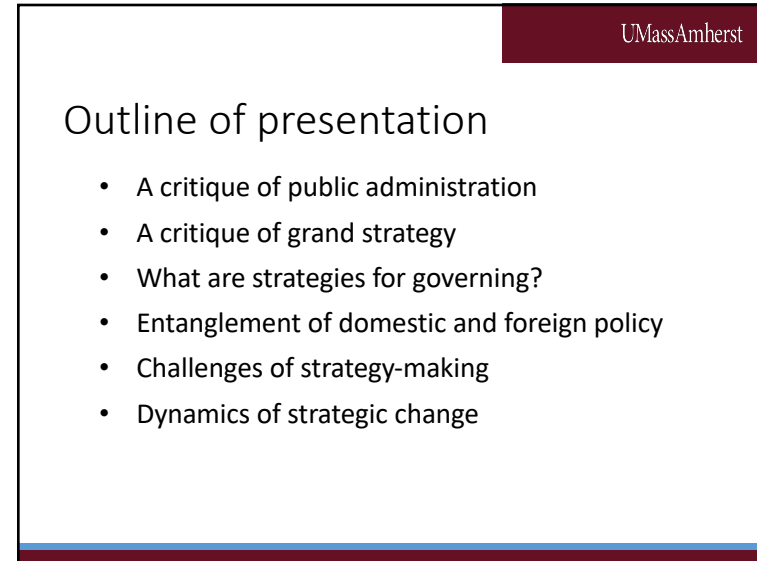
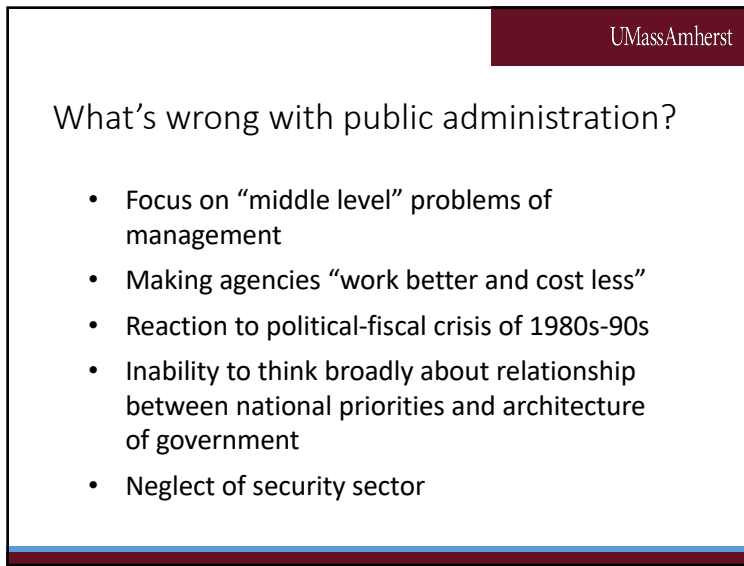


1



2

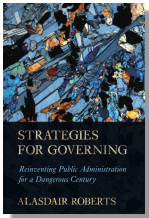


3



4

UMassAmherst



From *Strategies For Governing*
Cornell University Press, December 2019

Table 1 Levels of analysis in public administration

<i>Macro-level</i>	Study of the governance strategies that are devised by leaders to advance critical national interests and the ways in which these strategies influence the overall architecture of the state.
<i>Meso-level</i>	Study of the design, consolidation, administration, and reform of specific institutions—that is, laws, organizations, programs and practices—within the state.
<i>Micro-level</i>	Study of the attitudes and behavior of officials within the state apparatus and of people who are subject to their authority. ¹

5

UMassAmherst

Grand strategy as an inflating concept

(1) Conventional war

Grand strategy relates to “the whole field of war” rather than specific theatres of war.

Viscount Wolseley, 1889

Grand strategy “reckons with . . . the whole armed force of the nation, ashore and afloat.”

Roy C. Smith, 1904

“[T]he large, broad plan for winning a whole war on several fronts . . . [rather than] the localized strategy of the commander of a single army.”

D.P. Barrows, 1942

6

UMassAmherst

Grand strategy as an inflating concept

(2) Total war

“The role of grand strategy is to co-ordinate all the resources of a nation towards the attainment of the political object of the war.”

B.H. Liddell Hart, 1941

Grand strategy is “the art of controlling and utilizing the resources of a nation . . . to the end that its vital interests shall be effectively promoted against enemies.”

Edward Mead Earle, 1943

7

UMassAmherst

Grand strategy as an inflating concept

(3) Cold War

“The crux of grand strategy . . . [is bringing] together all of the elements, both military and non-military, for the preservation and enhancement of the nation’s long-term (that is, in wartime and peacetime) best interests . . . in a world of constant flux.”

Paul Kennedy, 1991

“[G]rand strategy is the intellectual architecture that lends structure to foreign policy; it is the logic that helps states navigate a complex and dangerous world.”

Hal Brands, 2014

8

Grand strategy as an inflating concept (4) Statecraft

“Grand strategy refers to the purposeful use of military, diplomatic, and economic tools of **statecraft** to achieve desired ends. Scholars often define these goals in terms of national security, power, or wealth, but **the ends can also refer to other valued goods such as national honor, prestige, and profit.** In this book, I argue that grand strategy can also be viewed as a means by which national leaders strive to **maintain or strengthen their hold on executive power.**”

Peter Trubowitz, 2011

9

The conceptual predicament

- Academic and professional pressure to divide domestic and foreign policy
- But the reality of entanglement
- Do national leaders really have two grand strategies -- or one overall strategy with domestic and foreign aspects?

10

Entanglement: Examples

- World War I and women's suffrage
- World War II and the welfare state
- Vietnam and the “democratic surge”
- The neoliberal settlement and war in Iraq
- Trumpism and the response to COVID-19

11

Strategies for governing

- **States, leaders, and general goals**
 - Internal order and legitimacy, external security and legitimacy, prosperity, survival in office, human rights
- **Circumstances:** the “governing environment”
 - Demography, geography, economy, technology, culture and institutions, geopolitics
- Leaders define **strategies** that define priorities and major lines of policy
- The **institutional complex** of the state as the expression of strategy

12

Strategies are fragile and vary over time

- Changes in approach of central authority to economy, society, sub-national authorities, other states
 - India: From Nehruism to Modi-ism
 - China: From Maoism to Deng Xiaoping Theory to Xi Jinping Thought
 - United States: From New Dealism to Reaganism to Trumpism
 - Europe: From sectoral cooperation to common market to political integration
- Need for long time horizons, retrospectively and prospectively

13

Three challenges for leaders

- **Making strategy** -- hard because:
 - Goals conflict with one another
 - Uncertainty about how best to achieve goals
 - Turbulence: conditions change quickly
 - Limits on decision-making capacity
- **Executing strategy:**
 - Designing, consolidating, running institutions
- **Adapting strategy:**
 - Ideational and institutional deconsolidation and reconstruction
 - Hard because existing institutions are "sticky"

14

Moments of strategic transformation

- In the US: c. 1900, 1940, 1980, 2020
- Exhaustion of an old strategy
- Political and social "unfreezing"
- Political entrepreneurship:
 - Defining problems, new priorities and policies
 - Experimentation, false starts
- Consolidation of a new strategy
- Renovation of institutions to support strategy
- May take decades

15

16