

Carleton University
Fall 2019
Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

PSCI 4606A
American Foreign Policy
Friday 11:35 – 2:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Dr. Brian C. Schmidt
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Office Hours: Monday 10-12, Thursday 12-2
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I. Course Description and Objectives

Since the end of World War Two it is widely believed that the United States has been committed to a liberal grand strategy. Moreover, many believe that the pursuit of a liberal grand strategy has been beneficial to both the United States and most of the world. This seminar focuses on the attempt by American foreign policymakers to create and maintain a liberal hegemonic order. The course critically challenges some of the conventional wisdom about the character and merits of a liberal grand strategy. We begin by investigating the foreign policy that American foreign policymakers pursued after World War Two. Ikenberry describes this foreign policy as an attempt to create a liberal international order. Layne, on the other hand, describes the Cold War foreign policy of the United States as a commitment to the quest for global hegemony. After comparing and contrasting these two diametrically competing accounts of American foreign policy, we turn to the recent debate on the merits and wisdom of the United States continuing to pursue a liberal grand strategy. We consider what both proponents and critics have to say about the current direction of American foreign policy. We conclude by examining a range of possible American foreign policy options: primacy, restraint, America first, and offshore balancing.

The main objective of the course is for students to understand the theoretical underpinnings of, and debates about, contemporary American foreign policy. By the end of the course, students will be familiar with the meaning of, and controversies associated with, a liberal hegemonic foreign policy. Students will be able to identify and understand the arguments of a number of different foreign policy scholars. Students will be conversant with the different foreign policy options that are available to the United States. A thorough understanding of these policy options includes the ability to identify the strengths and weaknesses of each strategy. The overall objective of the course is for students to acquire knowledge about contemporary American foreign policy.

II. Course Texts

There are three required texts for the course, which are available for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore. The required texts have been placed on reserve at the Carleton University library. All of the 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 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. Stephen M. Walt, *The Hell of Good Intentions: America's Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018).

III. Course Requirements and Grading Policy

- A. Class Participation.....15%
- B. Oral Presentation.....15%
- C. Reaction/Evaluation Assignment.....15%
Due Date: October 18
- D. Book Review Assignment.....20%
Due Date: November 22
- E. Take-home Final Exam.....35%
Due Date: December 6

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.

B. Students will select a date on which they will be responsible for discussing either the strengths or weaknesses of the assigned reading. Students will work in pairs (in some cases as a trio) and together be responsible for assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the assigned material. 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 the assigned reading material. The function of the 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 strengths and weaknesses, and get the class involved in debating and discussing the material.

C. Students are required to write a **5 page** reaction/evaluation paper that summarizes and critically evaluates the material assigned for a given week between the dates of September 6 and October 18. **The assignment is due in class on October 18.** The essay should be more than a mere summary of the reading. Your aim is to engage the material and situate it within the larger debate on American foreign policy. What is the argument that the author is making and why is it important? Does the author support his argument? What is your assessment of the argument/material?

D. Students are required to write a **7- 8** page review of a book dealing with contemporary American foreign policy. **The book review is due November 22.** There are many books that you can select to read. The course outline includes a list of recommendations that you may wish to consider. You must not review an edited book or textbook. You should let me know in advance the book that you have selected to read and review.

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 your chosen book to the course material and the debates and issues that have been raised in the assigned reading. How does your book speak to the themes and issues raised in the class? 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?

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).

E. The final exam will be a take-home exam. The questions will be distributed in class on November 29 and the assignment is due on **December 6 at 2:30 p.m.** You should hand-in the paper directly to me at my office (Loeb B657) by 2:30 p.m. Please do NOT use the Political Science drop box; please submit the exam 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 (September 6)

Course Introduction

- 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).
- Brian C. Schmidt, "The Debate on American Hegemony" Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, Berlin, Germany, June 13, 2019. <https://doc-research.org/2019/06/the-debate-on-american-hegemony/>

Week Two (September 13)

Liberal International Order

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

Recommended

Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York: Penguin Publishers, 2014).

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

Thomas Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Week Three (September 20)

A Liberal Hegemonic 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).

Recommended

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

Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Frank Ninkovich, *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Jeffrey Legro, *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Week Four (September 27)

A Hegemonic Grand Strategy

- Layne, *Peace of Illusions*, chs. 1-5.

Recommended

Christopher Layne, "The 'Poster Child for Offensive Realism': America as a Global Hegemon," *Security Studies* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Winter 2002/2003): 120-164. (R)

Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of American Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

Thomas J. McCormick, *America's Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1962).

Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978).

Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Week Five (October 4)

Bush's Misadventures in Afghanistan and Iraq

- Monten, J. (2005) "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *International Security*, 29 (4): 112-156. (R)
- Hurst, S. (2005) "Myths of neoconservatism: George W. Bush's "neo-conservative" foreign policy revisited," *International Politics*, 42 (1): 75-96. (R)
- Russell, J. (2014) "Counterinsurgency American Style: Considering David Petraus and twenty-first century irregular war," *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 25 (1): 69-90. (R)

Recommended

Robert Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Timothy J. Lynch and Robert S. Singh, *After Bush: The Case for Continuity in American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006).

Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003).

Dexter Filkins, *The Forever War* (New York: Knopf, 2008).

Andrew C. Bacevich, *America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History* (New York: Random House, 2016).

Week Six (October 11)

Crisis of the Liberal International Order

- Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, chs. 6 and 7.
- Layne, *Peace of Illusions*, chs. 6 and 7.

Recommended

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

David Calleo, *Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy* (New York: Cambridge University press, 2009).

Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005).

Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Week Seven (October 18) Liberalism – A Flawed Strategy?

- Walt, *The Hell of Good Intentions*, chs. 1 and 2.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order," *International Security* 43, 4 (Spring 2019): 7-50. **(R)**

Recommended

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

David C. Hendrickson, *Republic in Peril: American Empire and the Liberal Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Week Eight (October 25) No Class – Fall Break

Week Nine (November 1) Liberalism and America's Foreign Policy Elite

- Walt, *The Hell of Good Intentions*, chs. 3-6.

Recommended

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007).

James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (New York: Viking, 2004).

Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and the Global Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Derek Chollett and James Goldgeier, *America Between the Wars From 11/9 to 9/11* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008).

Mike Lofgren, *The Deep State: The Fall of the Constitution and the Rise of a Shadow Government* (New York: Viking, 2016).

Week Ten (November 8) Preserving America's Liberal International Order

- Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, ch. 8.
- Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home, America: The Case Against Retrenchment," *International Security* 37, 3 (Winter 2012/13): 7-51. **(R)**
- Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal World: The Resilient Order," *Foreign Affairs* 97, 1 (July/August 2018): 16-24. **(R)**

Recommended

Charles Krauthammer, *Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World*

(Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 2004).
Robert Kagan, *The World America Made* (New York: Vintage, 2013).
Robert Kagan, *The Return of History and the End of Dreams* (New York: Knopf, 2008).
Francis Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
G. John Ikenberry and Anne-Marie Slaughter, *Forging a World of Liberty under Law* (Princeton: Woodrow Wilson School of International and Public Affairs, 2006).
T.G. Ash, *Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West* (New York: Random House, 2004).
Robert J. Lieber, *The American Era: Power and Strategy for the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21st Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Week Eleven (November 15)

Decline and Retrenchment

- Barry Posen, "The Case for Restraint," *American Interest* Vol. 3, 1 (November/December 2007): 7-17. **(R)**
- Barry R. Posen, "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 92, No. 1 (January/February 2013): 116-128. **(R)**
- Christopher Layne, "This Time It's Real: The End of Unipolarity and the Pax Americana," *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 1 (March 2012): 201-212. **(R)**
- Paul K. MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent, "Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment," *International Security* 35 (Summer 2011): 7-44. **(R)**

Recommended

Charles A. Kupchan, *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).
Donald W. White, *The American Century: The Rise and Decline of the United States as a World Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).
Fareed Zakaria, *Post-American World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008).
Aaron Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America and the Struggle for the Mastery of Asia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011).
Nina Hachigian and Mona Sutphen, *The Next American Century: How the U.S. Can Thrive as Other Powers Rise* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008).
Barry Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Week Twelve (November 22)

Trump and America First

- Walt, *The Hell of Good Intentions*, ch. 6.
- Barry R. Posen, "The Rise of Illiberal Hegemony: Trump's Surprising Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 92, 2 (March/April 2018): 20- 27. **(R)**
- Doug Stokes, "Trump, American Hegemony and the Future of the Liberal International Order," *International Affairs*, 94, 1 (2018): 133-150. **(R)**
- Charles A. Kupchan, "The Clash of Exceptionalism," *Foreign Affairs* 92, 2 (March/April 2018): 139-148. **(R)**

President Trump's National Security Strategy,

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>

Recommended

Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership* (New York: Public Affairs, 2018).

Richard Haas, *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018).

David Frum, *Trumpocracy: The Corruption of the American Republic* (New York: Harper, 2018).

Week Thirteen (November 29) Offshore Balancing

- Layne, *Peace of Illusions*, ch. 8, Conclusion.
- Walt, *The Hell of Good Intentions*, ch. 7.

Recommended

Hans J. Morgenthau, *In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951).

Nicholas J. Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942).

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York; W.W. Norton, 2001).

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your

instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.