in the following sections. Each of the three primary grand strategy theories that have been identified will be examined in order to reveal their precise policy recommendations and how they match up to U.S. deployments around the Taiwan Strait and in that region. This will reveal which of these options best coincide with not only real-world U.S. military activities but also with our strategic goals as stated in documents such as the NSS 2010. In all, this will offer revealing insight into the current American grand strategy and its possible future evolution.

Selective Engagement

The first grand strategy option to discuss is that of selective engagement. It is born from the realist tradition though it also includes a healthy respect for the liberal notions of growing certain institutions. As shown previously, Robert Art is the main contemporary exponent of this strategy and he has promoted it as a strategy that understands the complex nature of U.S. foreign policy and modern stresses on its capabilities.

Once again, Art describes the interests of the United States for selective engagement as promoting the six points of; protecting the American homeland, preventing great power wars, maintaining oil supplies, preserving an open international economic order, helping to spread democracy and share human rights around the world, and protect the global environment (2009, pp. 234-235). It is on these interests that any suggestions for action are developed by this strategy.

Selective engagement puts a high priority on balancing power so that major states do not engage each other as well as protecting both the spread of democracy and open economic systems. This would be done with direct military support as well as expanded alliances with friendly nations abroad. Each of the points above are priorities for this strategy, but they are each secondary to maintaining security for the United States. Therefore, selective engagement should support two connected points in relation to Taiwan; first, while maintaining or spreading Taiwanese democracy is desirable any solution to the crisis that involves armed conflict would be deemed a massive failure; and second, continued U.S. military support in the region should be accepted and potentially increased in order to nullify the possibility of armed conflict, but not so strongly as to provoke it.

Art addresses this issue directly and says of selective engagement that,

> …whatever is the ultimate outcome for Taiwan, what the United States has to care about…is that Taiwan's final status be resolved peacefully. This can be achieved only if American deterrence remains strong in the Strait to dissuade China from using force against Taiwan and only if the United States restrains Taiwan from taking steps that China would interpret as moving toward, or declaring, full independence. (2009, p. 353)

The immediate issue with this is that any potential military balancing given to the situation in the Taiwan Strait must be regarded as an indefinite investment. This means whatever military element is used in this effort would need to remain deployed until the situation changes, for better or worse. It also implies the possibility for an ongoing expansion of forces from both the United States and the PRC in that region, possibly for decades.

These two unknowns, the length of time the conflict will persist for and the quantity of resources that would be necessary to allocate to it, are also the biggest challenges to selective engagement. In order to overcome these obstacles it is likely that the United States would be required to enlist aid from other nations in the region, such as India, in order to make the strategy feasible in the long-term. This also would include redistributing forces from regions with lesser priority or where they can be replaced by such friendly assets. Art (2003) also mentions this support from our allies along with the need for domestic support, proper leadership, and both military and economic power in order to facilitate the successful execution of a grand strategy of selective engagement (p. 241).

Selective engagement's prime solution would be a quick reunification through democratic means that allows Taiwan to maintain its economic openness and democratic qualities. However, based on the current skepticism of the PRC government by those on Taiwan and especially the supporters of the DPP, makes this unlikely in the short-term. This is only the optimum solution though. As its priorities are described further, "Spreading democracy and protecting human rights, preserving international economic openness, and avoiding severe climate change are worthy goals, but they come third, not first or second, in selective engagement's ranking" (Art, 2003, p. 225). So as long as the United States can maintain security in the South China Sea then selective engagement will have been at least partially successful.

A final point on this strategy is that if any of these scenario-altering solutions were to occur then the strategy of selective engagement would need to be reevaluated

based on the shifting balance of power. This is not unlike the adaptation which the United States would need to undergo to fully implement the grand strategy, like the removal of some military forces from Europe and the expansion of foreign alliances, in the first place.

Offshore Balancing

Next, Christopher Layne's theory of offshore balancing presents a second realist view of U.S. grand strategy. It avoids the liberal additions that selective engagement embraces and as a result leads to an entirely different strategy overall. Instead of promoting certain ideologies abroad, Layne shows this theory to be one of retraction which he sees as reaping the benefits of the free hand strategies.

Offshore balancing is mainly concerned with the balance of power in East Asia, but it does not hold to the premise that the U.S. should involve itself in that balance for the sake of democratic or economic regimes there. The balancing of power in this strategy would be done mostly from our own shores while still retaining the ability to respond to potential threats with the Navy or less permanent combat forces. Other states would be left to answer any growing powers in their geographical vicinity. Even in the event of full blown war in Asia, as long as the American homeland was secure, offshore balancing could still be considered to have accomplished its goals.

Along the same lines, offshore balancing suggests avoiding the need for the U.S. to fight wars on the behalf of allies, like Japan, or liberal institutions like the democratic and economic orders of Taipei. If the U.S. were to engage any nation offshore balancing

would demand it be for the sake of American security alone. Layne (2006) even goes as far as to suggest that the United States should cancel a large majority of its foreign alliances, and thereby its security obligations (p. 187).

Each of these points shows that offshore balancing suggests withdrawing, and not reinforcing our protection of the Taiwanese government. It removes the United States from the equation of that region's balance of power, but it also offers flexibility for a future defense or response if that is necessary. In Layne's terms, it would "insulate" the U.S. if a great power war were to emerge.

Also, on the topic of flexibility, offshore balancing provides a far greater level of freedom to act than the other strategies here. By removing U.S. forces from potential engagements in the Taiwan Strait they could instead be used elsewhere, put on reserve, decommissioned, or, to the point, be used for literally anything else. Instead of tying our forces to that area for an unknown time-frame, our efforts could focus on more direct threats instead of creating U.S. involvement in far-reaching conflicts where the security gain is minimal.

The long-term results of an offshore balancing strategy by the U.S. and its effects on Taiwan are difficult to predict. The complete removal of U.S. power projection would open up a vacuum for a variety of potential takers, but the most obvious is the PRC. While their military buildup to this point has been the result of concern about foreign competitors the removal of the American forces might not immediately suggest a mirroring withdrawal by the PRC. Since offshore balancing implies that the responsibility

for balancing power in East Asia would fall onto other nations in that region China's anxiety about the pressures of foreign nations would hardly be relieved. Layne (2006) describes that possible balance of power as, "Although China is a potential hegemon in East Asia, in Japan, India, Russia (and eventually, a reunified Korea) there also exists the foundation of a robust multipolar regional balance of power that could contain China without U.S. involvement" (p. 186). So, while offshore balancing says little about stemming the growth of Chinese power it instead relies on the other nations of that region to balance against it.

Gholz et. al (1997) also comments on the concerns of traditional power balancing against China and about any possible economic backlash an offshore balancing strategy might incur. They argue that critical views of these arguments are no longer valid (pp. 19-25) and state directly that "In the past, facing the Soviet threat, the United States had good reason to provide the public good of Pacific defense; now, however, America's allies are wealthy and its interests are less threatened, so the United States should come home" (p. 25).

In short, offshore balancing prefers withdrawing U.S. involvement from the Taiwan Strait. Layne states directly that, "…Washington should declare unequivocally that the Taiwan issue is a purely internal Chinese matter" (2006, p. 187). This option supposes that the other nations in the region would then be tasked with bearing the burden of balancing against Chinese power which would, in turn, relieve U.S. forces and their commitments so that they might be applied in whatever other manner deemed necessary.

The Liberal Milieu Strategy

Finally, the third option to consider is that of the liberal perspective. The milieu strategy, formulated by Ikenberry, breaks away from the realist notions of power balancing. Instead, the spread of liberal ideas and the power of international institutions are the driving forces of peace and stability. As such, the strategy seeks to support those characteristics, wherever they might be found in order to provide an ongoing and long-lasting peace for the United States.

The liberal milieu grand strategy is more difficult to pin down especially when focusing on the military aspects of it. The purpose of the strategy is to use America's power, its "unipolar moment," to cement an international order that promotes the ideals and values we desire. These rules and institutions would regulate public goods and international trade as well as constrain the ability of nations to act aggressively toward each other or the international order itself. Brooks, Ikenberry, and Wohlforth (2012) describe the benefits of such a liberal strategy as it, "…enables U.S. leadership, which results in more cooperation on matters of importance than would occur if the United States disengaged—even as it pushes cooperation toward U.S. preferences" (p. 50).

In the case of China, and Taiwan more specifically, there are two main points that the liberal strategy would focus on. First, the democracy in Taiwan would be protected and promoted, perhaps not to the point of angering the PRC but certainly enough to embed that institution in the regional or even global order. Then second, the growing power of China would be stymied by incorporating it thoroughly into the rules of the

world order. Ikenberry stated astutely, “The idea is to make the liberal order so expansive and institutionalized that China will have no choice but to join and operate within it” (2011, p. 349). This process has, arguably, already begun with China joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and its placement on the United Nations Security Council (Ikenberry, 2011, p. 347).

The military portion of this strategy is varied in its response. It would be diverse out of necessity in order to effectively aid the creation of the international order. That means in most cases only small, temporary, forces would be necessary for defensive aid, humanitarian interventions, or even threatening coercion. However, it does not completely discount the need for larger scale operations in order to defend the American homeland, the liberal order, and its institutions.

Again, Taiwan presents an excellent example of how the strategy should function. As discussed previously, the complete withdrawal of the U.S. military provides a much better position for the PRC to envelop Taiwan on its terms. The manner of reunification might vary, but it can be assumed that the democracy and economic structure on the island would be swept away or at least significantly constrained. Alternatively, moving in excessive military force may prompt a reaction that could escalate quickly out of control.

Since the goals of the liberal grand strategy are a) to protect the American state and people and b) to grow and legitimize the institutions friendly to the U.S. neither of those approaches would be beneficial. The elimination of the Taiwanese democracy and its economic system would be counter-productive to one of the goals. The escalation of

conflict and the potential for war could easily violate the other. This strategy then seeks to maintain the status quo which has seen the growth of a democratic government on Taiwan, the PRC's gradual movement toward those liberal institutions, and growing economic interdependence between Taiwan and the PRC.

The milieu grand strategy would advocate a policy somewhere between pressing for Taiwanese independence and reunification. This advocates acting in whatever manner would benefit the institutions of the proposed global order most. The destruction of the Taiwanese system would not accomplish this but neither would inciting potential conflict with China. By delaying reunification or independence until the desired institutions can be successfully absorbed into that region more fully the objectives of the grand strategy can be best met. This can only be done peacefully, and one would also assume only after the PRC has lightened its stance further toward such liberal institutions. This is a major goal of the liberal milieu strategy and China has already begun to involve itself in a variety of regional (ASEAN Plus 3, Asian Summit) and global (WTO) institutions (Ikenberry, 2011, pp. 356-357).

Oddly enough, the military tactics that would be required to maintain the equilibrium are already in place. Without increasing the number or force of U.S. military units in East Asia or placing any directly on Taiwan, naval interventions can continue in order to prevent direct hostilities between the PRC and the ROC. Though such measures would not stand up to a full-scale invasion, we must assume any action of that sort would require some form of provocation, and could thereby be prevented.

Assuming no such provocation occurs, the stalemate in the South China Sea might continue indefinitely. That is, at least until the PRC and ROC can come to terms on reunification, independence, or some other solution that is as yet unknown. In the event such a resolution became reality it can be imagined as beneficial to both sides. If the status-quo is extended and no armed conflict takes place, the liberal institutions and mutual feelings in East Asia might be strengthened enough to provide a peaceful solution. Though the length of time it may take for such an accord to be reached might be significant, any such agreement suggests the coexistence of facets of both governments, including the institutions the liberal strategy seeks to protect.

This is not a perfect solution as it requires the allocation of some military units for the foreseeable future and offers no definitive end goal. However, it offers a long-term solution that not only prevents armed conflict but also promotes the survival of the liberal institutions of Taiwan even while allowing for the eventuality of possible reunification or independence.

This solution bears a resemblance to the one given by selective engagement. They each seek to eliminate the possibility of war in East Asia by maintaining a contingent of U.S. forces there. At the same time each strategy aims to support the institutions of democracy, human rights, open economics, etc. The primary difference between the two strategies can be found in their priorities. Selective engagement prioritizes the maintenance of the balance of power and, if possible, the spread of certain liberal ideologies and institutions. The liberal milieu strategy on the other hand prioritizes the spread of those liberal ideologies and institutions in order to maintain stability and

security. Though similar in deployment postures, they are not the same in their ideological pursuits.

Summary of the Possible Grand Strategies

These three grand strategy theories offer very different propositions for U.S. policy in Taiwan. Militarily, both selective engagement and the liberal milieu would maintain an American presence in or around the Taiwan Strait in order to prevent hostilities between the PRC and ROC. In both instances this presence would not be escalated to the point of provoking armed conflict, but it would provide enough of a buffer to avoid potential crises that may escalate into outright war. Offshore balancing, on the other hand, suggests withdrawing from Taiwan and other East Asian theatres in order to lessen the load on the overall U.S. military and economy.

The two military options then are to either maintain current levels of forces and if need be expand them or remove them entirely. Furthermore, we can differentiate selective engagement and the milieu strategy by their prospective attitudes toward the situation as either a method to balance regional power or to expand the global network of liberal ideas and institutions. Each of these three strategies, and what they suggest, offer distinctive suggestions for U.S. policy actions in Taiwan. Though two of the three remain similar in military action, their eventual goals make them incompatible with each other. Unless a new strategy is developed that can bridge the gap between realist balance of power concerns and liberal institutionalism/humanitarianism these strategies remain the United States' best options to fulfill our goals.

As this chapter has shown, the reasoning behind each of the grand strategy theories varies dramatically as well. As a result, those policy suggestions are based on an end goal of achieving American security in ways that when compared seem contradictory. The issue at hand is not whether or not the military forces of the United States in East Asia are in danger, but whether or not their use in the Taiwan Strait can maintain, grow, or destroy the peace for the United States as a whole. In this, time also plays a major factor as immediate gains and losses must be weighed against those that will result from our current policies.

In review, selective engagement suggests that the U.S. maintain its presence in the Taiwan Strait in order to maintain the regional balance of power and, where possible, to preserve the beneficial liberal qualities of the Taiwanese government. Offshore balancing also promotes maintaining the balance of power, but through means in which East Asian nations provide the force necessary to do so, so that American forces can be applied elsewhere or decommissioned. The liberal milieu strategy suggests maintaining U.S. forces, but in order to secure the liberal infrastructure of Taiwan and potentially integrate it into the PRC and not, as the other two do, as a means to weigh against the growing power of China.

Chapter Six: Conclusions of the Study, Implications, and Suggestions

Throughout this paper I have discussed the history, theory, and hypothetical applications of U.S. grand strategy. This has allowed us to examine how the United States acts currently and also to understand some of the more plausible possibilities for our future actions. Of course, the end goal in all of this has been to identify if the current grand strategy truly fulfills American foreign policy goals and to determine if any of the major theories might do so better.

The last chapter offered a look at three prominent prospects for American grand strategy in Taiwan. Selective engagement, offshore balancing, and the liberal milieu strategy are the three most likely to be heeded today. They are also the most likely for the U.S. to embrace moving forward into the future.

Having reviewed all three possibilities and their proposals for the U.S. situation in Taiwan, the liberal strategy and selective engagement both closely resemble American military positioning today. Layne's proposal for removing U.S. forces, while interesting for discussion and perhaps some future action by no means resembles American military movements in East Asia, and especially not when considering the recent "pivot" to Asia. This is important to note, especially in the future, if advocates for retrenching strategies prove to be correct in their calculations of the expenses required for both selective engagement and the liberal milieu strategies. As Altman and Haass say, "The new budgetary reality will also alter U.S. defense policy beyond these two conflicts. There

will be fewer resources available to undertake wars of choice along the lines of Iraq and what has become a war of choice in Afghanistan" (2010, p. 31).

Still, this leaves us with an understanding that both selective engagement and the liberal milieu support actions that, while aiming to achieve different goals, agree on the military recommendations in Taiwan. These recommendations also make these strategies indistinguishable when observing only U.S. military deployments. We should then examine their objectives, what the stated objectives of the United States government are, and how they compare.

By examining the history of U.S. grand strategy it might be apparent to some that the implied strategy of primacy most closely resembles realist theories and therefore selective engagement would shine as the apparent choice today. However, there are two points that suggest a lean toward liberal ideology being embraced by the U.S.: First, the war in Iraq was opposed greatly by realist academics on the grounds of caution toward the limited benefits, whereas liberal ideologies pressed for building a new democracy and removing a violent dictator. Second, since the downturn of public opinion for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, liberal rhetoric has become much more visible for foreign policy directives. The shift from NSS 2002 to NSS 2010 is a fantastic example of this, and while both still call for the United States to use its military for security and direct action where it is necessary the values championed by liberalism are upheld as outright goals for our country to achieve in both documents.

With that said, there likely still exists confusion about whether we are currently supporting the "*realpolitik* plus," selective engagement or the liberal milieu strategies, but I believe the transformation of policy language, as seen in NSS 2010 shows a transition in the direction of the liberal ideologies. So it is not out of the realm of reason to state that the many authors who doubt the existence of a single cohesive strategy are correct. In fact, as Mead describes the United States' habits in regards to foreign policy this may be the norm. The four brands of foreign policy philosophy that he describes in *Special Providence* (2001) are visible within these grand strategy theories, and the blurring of lines between these theories and our current path gives credence to the message of that book.

However, this may be more due to a current shift away from former strategies like containment or primacy and toward a more liberal strategy than the willful exclusion of a unified grand strategy. All of this leads me to conclude that, although we may not currently be embracing either selective engagement or the liberal milieu fully, I believe the United States is moving toward the latter.

The implications of this may prove more significant than even the situation in Taiwan would suggest. If the United States is truly aiming to embrace the liberal milieu strategy there, then it should be assumed that it is not an isolated instance of such. Applied elsewhere this might raise certain questions about how fully it is truly being applied, how fully the U.S. is willing to commit itself to its own institutions, and if such a strategy is actually attainable in a time of constrained resources or purely idealistic. It is incredibly ambitious, to the point where many doubt it can ever be truly achieved. Others

still doubt some of the basic premises of the liberal strategies. Layne (2006) is one of these and he says, “Far from bolstering U.S. security, America’s liberal ideology leads to overexpansion, unnecessary military interventions abroad, and, occasionally, involvement in otherwise avoidable wars” (p. 118).

Each of the three theories also have their own flaws. While entire volumes could (and have) been written to discuss them some of the simpler points deserve to be mentioned here.

First, offshore balancing is immediately recognizable in this study as the odd one out. It is very clear that the U.S. is not adapting any sort of policy which would withdraw the bulk of its forces from East Asia. While the defensive nature and immediate gains that this theory claim to provide seem logically desirable, Layne fails to describe how exactly the long-term scenario would play out. The flaw here is in being absolutely realist. Offshore balancing is a theory which relies on regional balances of power to maintain themselves sans U.S. involvement while also expecting American forces to remain prepared to eliminate any such regional power that threatens our interests as a Eurasian hegemon. Both cannot be true, and, as such, offshore balancing should at least be amended to better prepare for the foreign reactions to such a strategy. We cannot expect the global situation to continue in our favor by withdrawing our power and influence from it. To its credit, however, offshore balancing is the only one of the three grand strategies here that promotes immediate gains through lessening our foreign demands and it may also be well suited to a time of prolonged budget austerity. As has been stated

though, critics note that those gains are minimal especially when compared with the long-term losses which would be forfeit by that same retrenchment.

Next, selective engagement suffers a similar fault in attempting to accomplish two goals simultaneously. Art also quickly dismisses offshore balancing for the same reasons listed above and instead embraces the mild form of offensive realism that defines his strategy. Selective engagement is proactive in pressing our power advantage throughout the world. At the same time it aims to leverage liberal ideals as secondary goals. This is incredibly ambitious and runs the risk of either failing in both objectives or provoking a foreign response. The former is the larger concern today. Though it is considered the moderate grand strategy by its advocates because it aims for a middle ground between realism and liberalism, it allows for the possibility of achieving neither when it is forced to supersede the liberal idealistic endeavors for balance of power security.

Finally, the liberal milieu strategy is quite simply not ready for implementation. Though I suggest here that it is the most likely strategy which the United States is following in Taiwan it should also be noted that the strategy, by nature, implies an extremely long-term commitment which can easily be argued is unsustainable. As realists are so eager to point out, the levels of international cooperation and the successes of the core liberal ideologies have not reached anywhere remotely close to the levels necessary to implement an order such as liberals desire. The implementation of the milieu strategy as a true working policy would only be effective as an extremely slow moving plan that over decades would help to seed the beginnings of that level of a liberal critical mass.

This leads to a note about my own view. I have discussed in this chapter the conclusions of this study, which point to the liberal milieu strategy as that currently being pursued by the United States. I believe that the information that has been reviewed leads to this conclusion. However, it is not necessarily my own views that this is for the best. I am supportive of the goals to which that strategy strives to achieve, being very noble and (by its very nature) idealistic. However, its unending timeline and need for ever more support leads me to believe that it will become unsustainable if indeed it has not done so already. It is my own opinion that a less demanding strategy is necessary to guarantee the long-term success of this nation. Of the two realist strategies reviewed here, however, only one, selective engagement, presses for the United States' continued preeminence through proactive means. Selective engagement offers the opportunity to pick which conflicts are most important to us, while maintaining our global position of power, and at the same time supporting those liberal ideals when it is feasible. In this sense I side my own case with the offensive realists such as Mearsheimer and Art.

Future Policy Suggestions

In following the conclusion that the liberal milieu strategy is the grand strategy option the United States is leaning toward, there are several suggestions for future policies that would aid both our national security and the achievement of such liberal goals as it recommends. These suggestions follow;

1. As shown by the United States' history with grand strategy development and military policies, changing administrations and global settings have a habit of

forcing change to our strategy selections. Though some such change is beneficial and allows us to compensate for the rapidly changing nature of international relations others can reverse efforts that have been previously pursued. If the liberal strategy is indeed what the United States has decided to embrace, then measures should be taken to ensure that it is enacted continuously, though still with enough flexibility to manage unforeseen conditions.

2. That flexibility is also a demand that must be met. Stringent and constant use of the entire U.S. military machine would surely exert too great a drain on the nation over the extremely long period of time the liberal strategy might pertain to. The military should be adapted to become more flexible in its ability to engage in both short and very long-term deployments. How this should be accomplished, I do not know, but it seems to be a necessity to truly succeed with the liberal plan.

3. Assuming that the liberal strategy can be adopted for long-term implementation then it should be more steadily pressed in all its major pursuits. This includes developing strong international institutions as well as protecting ideals like human rights and democratic development. Even the most stringent supporters of these liberal goals admit they are long-term and should not be pressed in every situation currently nor would they take priority over the security of the United States (as it would not be a grand strategy at all if it did). With that said, the end goal is to affect the entire world order including existing institutions and the United States. This brings up a vast number of issues concerning national sovereignty and the authority of those international institutions. Especially from the viewpoint of the

United States, the single most powerful nation, giving up our own autonomy might prove to be a major (likely the greatest) challenge to overcome. At the same time, if such institutions ever grew strong enough they could enforce those ideals of human rights and democracy around the globe in a way no one nation ever could.

These suggestions are not specific to any given aspect of the military or the executive branch, but it seems that they are changes that are necessary if the liberal strategy is truly the direction the United States has selected. Again, this paper has only examined one small piece of a larger relationship which in itself is a small piece of a global community, but its results imply this is the case. It strikes me as much loftier than previous visions of American goals, and as such these suggestions are not likely to come about easily. If successful though, the strategy would eventually promote not just a safe America but institutions that would help to secure the globe. Still, as the succinct realist would reply, “That’s a pretty big if.”

Future Research

The case of Taiwan has been used to identify and exemplify the goals and theoretical outcomes of some of these grand strategies. This case, while only one of many potential, serves as a theoretical lab in which we can apply the ideas of key political science thinkers. Taiwan and the situation between the PRC and ROC excel in this role because of both the importance of China to U.S. foreign policies, the importance of

Taiwan to China, and the ease in which we can identify the military positioning each of the major strategies suggests.

An expansion of this type of study might be undertaken in order to more specifically gauge the path of U.S. actions in relation to the theories in question. What I mean to say, is that a more inclusive study could aim to observe all actions taken by the U.S. as well as all instances of inaction in order to determine previous and current grand strategy decisions. This would require a much broader array of inclusion than is found here, but might also provide a greater number of "incidents" on which to base judgment. In order to accumulate such a list of events, or non-events as might be the case, it is probable that the scope might require expansion to more than just the military. This is because diplomatic and economic affairs are often the cause of such sparks and would need to be observed in order to catch those instances of inaction.

Also in terms of expansion of the study, since U.S. grand strategy truly implies grandness, this single case presents a far from perfect study. However, by examining others on a larger scale a consensus might be reached on the whole of U.S. military tactics and thereby grand strategy. Preferably such a study would include as many unique instances of military deployment decisions as possible. They could be discussed individually, as I have done here, or combined in a way that might provide the data necessary for a grand quantitative analysis of current U.S. foreign policies. Specifically, studies of other nations or world regions like India, Africa, Central America, or even Europe together could provide an aggregate from which to determine current U.S. grand strategy.

Unfortunately, the massive scale and complexity of this topic makes such a project a gigantic undertaking. However, the payoff may be worth the effort for the field of Political Science or, more importantly, to those in leadership roles of the nation and its military. A study of this proposition should be considered for future studies as the potential payoff is a greater understanding of U.S. strategic direction and how to best get there.

Another collection of studies that need to be completed involving these grand strategies are quantitative studies that undertake to discover, as precisely as possible, how these three strategies differ in costs and benefits. There are many examples of theoretical arguments about the pro/con lists for each, but none as yet have mentioned the dollar amounts of bases in Germany or aircraft carriers in Japan versus not as well as the results from each on domestic industries in the U.S. Often, these points are used as generalities in order to make sweeping arguments about the United States economy as a whole and provide little insight into specific situations like, in the case of this paper, Taiwan. This may not be possible for every aspect of the respective theories, especially those involving the liberal aspects, but an attempt at this kind would certainly help with any push for actual policy applications.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has discussed in detail three of the most prominent theories of U.S. grand strategy today in order to determine which of them is and should be utilized. By comparing their recommendations for military forces and ideological principles for the

conflict of Taiwan I have concluded that the United States is actively pursuing the liberal milieu strategy. It is, however, still very clear that this policy is vast in design and requirements and cannot be considered fully employed or implemented as yet. Having been identified as the goal of our strategic aims still provides the U.S. with a direction in which to work as well as a better understanding of the challenges ahead.

Many of the critiques discussed about the liberal strategy are valid. It is an indefinite undertaking with a great demand for resources. It also implies our own eventual surrender to the liberal order that we are trying to shape. If possible though the rewards of greater global security and legitimate international institutions with authority present aims worthy of such challenges.

In all, this selection by the U.S. is unsurprising since nations always seek first security and then to use their remaining power to shape the world into a form more to their liking. When the Soviet Union fell, the United States became the single largest holder of power in global history and idealistic or not goals like democratic reform and human rights are greatly to most Americans' liking. This will continue to create conflict among students of foreign policy, especially with the rising power of the PRC and the relative decline of the U.S. economy in recent years, but so long as we are capable of pursuing this liberal path I do not see any drastic alteration of our course on the horizon.

Bibliography

Altman, Roger C. and Richard N. Haass. "American Profligacy and American Power." *Foreign Affairs*, 89.6 (2010): 25-34.

Art, Robert J. A Grand Strategy for America. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003.

----- America's Grand Strategy and World Politics. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Beckley, Michael. "China's Century: Why America's Edge Will Endure." *International Security*, 36.3 (2011/2012): 41-78.

Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth. World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Brooks, Stephen G., John G. Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment." *International Security*, 37.3 (2012/2013): 7-51.

----- "Lean Forward." *Foreign Affairs* 92.1 (2013): 130-142.

Christensen, Thomas J. Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American conflict. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Chan, Ming K. "Core Elements in a Rising China's Foreign Policy and Key Issues in Sino-American Relations: Trans-Pacific Observations." China's rise – Threat or Opportunity? Ed. Herbert S. Yee. New York: Routledge, 2011. 33-51.

Chase, Michael S. "U.S.-Taiwan Security Cooperation: Enhancing an Unofficial Relationship." *Dangerous Strait.* Ed. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. 162-185. Print.

Cheng, Allen T. "Taiwan's China Card." *Institutional Investor-International Edition*, 33.6 (2008): 58-62.

Creswell, John W. Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2009.

Drezner, Daniel W. "Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy? Why We Need Doctrines in Uncertain Times." *Foreign Affairs*, 90 (2011): 57-68.

Dueck, Colin. "Ideas and Alternatives in American Grand Strategy, 2000-2004." *Review of International Studies* 30.4 (2004): 511-35.

Gaddis, John L. Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

-----"A Grand Strategy of Transformation." *Foreign Policy*, 133 (2002): 50-57.

Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press and Harvey M. Sapolsky. "Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation." *International Security* , Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring, 1997), pp. 5-48

Gilpin, Robert. War and Change in World Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Goldstein, Avery and Edward D. Mansfield. "The Political Economy of Regional Security in East Asia." The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia. Ed. Avery Goldstein and Edward D. Mansfield. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Goldstein, Joshua S. and Jon C. Pevehouse. International Relations. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2007.

Greener, B. K. "Liberalism and the Use of Force: Core Themes and Conceptual Tensions." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 32.3 (2007): 295-318.

Henderson, Errol A. Democracy and War: The End of an Illusion? Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2002.

Holsti, Kalevi J. "The Concept of Power in the Study of International Relations." *Wiley* on behalf of *The International Studies Association* 7.4 (1964): 179-194.

-----Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order 1648-1989. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Hunter, Robert E. *A New Grand Strategy for the United States*. RAND, 2008.

Ikenberry, G. John. After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001.

-----"America's Liberal Grand Strategy." American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays 4th Ed. Ed. G. John Ikenberry. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2002.

-----Liberal Leviathan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Jervis, Robert. "Understanding the Bush Doctrine." *Political Science Quarterly*, 118.3 (2003): 365-388.

Kan, Shirley A. and Wayne M. Morrison. "U.S.-Taiwan Relationship: Overview of Policy Issues." Congressional Research Service, 2012.

Kant, Immanuel. Perpetual Peace. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

Karl, Rebecca E. Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth Century World: A Concise History. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Kennan, George K. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs* 65.4 (1987): 566-582.

Keohane, Robert O. After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Kinsella, David. "No Rest for the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 99.3 (2005): 453-457.

Kissinger, Henry. On China. New York: The Penguin Press, 2011.

Kuehn, John T. "Talking Grand Strategy." *Military Review* 90.5 (2010): 74-78.

Layne, Christopher. "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy." *International Security*. 22.1 (1997): 86-124.

----- The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006.

-----"America's Middle East Grand Strategy After Iraq: The Moment for Offshore Balancing has Arrived." Review of International Studies. 35 (2009): 5-25.

-----"This Time It's Real: The End of Unipolarity and the Pax Americana." *International Studies Quarterly*, 56 (2012): 203-213.

Mead, Walter Russell. Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World. New York: The Century Foundation, 2001.

Mifune, Emi. "Japan's Perspectives towards a Rising China." *China's Rise – Threat or Opportunity?* Ed. Herbert S. Yee. New York: Routledge, 2011. 124-133.

Monteiro, Nuno P. "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is Not Peaceful." *International Security*, 36.3 (2011): 9-40.

Morgenthau, Hans J. Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace 5th Ed. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1973.

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

-----Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2007.

Obama, Barrack. "Remarks by the President at the Air Force Academy Commencement." Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colorado. May 23, 2012.

Oneal, John R. and Bruce M. Russett. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41.2 (1997): 267-293.

Platias, Athanassios G. and Constantinos Koliopoulos. Thucydides on Strategy: Grand Strategies in the Peloponnesian War and their Relevance Today. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Posen, Barry R. and Andrew L. Ross. "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy." International Security 21.3 (1996): 5-53.

Roberge, Michal and Youkyung Lee. "China-Taiwan Relations." *Council on Foreign Relations,* Aug. 2009.

Rosato, Sebastian. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97.4 (2003): 585-602.

Sanger, David E. and Peter Baker. "New U.S. Security Strategy Focuses on Managing Threats." *New York Times*. May 28, 2010: A8. Print.

Snyder, Jack. "One World, Rival Theories." *Foreign Policy* 145 (2004): 52-62.

Taiwan Relations Act, Pub. L. 96-8. 105 Stat. 14 (1979).

Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf. "Dangerous Strait: Introduction." *Dangerous Strait.* Ed. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. 1-15. Print.

Tunsjø, Øystein. U.S. Taiwan Policy: Constructing the Triangle. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Walt, Stephen M. "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grand Strategy." International Security. 14.1 (1989): 5-49.

-----"International Relations: One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy* 110 (1998): 29. Academic Search Premier. Web. 20 May 2013.

-----Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.

Waltz, Kenneth N. Theory of International Politics. 1979. Reprint. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2010.

White House. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. 2002. http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/ (Accessed January 14, 2013)

-----The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. 2006. http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2006/ (Accessed June 25, 2013)

----- The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. 2010. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf (Accessed January 14, 2013)

Zakaria, Fareed. The Post-American World. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009.

Zhuge, Liang and Liu Ji. Mastering the Art of War. Ed. Thomas Cleary. Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications, 1989.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Ty Hoskins

Education:
M.A. in Political Science, Indiana University, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, IN

B.A. in Political Science, DePauw University, Greencastle, IN