

# American Foreign Policy

January-April 2019

Classroom: A026

Thursdays 17/01–11/04, 0800-0930 (note - no course on 28/02)

Instructor: Kenneth Forder, k.forder@sciencespobordeaux.fr

Office Hours: Thursdays from 1000-1100 (except Thursday 31/01), Room A023,  
other days/times upon request

## **I. Introduction to the course:**

### ***What this course is about:***

The first section of the course will discuss the origins and history of American foreign policy. The second section will focus on the American foreign policy making process. The final section will explore global/regional challenges facing the Trump Administration. The course will emphasize the actual practice of American foreign policy rather than the theory undergirding it.

### ***Learning outcomes:***

Students will gain a greater understanding of what drives American foreign policy, how it is made, and what are the greatest foreign policy challenges facing the President. By the end of this course, students will better understand how the ‘American Empire’ is administered. The course should highlight the sometime rather stark gap between traditional academic discussion of the subject matter and the realities of the conduct of diplomacy, revealing that foreign policy is quite often ‘made up as you go’ (or muddling through) rather than the result of the implementation of some preconceived ‘grand scheme.’ A more nuanced understanding of the foreign policy of what remains the world’s leading power should help students find success in their post-Sciences Po careers, notwithstanding whether they enter government service or work for the private sector, international organizations, or NGOs. Anyone with an internationally focused career will have to grapple with the influence of the United States. After this course, students should be able to better understand their American interlocutors and thus hopefully leverage them to advance the agenda of future employers.

## **II. Format:**

The class will be composed of twelve 90-minute course sessions. Students will be expected to come to class prepared and to participate actively in the class discussions. Students are encouraged to voice their opinions, challenge the professor and posit alternative ideas, as learning is reinforced via debate and constructive disagreement.

## **III. Course Requirements:**

Students are expected to read all the materials delineated below and to participate actively in class. Students will prepare one short essay chosen from two topics (listed below) derived from the first two sections of the course. This essay will be due on 21 March. Students will also present to the class a 10-minute maximum summary of one of the readings delineated below (one

per class session - those marked with an “\*”). Reading assignments will be made during the first class on 17 January and the designated student will present his/her reading at each class starting on 24 January. Students will also take a final exam, where they will choose one of two provided topics and then prepare a 2-3 page written response. Students will be informed of the timing of this final exam and other details as soon as possible.

**IV. Readings:** see below. All available via direct links or Moodle, \* = reading to be presented to the class by the designated student

## **V. Assignments and Grading**

- 30% - 1500 word essay in 12 font, Times New Roman, due 21 March
- 10% - In class presentation of assigned reading
- 10% - Class attendance and participation
- 50% - Written Final Exam

## **VI. Course Schedule:**

### **Part 1: A Background to American Foreign Policy:**

Lecture 1: Introduction to the Course, Diplomacy, and American Foreign Policy 17/01

- Thucydides, *Melian Dialogue, History of the Peloponnesian War* (Moodle)
- Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, 1994, Chapters 1 and 3 (Moodle)
- Black, Jeremy, *A History of Diplomacy*, University of Chicago Press, 2010, Introduction (Moodle)
- McDougal, Walter, *Promised Land, Crusader State*, 1997, Introduction (Moodle)
- Rousseau, Richard, *From Ancient Greek Diplomacy to Modern Summitry*, Diplomatic Courier, Fall 2011 (Moodle)

Lecture 2: The Origins of American Foreign Policy 24/01

- Hendrickson, David and Tucker, *Thomas Jefferson and Foreign Policy*, Foreign Affairs, Spring 1990 (Moodle)
- Mead, Walter Russell, *Special Providence*, 2001, Intro and Chapters 1-3 (Moodle)
- Mahan, Alfred, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 1890, Introduction and Chapter 1 (Moodle) (\*)
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, 1998 Chapter 1 (Moodle)
- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Chapter 2 (Moodle)

Lecture 3: American Foreign Policy during the Cold War 31/01

- Sestanovich, Stephen, *Maximalist*, 2014, Prologue and Chapter 1 (Moodle) (\*)
- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Chapters 17, 18, 28 and 29 (Moodle)

Lecture 4: Post-Cold War American Foreign Policy 07/02

- Sestanovich, Stephen, *Maximalist*, 2014, Chapters 10-12 (Moodle)

- Robert Kagan, *Not Fade Away, The Myth of American Decline*, New Republic, 11 January 2012 (Moodle) (\*)
- Nye, Joseph, (2002-2003), *Limits of American Power*, Political Science Quarterly 117, pp. 545-559 (Moodle)
- Nye, Joseph, (1990), *Soft Power*, Foreign Policy (Autumn, 1990) pp. 153-171 (Moodle)
- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Chapters 30 and 31 (Moodle)

## **Part 2: The Making of American Foreign Policy**

Lecture 5: Actors: Congress and the POTUS/NSC 14/02

- DeYoung, Karen, *How the Obama Administration Runs Foreign Policy*, Washington Post, 4 August 2015 (Moodle)
- Diehl, Jackson, *Trump's Foreign Policy has Devolved into Chaos*, Washington Post, 16 September 2018 (Moodle)
- McCormick, J. M., (2005), *American Foreign Policy and Process*. Thomson, Wadsworth, pp. 251-258 and 377-385 (Moodle)
- Johnson, Toni, *Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Council on Foreign Relations, January 24, 2013 (Moodle)
- Mead, Walter Russell, *The Jacksonian Revolt*, Hudson Institute, January 20, 2017 (Moodle) (\*)

Lecture 6: Actors: State Department 21/02

- *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR)*, Department of State, April 2015, 90 pages (Moodle) (\*)
- Department of State, *Organizational Chart: November 2016* (Moodle)
- McCormick, J. M., (2005), *American Foreign Policy and Process*. Thomson, Wadsworth, pp. 362-377 (Moodle)

Lecture 7: Actors: Intelligence community, American people, media, business, NGOs 07/03

- McCormick, J. M., (2005), *American Foreign Policy and Process*. Thomson, Wadsworth, pp. 425-449 (Moodle) (\*)

## **Part 3: American Foreign Policy and the New World Order**

(Note: The Part 3 readings are extensive. If pressed for time, read latest readings first)

Lecture 8: The War on Terror 14/03

- Obama, Barack, *Remarks by the President on the Administration's Approach to Counterterrorism*, MacDill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida, 6 December 2016 (Moodle) (\*)
- Mallay, Robert and Finer, Jon, *The Long Shadow of 9/11: How Counterterrorism Warps U.S. Foreign Policy*, Foreign Affairs, 14 June 2018

- Zimmerman, Katherine, *The Never-Ending War on Terror: Why the U.S. Keeps Fighting the Wrong Battle*, Foreign Affairs, 11 May 2018
- Walt, Stephen, *Just Say No, Why the United States Can't Kick the Bad Habit of Repeating Failed Campaigns in its War Against Terror*, Foreign Policy, 31 March 2015 (Moodle)
- Monaco, Lisa, *Preventing the Next Attack, A Strategy for the War on Terrorism*, Foreign Affairs, 16 October 2017 (Moodle)
- Clarke, Colin, *How ISIS is Transforming, Why Predictions of its Demise are Premature*, Foreign Affairs, 25 September 2017 (Moodle)

Lecture 9: The Rise of China (Essay Due)

21/03

- Campbell, Kurt and Ratner, Ely, *The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations*, Foreign Affairs, 13 February 2018
- Misc., *Did America Get China Wrong? The Engagement Debate*, Foreign Affairs, 14 June 2018
- Talmadge, Colin, *Beijing's Nuclear Option: Why a U.S.-Chinese War Could Spiral Out of Control*, Foreign Affairs, 15 October 2018
- Liu, Yadong, *How Trump's Policies are Helping China: Beijing Still Can't Believe its Luck*, Foreign Affairs, 28 Sept 2018
- Mearsheimer, *Can China Rise Peacefully*, National Interest, 25 October 2014 (Moodle) (\*)
- Larmer, Brook, *Is China the World's New Colonial Power*, New York Times Magazine, 2 May 2017 (Moodle)
- Lind, Jennifer, *Asia's Other Revisionist Power, Why U.S. Grand Strategy Unnerves China*, Foreign Affairs, 13 February 2017 (Moodle)
- <http://thediplomat.com/2016/08/us-foreign-policy-in-the-face-of-a-might-makes-right-china/>
- <http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/06/09/chinas-place-in-u-s-foreign-policy/>

Lecture 10: The Resurgence of Russia

28/03

- Kendall-Taylor, Andrea and Shullman, David, *How Russia and China Undermine Democracy: Can the West Counter the Threat?* Foreign Affairs, 2 October 2018
- McFaul, Michael, *The U.S. Needs a Russia Strategy Now More than Ever: The Real Lesson from the Helsinki Summit*, Foreign Affairs, 18 July 2018
- Gould-Davies, Nigel, *Sanctions on Russia are Working: Why it's important to Keep up the Pressure*, Foreign Affairs, 22 August 2018
- Olikier, Olga, *Moscow's Nuclear Enigma: What is Russia's Arsenal Really For?* Foreign Affairs, 15 October 2018
- Graham, Thomas & Rojansky, Matthew, *America's Russia Policy Has Failed*, Foreign Policy, 13 October 2016 (Moodle)
- Daalder, Ivo, *Responding to Russia's Resurgence, Not Quiet on the Eastern Front*, Foreign Affairs, 16 October 2017 (Moodle) (\*)
- Menon, Rajan & Ruger, William, *The Trouble With Arming Ukraine, Sending Lethal Weapons Would Backfire*, Foreign Affairs, 11 October 2017 (Moodle)
- <https://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/generational-change-and-future-us-russian-relations>

Lecture 11: Toward a Trumpian Grand Foreign Policy Strategy

04/04

- Kagan, Robert, *A Jungle Grows Back*, September 2018, 192 pages
- Allison, Graham, *The Truth About the Liberal Order: Why it Didn't Make the Modern World*, Foreign Affairs, 28 August 2018
- Mazarr, Michael, *The Real History of the Liberal Order: Neither Myth Nor Accident*, Foreign Affairs, 7 August 2018
- Friedman Lissner, Rebecca and Rapp-Hooper, Mira, *The Liberal Order is More than a Myth: But it Must Adapt to the New Balance of Power*, Foreign Affairs, 31 July 2018
- Popescu, Ionut, *Trump Doesn't Need a Grand Strategy: Why Planning is Overrated*, Foreign Affairs, 21 May 2018
- Ikenberry, John, *The Plot Against American Foreign Policy, Can the Liberal Order Survive*, Foreign Affairs, 17 April 2017 (Moodle) (\*)
- Mearsheimer, John & Walt, Stephen, *The Case for Offshore Balancing, A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy*, Foreign Affairs, 13 June 2016 (Moodle)
- Mazarr, Michael, *The Once and Future Order, What Comes After Hegemony*, Foreign Affairs, 12 December 2016 (Moodle)

Lecture 12: Conclusions (or “Takeaways”)

11/04

### ESSAY TOPICS

- Discuss the roots of the Trump Administration’s “America First” foreign policy, outlining its historical and philosophical antecedents as covered in Section One.
- Discuss how the Trump Administration’s foreign policy-making process differs from or is similar to that of its predecessors, focusing on the roles of the “Actors” discussed in Section Two.