

**PSCI 4606
American Foreign Policy
Monday 2:35 – 5:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

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I. Course Description and Objectives

This seminar focuses on the evolution of American grand strategy. Grand strategy involves the identification and prioritization of (a) national interests, goals, and objectives; (b) potential threats to such interests; and (c) deciding how best to employ military, political, and economic resources to protect those interests. Debates about American grand strategy are deeply influenced by competing conceptions of the position and interests of the United States in the world. There is, therefore, a close relationship between the study of grand strategy and international relations theory. This seminar will examine the theoretical underpinnings of American grand strategy from the end of World War Two to the present. We will carefully consider the theoretical frameworks, primarily different versions of liberalism and realism, which have informed the debate on American grand strategy. In addition to emphasizing theory, the seminar accentuates the importance of history to understanding American grand strategy from the conclusion of World War Two to the Obama administration.

We begin with the period that followed the Second World War when the United States had a preponderance of power and sought to construct a liberal international order. Yet this was short lived because the United States faced the Soviet Union during the Cold War and had to adopt a grand strategy to deal with the Soviet threat. Following the unexpected conclusion of the Cold War, the United States found itself to be the sole super power. One of the debates that arose from this development was what type of grand strategy the United States should adopt now that the international system was characterized by unipolarity. This is the appropriate context for examining the Bush administration's grand strategy that followed the 9/11 terrorist attack on NYC and Washington, DC. We next examine the question of whether or not the United States is now a declining power and consider the grand strategy options the United States has for responding to an international system that is characterized by changes in the relative distribution of power; specifically a policy of restraint. Finally, we conclude with the Obama presidency and evaluate the type of grand strategy that his administration has attempted to implement.

The main objective of the course is for students to understand the theoretical underpinnings of, and debates about, American grand strategy. Students should be able to comprehend the significant theoretical and policy debates that have characterized the history of American grand strategy. Students are expected to grasp the role that theory plays in shaping the debate on American grand strategy. Students should develop an appropriate historical understanding of

these debates and recognize how they continue to impact contemporary debates. By the end of the course a student should be able to identify and understand the major theoretical and policy debates that have characterized the study and practice of American foreign policy. Students should also be conversant with the post-World War Two history of American grand strategy.

II. Course Texts

There are four required texts for the course that are available for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore. The required texts have also been placed on reserve at the Carleton University library. All of the other assigned readings have been placed on reserve in the library (reserve readings are indicated on the syllabus with an **(R)**). You can access many of the assigned journal articles by using JSTOR and other search engines that are available through the Carleton University library website (<http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca>). All of the assigned readings can also be accessed through ARES, which can be found on the course CUlearn website.

1. Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
2. G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
3. Barry R. Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
4. Colin Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

III. Course Requirements and Grading Policy

- A. Class Participation.....15%
- B. Oral Presentation.....15%
- C. Book Review Assignment 1.....20%
Due Dates: February 6 (Ikenberry) or March 6 (Layne)
- D. Book Review Assignment 2.....20%
Due Dates: March 27 (Posen) or April 3 (Dueck)
- E. Take-home Final Exam.....30%
Due Date: April 10

IV. Explanations

A. Your presence and active participation in class is an integral part of this course. Since the course is a seminar you are required to participate actively in class discussions. The reason for this is simple; seminars do not work if there is no student participation. It is necessary that you complete all reading assignments prior to coming to class so that you are fully prepared to engage the assigned material. We will be discussing the assigned material in class and if you fail to participate in class discussions and do not engage the assigned material this will be taken

as a sign of inadequate preparation and result in a grade reduction. Attendance is mandatory and missing class will result in a grade reduction. In addition to attendance, your class participation grade will be determined by both the quantity and quality of your comments in class. After each class, I will note whether you participated at a high, medium, or low level. This will be reflected in your overall class participation grade.

B. Students will select a date on which they will be responsible for summarizing and raising pertinent questions about the assigned reading. Students will work in pairs and together be responsible for discussing the assigned material, raising questions for class discussion, and preparing a handout that identifies the key themes of the reading and sets forth a number of discussion questions. Your presentation should go beyond merely summarizing the reading (all students are expected to have completed the reading). Please do not simply read your presentation. Please do not simply repeat exactly what is written in the articles or chapters that you are presenting. The function of discussion leaders is not to regurgitate the assigned readings, but rather to engage the material, highlight the main points, and get the class involved in debating and discussing the material. Your aim is to engage the material, to highlight the main points, raise critical issues, critique the material, and get the class involved in debating and discussing the material. Each presentation should be about 15 minutes followed by your questions and class discussion.

Since you are working together in pairs, one person should strive to highlight three or four good points about the reading and the other person should highlight some of the weaknesses and critical points about the reading.

You will be evaluated on the basis of the substance and style of the presentation as well as by the quality of your hand-out and discussion questions. I will especially be looking for evidence that you have carefully read and thought about the assigned readings. Your presentation is expected to cover the main points, issues, and arguments that arise from the readings. The discussion questions are an important component of the presentation and time and energy should be devoted to formulating good questions.

C. You are responsible for writing **two** 6-8 page book reviews of the books we are reading this semester. One review should be of either Ikenberry or Layne and the second review should be of Posen or Dueck. The due dates for each of the book reviews can be found in section three of the course outline (see above).

There are two main aims of this assignment. First, you should provide a concise summary of the book (the main argument, the theoretical framework, organization of the book, type of evidence employed, ect.). The second aim is to link the book you are reviewing to the course material and the debates and issues that have been raised in the assigned reading. In fulfilling these two aims, you should also be critically evaluating the book that you have selected. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the book, how convincing is the author's argument, how important of a contribution has the book made to the study of American foreign policy?

Additional questions to consider when writing your book review:

What are the author's viewpoint and purpose?

What are the author's main points?

How does this book relate the other books on the same topic?

How successful was the author in carrying out the overall purposes of the book?

Is the evidence that is provided compelling?

If you have never written or read a book review, you should take some time and read some book reviews that have been written in academic journals or a quality newspaper such as the *New York Times* book review section that appears every Sunday. Late review essays will be penalized at the rate of one letter grade a day (e.g. B+ to B for one day late).

D. The final exam will be a take-home exam. The questions will be distributed in class on April 3 and the assignment is due on April 10 at 4:00 p.m. The paper should be handed-in to me at my office (Loeb D690) by 4:00 p.m. Please do NOT use the Political Science drop box; the paper should be turned-in directly to me in my office. There are no exceptions to this due date and late papers will receive a zero. There will likely be two or three questions to answer and each answer should be approximately 5- 7 pages long (typed and double-spaced). More information about the final exam will be provided at the end of the term.

V. Other Guidelines

- To obtain credit in this course, students must meet all of the course requirements. Failure to complete all of the assignments will result in a failing grade for the course.
- Late assignments will be downgraded one letter-grade category per day. For example, a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B.

VI. Topics and Reading List

Week One (Jan. 9) Course Introduction/IR Theory and Grand Strategy

- Brian C. Schmidt, "Theories of US Foreign Policy," in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes eds., *US Foreign Policy, 2nd ed.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 5-20. (R).

Week Two (Jan. 16) Liberal Hegemony

- Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, chs. 1-3.

Week Three (Jan. 23) A Liberal Grand Strategy

- Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, chs. 4,5.
- G. John Ikenberry, "America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-war Era," in Michael Cox, G. John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi eds., *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 103-126. (R).

Week Four (Jan. 30) The Future of Liberal Order

- Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, chs. 6-8.

Week Five (Feb. 6) A Hegemonic Grand Strategy

- Layne, *Peace of Illusions*, Introduction, chs. 1-2.

Week Six (Feb. 13) Containment

- Layne, *Peace of Illusions*, chs. 3-5

Week Seven (Feb. 20) No class

Week Eight (Feb. 27) Offshore Balancing

- Layne, *Peace of Illusions*, chs. 6-8
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Case for Offshore Balancing," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 95, No. 4 (July/August 2016): 70-83. **(R)**.

Week Nine (March 6) The Perils of Liberal Hegemony

- Posen, *Restraint*, chs. Introduction, 1

Week Ten (March 13) Imperial Temptations

- G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs* (Vol. 81, No. 5 (September/October 2002): 44-60. **(R)**
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Imperial by Design," *The National Interest*, No. 111 (January/February 2010), pp. 16-34. **(R)**
- Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," in Demetrios James Caraley ed., *American Hegemony: Preventive War, Iraq and Imposing Democracy* (New York: Academy of Political Science, 2004): 3-26. **(R)**
- Melvyn P. Leffler, "Bush's Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy* 144 (September-October 2004): 22-28. **(R)**

Week Eleven (March 20) Restraint

- Posen, *Restraint*, chs. 2- Conclusion

Week Twelve (March 27) Obama's Grand Strategy

- Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine*, chs. 1-3

Week Thirteen (April 3) Conservative Alternatives

- Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine*, chs. 4-5

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD),

Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/>

or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.