



**US Foreign Policy:
America's Role in the World
GOVT 344
The Fund For American Studies
The Institute on Economics & International Affairs
George Mason University
Summer 2019**

Instructor: Gary Armstrong, William Jewell College
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Class Time: Monday, 6:00PM 8:30PM; Thursday, 6:00PM-8:30PM
Location: Founders Hall

Course Description: Since 9/11, American foreign policy has changed enormously. Consider some of the major signposts: the policies of "preemption," the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and their aftermath, the strategy to encourage democratization and liberalization, the "pivot to Asia," to "America First!"— running a spectrum from maximalism to retrenchment. The changes have occasioned some of the most serious debates about the basic objectives of American foreign policy and about the foundations of American security. One of the most surprising elements of the debates is how much of it remains poorly informed about the history of American foreign policy. This course aims to engage students first in a series of "great episodes" in American foreign policy, aiming at relating them to current problems. The course will then examine national security policy since 9/11. Finally, the course will conclude with a "think-tank" exercise where students will consider major schools of thought about American "grand strategy" and relate them to a major policy problem which any new American administration is likely to face.

This course will presume no background in American diplomatic history or international relations.

Course Objectives: Students will 1) encounter two enduring views of America's role in the world, the Realist and the Wilsonian, 2) engage major episodes in American foreign policy highlighting the debates about American leadership in world politics; 3) participate in a "think-tank" exercise, adopting and defending a general strategic view against challengers and then applying it to policy options for the United States.

Course Readings: All reading assignments are to be completed before the class period for which they are assigned. The required texts are:

- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1995)

In addition, some course material may be assigned and available through Internet materials or on the course Blackboard site (marked "BB").

Course Requirements:

1. Attend all classes. More than one unauthorized absence will result in a one-third letter grade deduction per unauthorized absence.
2. Register at course Blackboard site; submit some assignments through Blackboard and/or Turnitin.
3. Midterm exam: this exam will include multiple choice, "identifications," and an analytical essay.
4. Seminar Reaction Paper: students will react to one of the seminar session topics
5. Final Essay: students will defend the grand strategy perspective they find most persuasive.

Grading: Student grades will be based on the following:

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|---------------------------|-----|
| 1. Midterm | 30% |
| 2. Seminar Reaction Paper | 30% |
| 3. Final essay | 40% |

Note: all assignments must be completed to pass this course. This course will conform to the general grading policies of George Mason University at <http://www.gmu.edu/academics/catalog/0203/apolicies/examsgrades.html>.

Course Policies:

1. Late work: Assignments may be submitted late only with prior authorization and will normally incur a significant penalty.
2. Academic Dishonesty: This class will have a "Zero Tolerance Policy." Cheating on quizzes or exams may result in a failing grade for the assignment or the course, or disciplinary action from TFAS and/or GMU. Plagiarism, or the unattributed borrowing of another person's ideas in written work, will constitute cheating and will be dealt with as such. This course will use Turnitin, an internet-based plagiarism detection program, for some course assignments. Students will submit papers to Turnitin.com, which then part of its database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism.
3. Professorial Prerogative: The instructor reserves the right to make changes in the syllabus. Major changes will be made only after announcement in at least one class meeting.

Course Outline

- I. Prisms: Realism & Wilsonianism
- II. Key Watersheds
 - a. The Founders: T Roosevelt vs Wilson
 - Special Problem: Exceptionalism
 - b. Wilson's Moment: Building a New Order After First World War – What Went Wrong
 - Special Problem: National Self-Determination
 - c. Truman Revolution & Cold War: Building a New Order after Second World War – What Went Right

- d. Cold War: Containment, Victory, & Democracy
 - Special Problem: Overthrowing Democracies (Debating 1953, 1954, 1973)
 - Special Problem: Human Rights & the Soviet Empire
- III. Gyration: Bush, Obama, & Trump
 - a. Strategy, States, & Democratization
 - b. Obama & Retrenchment
 - c. Trump: Where is this going?
- IV. Current Problem (i.e., cyberwar, drone strikes, or surveillance & Snowden)
- V. Grand Strategy Agenda for the Next President
 - a. Primacy
 - b. Neo-Isolationism
 - c. Liberal Internationalism

Tentative Schedule of Assignments

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| M | 6/10 | <p>I. Worldviews: Realists & Wilsonians</p> <p>Read: Kissinger, "The Hinge" (Chap 2)</p> <p>Seminar Session: Exceptionalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seymour Martin Lipset, "Exceptionalism" (excerpt) at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/americanexceptionalism.htm |
| TH | 6/13 | <p>II. Watersheds</p> <p>"Wilson's Moment"</p> <p>Read:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kissinger, "The New Face of Diplomacy: Wilson & the Treaty of Versailles" (Chap 9) <p>Special Moment: 1914 / 2014 – The Rise of Germany, the Rise of China...Is it the same thing all over again?</p> <p>Seminar Session: America & The Problem of National Self-Determination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read on Kurdistan problem • Podcast: Are there standards for justified secession? |
| M | 6/17 | <p>Truman Revolution</p> <p>Read:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kissinger, "The Success & Pain of Containment" (Chap 18) <p>Seminar Session: America & Overthrowing Democracies (1953, 1954, 1973)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tony Smith, "Eisenhower & His Legacy, 1953-77," pp. 180-99 (partial chapter) (BB) |
| TH | 6/20 | <p>Competing Revolutions: Nixon & Reagan</p> |

Read:

- Kissinger, “Foreign Policy as Geopolitics: Nixon’s Triangular Diplomacy” (Chap 28)
- Kissinger, “The End of the Cold War: Reagan & Gorbachev” (Chap 30)

Seminar Session: When should values matter? The Debate over “Jackson-Vanik”

M 6/24 **III. Reagan & Bush Revolutions**

On Reagan:

- Kissinger, “The End of the Cold War: Reagan & Gorbachev” (Chap 30)
- “Defense Policy Guidance” (1992) (BB)

On Bush

- Recommended: Watch key chapters of “Bush’s War” at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/bushswar/>
 - Chap 1 (length: 11:56), Chap 2 (9:43), Chap 3 (9:36), Chap 6 (7:49), Chap 8 (10:37), Chap 12 (11:35), Chap 13 (9:22), Chap 14 (9:31)
- President Bush, National Security Strategy, 2002:
 - Summary: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-020920.htm>
 - Some Excerpts: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2002/09/mil-020920-usia02.htm>
 - National Security Strategy of the US (2002), Read opening statement carefully: <http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2002/>

Seminar: Can Preventive War be Justified?

Our seminar will explore whether “preventive war or attack” can be justified. Preventive war has a special definition. Cases of Preventive use of military force include: 1956 Israel attack on Egypt, 1962 Cuba Missile Crisis, 1981 Israel air strike on Iraqi nuclear program, 2003 Iraq War, 2007 Israel strike on Syrian nuclear program.

- Read “Preemptive War” article at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Preemptive_war. (We will distinguish “preemptive” and “preventive.”) Pay particular attention to Michael Walzer’s proposed standards.
- Suggested: Anthony Arend, “International Law and the Preemptive Use of Force” (BB)

- TH 6/27 **Obama: Retrenchment as Strategy**
- Sestanovich, *The Maximalist* (extract) (BB)
 - “The Quiet Fury of Robert Gates,” extract from his memoir, WSJ, 1/7/2014, at http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304617404579306851526222552?mod=WSJ_hps_MIDDLENexttoWhatsNewsFort_h
- Trump: Where Is This Going?**
- Kahl & Brands, “Trump’s Grand Strategy Train Wreck,” *Foreign Policy*, Jan 2017, at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/31/trumps-grand-strategic-train-wreck/>
 - Osnos, Remnick & Yaffa, “Trump, Putin, & The New Cold War,” *New Yorker*, March 2017, at <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/03/06/trump-putin-and-the-new-cold-war>
- M 7/1 **Exam**
- M 7/8 **IV. Current National Security Problem: Drone Strike Policy (We will choose a current problem: drone strike policy, cyberwar, or surveillance – the assignments below are illustrative.)**
- Database Comparisons. Examine these competing databases. Look carefully at their methodologies, especially in how they count civilians.
 - New America Foundation: <http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/pakistan-analysis.html>
 - Bureau of Investigative Journalism database at <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/category/projects/drones/drones-graphs/>
 - “Foggy Numbers in Obama’s Wars,” WP, 5/22/2016, at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-foggy-numbers-of-obamas-wars-and-non-wars/2016/05/22/5648b798-1d2f-11e6-b6e0-c53b7ef63b45_story.html
 - President Obama’s Policy:
 - Address on War on AQ and Drone Strike policy, 2013, at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university>
 - “Election (in 2012) spurred move to codify US drone strike policy,” NYT, 11/24/2012, at http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/25/world/white-house-presses-for-drone-rule-book.html?_r=0

- PBS Frontline, “Former CIA Drone Chief Questions Policy,” 2011, at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/former-cia-drone-chief-question/>
- Dan De Luce, “Obama’s Most Dangerous Drone Tactic Is Here to Stay,” <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/05/obamas-most-dangerous-drone-tactic-is-here-to-stay/>
- On Proportionality:
 - Micah Zenkoh, “Drones Kill More Pilots Than Civilians Do,” *Foreign Policy*, at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/25/drones-kill-more-civilians-than-pilots-do/>
 - Charli Carpenter & Laina Shaikhouni, “Don’t Fear the Reaper,” *Foreign Policy*, June 7, 2011, at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/07/dont_fear_the_reaper?page=full
- On International Law:
 - Anderson & Waxman, “Killer Robots and the Laws of War,” *WSJ* 11/3/13, at http://www.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304655104579163361884479576?mod=WSJ_Opinion_LEADTop
- Videos:
 - “Unmanned: America’s Drone Wars” (1 hr), at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpzk7OdbjBw>
 - PBS Nova, “Rise of the Drones” (52:24), at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ikuu2VU2WCK>

- TH 7/11 Current National Security Problem: Cyber-war – what if others do it?
- BBC, “China Military Unit Behind Prolific Hacking,” 2/19/2013 at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-21502088>
 - “Chinese Army Unit Is Seen as Tied to Hacking Against US,” 2/18/2013, at http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/19/technology/chinas-army-is-seen-as-tied-to-hacking-against-us.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&_ga=2.11111111.11111111.11111111.11111111
 - James Lewis, “5 Myths About Chinese Hackers,” *W Post*, 3/22/2013, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-chinese-hackers/2013/03/22/4aa07a7e-7f95-11e2-8074-b26a871b165a_story.html
 - “US Eyes Preemptive Cyber-Defense Strategy,” *W Post*, 8/29/2010 at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/28/AR2010082803312.html>
 - “US to Rev Up Hacking Fight,” *WSJ*, 5/23/2014 at http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303749904579580453314299412?mod=WSJ_hp_LEFTTopStories&mg=reno64-wsj&cb=logged0.8401821297593415
 - Shane Harris, “Inside the FBI’s Fight Against Chinese Cyber Espionage,” *Foreign Policy*, 5/27/2014 at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/05/27/exclusive_inside_the_fbi_s_fight_against_chinese_cyber_espionage
 - “Is Indicting Chinese Hackers a Smart Move or Dumb Strategy,” *For Pol*, 5/20/2014 at

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/05/20/China_hackers_PLA_indictment

- “China-US Cyber Dialogue,” PBS Newshour, 7/2013, at https://s3.amazonaws.com/pbs-ingest/newshour/video/2013/07/08/20130708_cybercrime.mp4
- “Timeline: Key Events in Cyber History,” *W Post*, 6/3/2012, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/investigative/zeroday/cyber-history-timeline/index.html>

M 7/15 V. **Strategic Worldviews & America’s Agenda**

A. Neo-Isolationism or Offshore Balancing

Read:

- Christopher Layne & Benjamin Schwarz, “A New Grand Strategy,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan 2002 (BB)
- John Mearsheimer & Stephen Walt, “The Case for Offshore Balancing,” *Foreign Affairs*, July-Aug 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-13/case-offshore-balancing> (or BB)

Think Tank Exercise: Ukraine Crisis

- Background: See video, PBS Newshour “New Fault Line Series”
 - “US-NATO Troop Buildup” (9:35) at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/u-s-nato-troop-buildup-in-eastern-europe-to-counter-russians-is-largest-since-cold-war/>
 - “Tiny Estonia – Detering Russia Needs Backup” (9:15) at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/for-tiny-estonia-detering-russia-requires-major-backup/>
 - “Desire to Break Free Keeps Donetsk Fighting Going” (10:46) at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/desire-to-break-free-from-ukraine-keeps-devastated-donetsk-fighting%E2%80%8B/>
- Analytical Problem: What are Russia’s objectives?
 - Putin speech on Annexation of Crimea, in Backgrounder, Council on Foreign Relations at <http://www.cfr.org/ukraine/do-russia-ukraine/p33402>
 - Putin sets out peace terms for Ukraine, *WSJ*, 9/4/14 at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/putin-sets-out-peace-terms-for-ukraine-1409790111>
 - Prof. Angela Stent testimony to Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 2014, at http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Stent_Testmony.pdf
- The “It’s the West’s Fault Debate”
 - John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2014. At <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault> (Read some of the responses.)

- Anne Applebaum, “The Myth of Russia’s humiliation,” WP, 10/17/2014 at http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/anne-applebaum-nato-pays-a-heavy-price-for-giving-russia-too-much-credits-true-achievement-under-threat/2014/10/17/5b3a6f2a-5617-11e4-809b-8cc0a295c773_story.html
- The Geopolitics
 - NYT, Ukraine Crisis in Maps, http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/02/27/world/europe/ukraine-divisions-crimea.html?_r=0
 - Current Ukraine Incident Map at <http://liveuamap.com>

TH 7/18 **B. Primacy: American Leadership & Reform**

Read: Lieber, “Caveat Empire: How to Think About American Power” (pp.11-38) (BB)

Think-Tank Exercise: South China Sea

Situation Background:

- Washington Post, “5 Stories You Really Need to Read to Understand the SCS Ruling,” at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/07/12/5-stories-you-need-to-read-to-understand-the-south-china-sea-ruling/>
- International Crisis Group Backgrounder at http://blog.crisisgroup.org/asia/2016/07/08/south-china-sea-the-positions-and-the-facts/?utm_source=Sign+Up+to+Crisis+Group's+Email+Updates&utm_campaign=3f238befb7-south_china_sea_8juil16&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_1dab8c11ea-3f238befb7-359238281
- Andrew Browne, “China Shrugs Off US, Confident of Its Allure,” WSJ, at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/china-shrugs-off-u-s-confident-in-its-magnetic-allure-1465298883>
- Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, “Mapping China’s Maritime Disputes” at <http://www.cfr.org/asia-and-pacific/chinas-maritime-disputes/p31345#!/>

Geopolitics:

- BBC, Submarines & Rivalries Beneath the SCS at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36574590>

Key Chinese Views:

- On Dai Bingguo (former National Security Assistant) at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/chinese-diplomat-warns-on-sea-ruling-1467860885>. His speech at <http://au.china-embassy.org/eng/xw/t1377747.htm>

- Fu Ying, “Why China Says No to the Arbitration,” at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/10/why-china-says-no-to-the-arbitration-on-the-south-china-sea/>
- “The Fight Inside China” at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/23/the-fight-inside-china-over-the-south-china-sea-beijing-divided-three-camps/>

Analysis:

- MT Fravel, “The Dangerous Math of Chinese Island Disputes,” WSJ at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203922804578082371509569896> (I will explain more of Fravel’s argument in class)
- Democratic Players Create Maritime Order (on US, India, Japan) at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-india-japan-begin-to-shape-new-order-on-asias-high-seas-1466005545>

US Policy Options:

- See Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, “Mapping China’s Maritime Disputes” at <http://www.cfr.org/asia-and-pacific/chinas-maritime-disputes/p31345#!/>

General IR Debates with American Scholars

- John Mearsheimer vs. Joseph Nye Debate Rise of China, at <http://thediplomat.com/2015/07/mearsheimer-vs-nye-on-the-rise-of-china/>
- Interview with Mearsheimer, “On Strangling China’s Rise” at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/peter-navarro-and-greg-auntry/mearsheimer-on-strangling_b_9417476.html (Note Mearsheimer’s argument that China is a “revisionist power.”)

M 7/22 C. Liberal Internationalism

Read: Joseph Nye

- Joseph Nye, “Recovering American Leadership,” *Survival*, Feb-Mar 2008, pp. 55-68 (BB)
- Nye, “Soft Power Skills,” Carnegie Center lecture, at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=to7VXeXtNVI>
- Recommended: Nye, *Soft Power*, Preface, Chap 1 (BB)

Think-Tank Exercise: The US and the International Criminal Court
Suggested Preparation:

Background:

- Study Text of 1998 Rome Treaty to establish ICC at http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/EA9AEFF7-5752-4F84-BE94-0A655EB30E16/0/Rome_Statute_English.pdf
 - Does the ICC have “universal” or “complementary” jurisdiction? (Study Articles 12 and 17 carefully.)
 - Study Articles 12 and 17 carefully to answer this question: if US does not sign nor ratify the treaty, are American military personnel liable to investigation and prosecution?

- Study the basic crimes which the ICC defines and is willing to punish. (Articles 5-8)
- Suggested Video: How the ICC Works – and Can Palestine join it? (3:08) at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rTWPgF6bNLA&feature=youtu.be>
- Suggested Video: Is the ICC effective? (2:48) at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rLqleWnD3VM>
- Suggested Video: Bosnian Serb leader convicted on genocide (2:19) at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wb8EEIxcDY>

Background: Debating Jurisdiction

- Kissinger, Henry, “The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jul-Aug 2001, on Infotrac or <http://www.globalpolicy.org/intljustice/general/2001/07kiss.htm>
- Roth, Kenneth, “The Case for Universal Jurisdiction (Reply to Kissinger),” *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2001 at <http://globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/163/28202.html>
- Congressional Research Report, “US Policy Regarding the International Criminal Court,” 2006 at <http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/misc/RL31495.pdf>

The ICC and Syria: Peace or Justice?

- The ICC and Syria: What Can the ICC do? <https://syriaaccountability.org/updates/2014/05/21/eight-questions-about-the-icc/>
- Kenneth Roth, Opposed to amnesty for Assad, “The Right Path to a Syrian Accord,” *Foreign Affairs*, Dec 2015 (BB)

TH 7/25 Class Debate
 M 7/29 Final Essay due

About the Professor

Gary T. Armstrong is Professor of Political Science at William Jewell College in Liberty, Missouri. He graduated *summa cum laude* with a BA from the University of Oklahoma and with a Ph.D. from Georgetown University. He has served as Research Assistant to Francis Fukuyama and Teaching Assistant to former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. At William Jewell College, Armstrong served as the Chair of the Political Science Department from 1997-2001 and 2004-2007 and will be resuming his post in the fall of 2010. He has been voted Professor of the Year by the student body four times during his tenure at William Jewell and is also an alumnus of the ICPES program.