Paper Organiser

Dr. Steven Ward
sw986@cam.ac.uk
Alison Richard Building 132

Lecture schedule:

Michaelmas: Thursday, 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM and Monday, 9:00 – 10:00 AM
Lent: Thursday, 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM

Note that while these lecture timings are generally accurate, there are some exceptions (four dates on which lectures will not be held, as well as two seminars that will take place at times other than those set above). Those exceptions are listed below and specified in the more detailed schedule that begins on page 5 below.

Monday, October 10: NO LECTURE
Thursday, November 3: NO LECTURE
Thursday, November 3: SEMINAR – time, location, and group assignments to be confirmed
Thursday, March 9: NO LECTURE
Thursday, March 9: SEMINAR – time, location, and group assignments to be confirmed
Thursday, March 16: NO LECTURE

All lectures in Alison Richard Building, Room SG1

Supervisors

Rob Bates (rmb89@cam.ac.uk)
Moez Hayat (mh2149@cam.ac.uk)
Flamur Krasniqi (fk325@cam.ac.uk)
Daniel Larsen (drl37@cam.ac.uk)
Tom Smith (tds33@cam.ac.uk)
Will Strickland (wjs40@cam.ac.uk)
Rebecca Turkington (rct51@cam.ac.uk)
Steven Ward (sw986@cam.ac.uk)
Zikun Yang (zy301@cam.ac.uk)

Paper Description

By almost any measure, the United States has been the most powerful country in the world since 1945. Due to its standing, the U.S. is centrally involved with almost every important international political issue, ranging from the international security and economic arenas to transnational issues such as climate change and human rights regimes. For these reasons, the factors which shape U.S.
foreign policy are of concern to people around the globe. This paper is designed to develop students’ understanding of these factors, both historically and in their present state.

The paper consists of three parts. Part I introduces students to a series of theoretical and conceptual tools that will help to make sense of how the United States behaves abroad. Some of these theories and concepts will be familiar to students from prior studies in international relations; others may be new. In this sense, this part of the paper functions as a course in advanced international relations theory, with a particular focus on understanding these dynamics as they apply to the context of foreign policy in the United States. Part II is a survey of the history of US foreign policy from independence to the present. Of course, this survey cannot be fully comprehensive – its objective will be to provide students with an overview of the evolution of American foreign policy, while demonstrating the application and use of theoretical and conceptual models introduced in Part I to help make sense of why US foreign policy has looked the way it has in the past, and how it has changed. Part III investigates the most important issues, debates, and questions facing American foreign policy today – including, among others, how to deal with rising and reemerging powers, how to address the global crisis of manmade climate change, and whether the United States is in relative decline.

Objectives

• to understand how multiple different intellectual traditions, some complementary and some competing, have shaped U.S. foreign policy
• to appreciate the multi-level impacts that individuals, domestic institutions, and the international political system have had on U.S. foreign policy, and vice versa
• to understand different theories with which to interpret evidence that might explain how U.S. foreign policy has developed and operates at present
• to discern the relative strengths and weaknesses of different theories that purport to explain various episodes of U.S. foreign policy
• to introduce students to different methods used to analyze U.S. foreign policy, including historical case studies, systematic analysis of large data sets, and experimental approaches
• to gain detailed knowledge of historical American foreign policy
• to learn to situate arguments about contemporary issues within wider debates related to U.S. power and influence in the world, while drawing for support on the insights of political scientists and historians

Mode of Teaching and Assessment

In each of Michaelmas and Lent terms, students will have 3 supervisions and 1 seminar. Students will be allocated a supervisor at the beginning of Michaelmas term, and should contact the course organizer if any problems occur. For each supervision, students should prepare a 2000 word essay. For the seminar, there is no written work but students should be prepared to discuss required readings. Supervision topics will be chosen by or in concert with your supervisor. All essays will be from the supervision topics listed at the end of each part of the paper. If you want to go beyond this please discuss with your supervisor. Each supervision essay prompt has an accompanying list of suggested readings. This list is neither exhaustive nor required: it is not necessary to read all of the suggested readings to compose a successful supervision essay, nor is
it the case that the list of suggested readings encompasses the entirety of the material that might be relevant to a particular topic. The suggested reading list is merely meant to guide you toward a handful of helpful resources for each topic.

In Easter term, we will have a revision seminar, and each student will have one revision supervision. Powerpoint slides will have been uploaded to the Moodle website throughout Michaelmas and Lent, available to all students enrolled in the paper.

Assessment will be via a divided three-hour essay examination, from which students will be asked to answer three questions. There will be three sections, and students must answer one question from each section. Section A will consist of questions aimed primarily at material from Part I; Section B will consist of questions aimed primarily at material from Part II; Section C will consist of questions aimed primarily at material from Part III. However, successful answers should demonstrate an ability to synthesize material across sections (in other words, a question from Section A might be primarily about theory, but a successful answer should also discuss relevant historical evidence from Part II; a question from Section C might be primarily about a contemporary issue, but a successful answer should also discuss relevant theory from Part I).

There is a mock exam, as well as a copy of the 2021-22 exam, at the end of this paper guide.

The exam will be comprehensive, and questions will differ from those set for supervision essays and the mock exam. The exam will aim to evaluate your mastery of material from the entire paper, and your capacity to synthesize this material in ways that demonstrate breadth, depth in selected areas, and an ability to construct and support arguments that draw on and engage with what you’ve learned during the year. The best way to prepare for the exam is to read ALL core readings, attend ALL lectures and seminars, and practice writing thorough, well-organized, well-argued, and well-supported supervision essays and mock exam essays.

Readings

Books that appear as core readings in the paper schedule below should be available at your college libraries or the Seeley Library. Core journal articles (and many books, as well) are available online without going into a library. If you are not comfortable going into a library, your supervisor and I will work with you to either get you a particular reading OR suggest some good alternatives from the supplemental readings list.

Core readings are very likely to figure prominently during lectures. You should complete these readings prior to lecture. Supplemental readings may prove valuable to you as you revise supervision essays and prepare for the final exam. You cannot possibly cover all the material listed here (no one – not even a PhD student – could get through all of this for one class). Think of it as a useful bibliography. Some readings on the supplemental list will be mentioned during lecture, though often only in passing. When appropriate, I will draw your attention to supplemental readings that may be useful if you’d like to investigate a particular topic from lecture more deeply. But you should also use it independently, or in conjunction with your supervisor, to guide your own exploration.

General Overviews

The following books don’t appear in the readings associated with lectures, but are good reference
sources concerning the history of U.S. foreign policy if you need them:


Steven W. Hook and John W. Spanier, *American Foreign Policy since World War II* [multiple editions] (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press); *most recent edition also available as an electronic resource, though only accessible on designated computers in the UL*


In addition to the primary and recommended readings, the following websites and “e-resources” may be useful for finding supplementary information:

- The Council on Foreign Relations (articles from *Foreign Affairs*, amongst many other useful pieces; cfr.org)
- Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS, an edited series of primary documents on U.S. diplomacy; https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/)
- The National Security Archive (declassified documents from U.S. intelligence and other sources; nsarchive.gwu.edu)
- ProQuest Digital National Security Archive (an e-resource available through the UL website, quite similar to the source immediately above)
- War on the Rocks (“A platform for analysis, commentary, debate and multimedia content on foreign policy and national security issues through a realist lens”; warontherocks.com)
- The Monkey Cage (articles from political scientists on a range of different topics, including foreign policy; https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/)
PAPER SCHEDULE (TOPICS AND READINGS)

Michaelmas Term

Part I: Conceptual and theoretical tools for thinking about US foreign policy

1 (Thurs., Oct. 6): Introduction – is the United States (or its foreign policy) ‘exceptional’?

Core

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Routledge, 2002), chapter 1


Supplemental


**NO LECTURE ON MONDAY, OCT. 10**

2 (Thurs., Oct. 13): Anarchy, power, and security

*Core*


Sebastian Rosato and John Schuessler, “A Realist Foreign Policy for the United States,” *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 9, no. 4 (2011)


*Supplemental*


3 (Mon., Oct. 17): Ideas, ideologies, and grand strategies

**Core**


Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Routledge, 2002), chapter 2

Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Mariner, 1997), chapter 1


**Supplemental**

Michael Boyle and Anthony Lang, Jr., “Remaking the World in America’s Image: Surprise, Strategic Culture, and the American Ways of Intervention,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 17, no. 2 (2021)

Joseph Stieb, “Moral Clarity: Terrorism, the Culture Wars, and Modern U.S. Conservatism,” *Diplomatic History* vol. 46, no. 4 (2022)


Core


Supplemental

Lorraine Bayard de Volo, “Masculinity and the Cuban Missile Crisis: Gender as Pre-Emptive Deterrent,” International Affairs vol. 98, no. 4 (2022)


Andrew Preston, Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy (Knopf, 2012)


David Campbell, Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity (University of Minnesota Press, 1998)


Steven Ward, *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), chapters 1 and 2

**5 (Mon., Oct. 24): Presidents and the presidency**

Core


Supplemental


Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith, *Spoils of War: Greed, Power, and the Conflicts that Made Our Greatest Presidents* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2016)

Stephen Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael Young, “Presidential Operational Codes and Foreign Policy Conflicts in the Post-Cold War World,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 43, no. 5 (1999)


Margaret Hermann and Thomas Preston, “Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements,” *Political Psychology* vol. 15, no. 1 (1994)

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Imperial Presidency* (Houghton Mifflin, 1973)

W. Stuart Darling and D. Craig Mense, “Rethinking the War Powers Act,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* vol. 7, no. 2/3 (1977)


Kenneth Sharpe, “The Post-Vietnam Formula under Siege: The Imperial Presidency and Central America,” *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 102, no. 4 (1987/88)


David Hastings Dunn, “‘Quacking like a Duck?’ Bush II and Presidential Power in the Second Term,” *International Affairs* vol. 82, no. 1 (2006)


Scott Fitzsimmons, “Personality and Adherence to International Agreements: The Case of President Donald Trump,” *International Relations* vol. 36, no. 1 (2022)

6 (Thurs., Oct. 27): Institutions, bureaucratic actors, and foreign policy organizations

*Core*


Scott Silverstone, *Divided Union: The Politics of War in the Early American Republic* (Cornell University Press, 2004), chapters 1 and 2


*Supplemental*


Terry Terriff, “‘Innovate or Die’: Organizational Culture and the Origins of Maneuver Warfare in the United State Marine Corps,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (2006)


Risa Brooks and Sharan Grewal, “‘Twice the Citizen’: How Military Attitudes of Superiority Undermine Civilian Control in the United States,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 66, no. 4-5 (2022)

Andrew Bell, “Combatant Socialization and Norms of Restraint: Examining Officer Training at the US Military Academy and Army ROTC,” *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 59, no. 2 (2022)


7 (Mon., Oct. 31): Interest groups and public opinion

Core


Supplemental


Rachel Blum and Christopher Parker, “Trump-ing Foreign Affairs: Status Threat and Foreign Policy Preferences on the Right,” *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 17, no. 3 (2019)


Chad Levinson, “Partners in Persuasion: Extra-Governmental Organizations in the Vietnam War,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 17, no. 3 (2021)


**NO LECTURE ON THURS., NOV. 3**

Seminar 1: Thurs., Nov. 3 – time, location, and group assignments to be confirmed

Supervision questions for Part I:


   **Suggested readings:** core readings from Lecture 1.

2) What is “national security”? In order to ensure its security, how should a state behave? What does this imply about American foreign policy?

   **Suggested readings:** core readings from Lecture 2; Preston 2014.

3) Have ideas about race affected the ways in which the United States has behaved in its relations with other countries – for instance, by influencing the way it has expanded, or the relationships it has formed with other states? Does race continue to influence US foreign policy?

4) What is “grand strategy”? Is this a useful concept? If so, how? How does understanding grand strategy help us understand US foreign policy? If not, what is wrong with the concept? Why do so many analysts focus their attention on it, and what are the consequences?


5) What are the most important differences between the major approaches to American grand strategy? What factors best explain why different writers and thinkers disagree with one another about what the United States should aim to do – and how it should do it – abroad?


6) Modern realists claim to offer the best explanation for state behavior in international politics. At the same time, they are among the most frequent critics of contemporary American foreign policy. Are these positions compatible? Why or why not?

Suggested readings: Mearsheimer 2014; Rosato and Schuessler 2011; Zarnett 2017; Walt 2018.

7) Do democratic political institutions improve or hinder the quality of American foreign policy? If they improve the quality of foreign policy, through what mechanisms do they work? If they hinder the quality of foreign policy, why do you think so?


8) How much do the experiences, beliefs, or other individual-level characteristics of US presidents influence US foreign policy? Why is this such a difficult question to answer?

Suggested readings: Jervis 2013; Dafoe and Caughey 2016; Yarhi-Milo 2018; Saunders 2011; Horowitz, Stam, and Ellis 2015; Thiers and Wehner 2022; Fitzsimmons 2022; Harden 2021.

9) Do you think American foreign policy would change markedly if a woman were elected president? If so, how and why? If not, why not?

Suggested readings: Jervis 2013; Eichenberg 2003; Brooks and Valentino 2011; Barnhart et al. 2020; Mart 1996; Swers 2007; Holman et al. 2011; Schwartz and Blair 2020; Bayard de Volo 2022.

10) Does the ability of private and foreign actors to influence foreign policymaking in Washington undermine the United States’ capacity to advance its national interest? Or does
this benefit US foreign policy? Or does it hardly matter at all?

**Suggested readings:** Haney and Vanderbush, 1999; Kirshner 2007; Zaytsev, Kuskova, and Kononova 2022; Shain and Barth 2003; Mearsheimer and Walt 2007; Langer 2022; Skidmore 1993; Levinson 2021.

**Part II: The evolution of American foreign policy**

8 (Mon., Nov. 7): From the early republic to the Civil War

**Core**

George Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford University Press, 2008), chapters 1-6 (skim for background)

Silverstone, *Divided Union* chapters 3-6


**Supplemental**


Washington’s Farewell Address
[https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Washingtons_Farewell_Address.pdf](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Washingtons_Farewell_Address.pdf)


Nau, *Conservative Internationalism* chapters 4 and 5


Richard Buel, Jr., *America on the Brink: How the Political Struggle Over the War of 1812 Almost Destroyed the Young Republic* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)


John Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War* chapters 3 and 4


9 (Thurs., Nov. 10): Becoming a ‘great power’

Core

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower* chapters 7-9 (skim for background)


_Supplemental_


John Thompson, *A Sense of Power: The Roots of America’s Global Role* (Cornell University Press, 2015), introduction and chapter 1


Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War* chapter 5

Maass, *The Picky Eagle* chapter 7


Kristin Hoganson, “‘As Badly off as the Filipinos’: U.S. Women’s Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Women’s History* vol. 13, no. 2 (2001)


Patrick Kirkwood, “‘Lord Cromer’s Shadow’: Political Anglo-Saxonism and the Egyptian Protectorate as a Model in the American Philippines,” *Journal of World History* vol. 27, no. 1 (2016)


Steven Ward, Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers (Cambridge University Press, 2017), chapter 6


Dana Munro, The United States and the Caribbean Republics, 1921-1933 (Princeton University Press, 1974)

Akira Iriye, Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911 (Harvard University Press, 1972)


Lester Langley, The Banana Wars: United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898-1934 (Scholarly Resources, 2002)


Alan McPherson, A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean, chapters 2-4

10 (Mon., Nov. 14): The world wars

Core

Herring, From Colony to Superpower chapters 10-13 (skim for background)


Supplemental

Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Interest of America in International Conditions* (Little, Brown, and Co., 1910)


Thompson, *A Sense of Power* chapters 2-5

Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire*, chapters 10-13


Daniel Larsen, *Plotting for Peace: American Peacemakers, British Codebreakers, and Britain at War, 1914-1917* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), chapter 3


Tony McCulloch, “Franklin D. Roosevelt,” in Cox, Lynch, and Bouchet, eds., *US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion*


Steven Ward, *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), chapters 4 and 5


Dan Reiter, “Democracy, Deception, and Entry into War,” Security Studies vol. 21, no. 4 (2012)


J. Samuel Walker, “Recent Literature on Truman’s Atomic Bomb Decision: A Search for Middle Ground,” *Diplomatic History* vol. 29, no. 2 (2005)


Alan McPherson, *A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean*, chapters 5 and 6

Christy Thornton, “‘Our Balkan Peninsula’: The Mexican Question in the League of Nations Debate,” *Diplomatic History* vol. 46, no. 2 (2022)

**11 (Thurs., Nov. 17): The early Cold War**

*Core*

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower* chapters 14-16 (skim for background)

George Kennan, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 25, no. 4 (1947)

Gaddis, *Containment* chapters 2-6


*Supplemental*

Thompson, *A Sense of Power* chapter 6


Kai He and Huiyun Feng, “‘Why is there no NATO in Asia?’ Revisited: Prospect Theory, Balance of Threat, and US Alliance Strategies,” *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 18, no. 2 (2012)


Austin Carson, *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2018), chapter 5


Jutta Weldes, *Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999)


Mark Haas, “Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 45, no. 2 (2001)


Alan McPherson, *A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean*, chapter 7


Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?* chapter 1


**12 (Mon., Nov. 21): The late Cold War**

**Core**

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower* chapters 17-19 (skim for background)

Gaddis, *Containment* chapters 7 and 8


**Supplemental**

Kenneth Waltz, “The Stability of a Bipolar World,” *Daedalus* vol. 93, no. 3 (1964)


Gaddis, *Containment* chapters 9-11

Lindsey O’Rourke, *Covert Regime Change: America’s Secret Cold War* (Cornell University Press, 2018)

Austin Carson, *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2018), chapters 6 and 7


Alan McPherson, *A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean*, chapter 8


Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Who Fights for Reputation* chapters 6 and 7


13 (Thurs., Nov. 24): The unipolar moment

*Core*

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower* chapter 20 (skim for background)

Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment,” *Foreign Affairs* (September 1990)


Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Who Fights for Reputation* chapter 8

*Supplemental*

Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest* no. 16 (Summer 1989)


Mark Danner, “Marooned in the Cold War: America, the Alliance, and the Quest for a Vanished World,” *World Policy Journal* vol. 14, no. 3 (1997)


Robert Art, “Creating a Disaster: NATO’s Open Door Policy,” *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 113, no. 3 (1998)

Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 72, no. 3 (1993)


Anthony Lake, “From Containment to Enlargement,” speech delivered at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. (September 21, 1993)


Alan McPherson, *A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean*, chapter 9


**14 (Mon., Nov. 28): 9/11 and the ‘War on Terror’**

*Core*


*Supplemental*


**15 (Thurs., Dec. 1): US foreign policy after the Bush Doctrine**

*Core*


**Supplemental**


Simon Chesterman, “‘Leading from Behind’: The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and Humanitarian Intervention after Libya,” *Ethics & International Affairs* vol. 25, no. 3 (2011)


Peter Dombrowski and Simon Reich, “Does Donald Trump have a Grand Strategy?” *International Affairs* vol. 93, no. 5 (2017)


Randall Schweller, “Three Cheers for Trump’s Foreign Policy: What the Establishment Misses,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 97 (September/October 2018)


Thorsten Wojczewski, “Trump, Populism, and American Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 16, no. 3 (2020)


Steve Clemons, “The Biden Doctrine: Has the vice president made a lasting contribution in foreign policy?” *The Atlantic* (August 22, 2016)


**Supervision questions for Part II:**

1) How did American foreign policy change after the end of the Cold War? If you think it changed markedly, did it become more or less assertive? Why? If you think it did not change much, why not?


2) How important have different “sectional” interests been as an influence on US foreign policy?

**Suggested readings:** Silverstone 2004; Trubowitz 1992; Hajimu 2009; Fordham 2018; Trautsch 2013; Maass 2020.

3) Is the emergence and persistence of American dominance since the end of World War II evidence that US foreign policy has been unusually competent? Or is it evidence, for instance, that the United States has been blessed by favorable geography, timing, or other circumstances? What specific instances or examples support each position?

**Suggested readings:** Mead 2002; Brands 2014; Nau 2013; Layne 2006; Gaddis 2005; Porter 2018.

4) Is it accurate to say that the United States acted as an “offshore balancer” during the first half of the 20th century? What evidence suggests that it did, and what evidence suggests that it did not?

**Suggested readings:** Jackson 2012; Layne 2006; Mearsheimer 2014; Kupchan 2020; Braumoeller 2010.

5) Was the United States justified to use nuclear weapons against Japan in 1945? Be sure to
explain your criteria for determining whether a foreign policy decision is justified.


6) Was the Cold War largely the result of a security dilemma, or was it largely the result of other dynamics?

**Suggested readings:** Jervis 2001; Kennan 1947; Gaddis 2005; Christensen 1996; Green 2012; Avey 2012.

7) What factors best explain the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization during the decades since the end of the Cold War?

**Suggested readings:** MccGwire 1998; Gaddis, 1998; Ball 1998; Art 1998; Goldgeier 1998; Shifrinson 2016; Trachtenberg 2020; Sayle 2019; Sarotte 2010 (both); Sarotte 2019; Layne 2000; Kupchan 2000; Schimmelfennig 1998; Kramer 2009; Wohlfforth and Zubok 2017

8) Was the invasion of Iraq in 2003 a mistake? If so, what were the most important sources of the error?


9) Did Donald Trump’s term as president fundamentally alter the United States’ position in the world, or the direction of its foreign policy? If so, how? If not, why not?

**Suggested readings:** Restad 2020; Harris 2018; Porter 2018; Haass 2020; Drezner 2019; Schweller 2018; Yarhi-Milo 2018; Kirshner 2021.

10) Why did the United States’ intervention in Afghanistan last so long? Why did it end when it did?

**Suggested readings:** Walldorf 2022; Kolenda 2019; Harris 2018; Porter 2018; Jervis 2020; Miller 2021.

**Lent Term**

**Part III: Contemporary issues, questions, and debates**

16 (Thurs., Jan. 19): The return of ‘great power competition’ I: The rise of China

**Core**


*Supplemental*

Ali Wyne, “Great-Power Competition Isn’t a Foreign Policy,” *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 45, no. 2 (2022)


David Kang, *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia* (Columbia University Press, 2007)


Todd Hall, “We Will Not Swallow This Bitter Fruit: Theorizing a Diplomacy of Anger,” *Security Studies* vol. 20, no. 4 (2011)


Da Wei, “Security Concerns are Reasonable, Spheres of Influence are Not,” *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 45, no. 2 (2022)

Lindsey O'Rourke and Joshua Shifrinson, “Squaring the Circle on Spheres of Influence: The Overlooked Benefits,” *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 45, no. 2 (2022)


Stacie Pettyjohn, “War with China: Five Scenarios,” *Survival* vol. 64, no. 1 (2022)

17 (Thurs., Jan. 26): The return of ‘great power competition’ II: The resurgence of Russia

Core


Supplemental

Liviu Horovitz and Elias Götz, “The Overlooked Importance of Economics: Why the Bush Administration Wanted NATO Enlargement,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 43, no. 6-7 (2020)


Sara Bjerg Moller, “Twenty Years After: Assessing the Consequences of Enlargement for the NATO Military Alliance,” *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)


John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2014)

Andrei Tsygankov, *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)


Andrew Doris and Thomas Graham, “What Putin Fights For,” *Survival* vol. 64, no. 4 (2022)


Michal Smetana and Michal Onderco, “From Moscow with a Mushroom Cloud? Russian Public Attitudes to the Use of Nuclear Weapons in a Conflict with NATO,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2022)


Timothy Crawford, “How to Distance Russia from China,” *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 44, no. 3 (2021)

Robert Dalsjö, Michael Jonsson, and Johan Norberg, “A Brutal Examination: Russian Military Capability in Light of the Ukraine War,” *Survival* vol. 64, no. 3 (2022)

Trine Flockhart and Elena Korosteleva, “War in Ukraine: Putin and the Multi-Order World,” *Contemporary Security Policy* vol. 43, no. 3 (2022)


18 (Thurs., Feb. 2): Nuclear weapons – consequences, counterproliferation, and doctrine


*Supplemental*


Lauren Sukin, “Credible Nuclear Security Commitments Can Backfire: Explaining Domestic Support for Nuclear Weapons Acquisition in South Korea,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 64, no. 6 (2020)


Matthew Kroenig, “Time to Attack Iran: Why a Strike is the Least Bad Option,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 91, no. 1 (2012)


Trevor McCrisken and Maxwell Downman, “Peace through strength’: Europe and NATO deterrence beyond the US Nuclear Posture Review,” *International Affairs* vol. 95, no. 2 (2019)


19 (Thurs., Feb. 9): Military posture, alliances, and primacy

Core


Hal Brands and Peter Feaver, “What are America’s Alliances Good For?” *Parameters* vol. 47, no. 2 (2017)


Supplemental


20 (Thurs., Feb. 16): The international and domestic politics of climate change

*Core*


David Barker and David Bearce, “End-Times Theology, the Shadow of the Future, and Public Resistance to Addressing Global Climate Change,” *Political Research Quarterly* vol. 66, no. 2 (2013)

*Supplemental*


Erin Sikorsky, “National Security and Climate Change: The Attention It Deserves?” *Survival* vol. 64, no. 1 (2022)


Robert Keohane and David Victor, “The Regime Complex for Climate Change,” *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 9, no. 1 (2011)


John Duffield and Charles Hankla, “The Efficiency of Institutions: Political Determinants of Oil Consumption in Democracies,” *Comparative Politics* vol. 43, no. 2 (2011)


Donghyun Danny Choi, Mathias Poertner, and Nicholas Sambanis, “Temperature and Outgroup Discrimination,” *Political Science Research and Methods* (2021)
21 (Thurs., Feb. 23): The function and fate of American hegemony

Core


Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, Exit from Hegemony: The Unraveling of the American Global Order (Oxford University Press, 2020) chapters 1-3, 7


Supplemental


Barry Eichengreen, Exorbitant Privilege: The Rise and Fall of the Dollar (Oxford University Press, 2012)


“Global Monetary Order and the Liberal Order Debate,” symposium, International Studies Perspectives vol. 21, no. 2 (2020)


Judith Goldstein and Bort Gulotty, “America and the Trade Regime: What Went Wrong?” *International Organization* vol. 75, no. 2 (2021)


**22 (Thurs., Mar. 2): American decline and the future of world politics**

*Core*


*Supplemental*


Randall Schweller, “The Future is Uncertain and the End is Always Near,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* vol. 24, no. 2 (2011)


Robert Lieber, “America in Decline? It’s a Matter of Choices, Not Fate,” *World Affairs* vol. 175, no. 3 (2012)


Paul MacDonald and Joseph Parent, *Twilight of the Titans: Great Power Decline and Retrenchment* (Cornell University Press, 2018)


**NO LECTURE ON THURS., MAR. 9**

**Seminar 2: Thurs., Mar. 9 – time, location, and group assignments to be confirmed**

**NO LECTURE ON THURS., MAR. 16**

**Supervision questions for Part III:**

1) Can China be accommodated? If so, what kinds of specific concessions would this take? If not, why not?

   **Suggested readings:** Friedberg 2014; Zala 2020; Ward 2020; Glaser 2015; Allison 2020; Schweller 2018; Buzan and Cox 2013.

2) John Mearsheimer argues that the Ukraine crisis – Russia’s intervention in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea in 2014 – was the West’s fault. Do you think this argument is correct?
3) The 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States described Russia and China as “revisionist” states. Is “revisionism” a useful concept in this context? Why or why not?

**Suggested readings:** core readings for lecture 16; the 2017 NSS; Friedman 2019; Cooley, Nexon, and Ward 2019; Turner and Nymalm 2019.

4) Has post-Cold War NATO enlargement advanced American national security interests?

**Suggested readings:** Mearsheimer 2014; Marten 2018; Menon and Ruger 2020; Lanoszka 2020; Radchenko 2020; Driscoll and Maliniak 2016; Lanoszka 2018; Poast and Chinchilla 2020.

5) Should the United States be willing to use force to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons?

**Suggested readings:** Kroenig 2012; Kroenig 2018; Sechser and Fuhrmann 2017; Kahl 2012 (both); Waltz 2012.

6) Should the United States be willing to use force to defend Taiwan from coerced reunification with China? If so, should American leaders make that threat explicit?

**Suggested readings:** Biden 2001; Kine 2022; Glaser 2015; O’Hanlon 2021; Chang-Liao and Fang 2021; Green and Talmadge 2022; Timbie and Ellis 2021/22; Porter and Mazarr 2021; Cunningham 2020; Kastner 2016.

7) Do forward deployments of US troops stabilize, deter, and promote American influence? Or do they promote free-ridership among allies and threat perceptions among potential adversaries?

**Suggested readings:** core readings for lecture 18; Jakobsen and Jakobsen 2019; Allen et al 2020; Allen, VanDusky-Allen, and Flynn 2016; Allen and Flynn 2013; Reiter and Poast 2021; Beckley 2015; Kim 2011; Tierney 2011.

8) How do you think the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine should influence US force posture over the next decade?

**Suggested readings:** Dalsjö, Jonsson, and Norberg 2022; Brands and Beckley 2022; Ziegler 2020/21; Kendall-Taylor and Frantz 2022; Crawford 2021; Mankoff 2022; Joyce and Wasser 2021.

9) Is climate change a threat to American national security? If so, in what ways? If not, why not?
Suggested readings: Brannen 2021; Busby 2008; Matthews 1989; Deudney 1990; Levy 1995; Sikorsky 2022; Crawford 2022; Lee et al. 2022; Choi, Poertner, and Sambanis 2021.

10) What is the most important obstacle to effectively addressing climate change?

Suggested readings: Brannen 2021; Aklin and Mildenberger 2020; Barker and Bearce 2013; Hardin 1968; Mildenberger 2019; Duffield and Hankla 2011; Crawford 2022.

11) What would happen if the hegemony of the US dollar collapsed? Is this likely in the near future? Why or why not?


12) What is the “liberal international order”? Does it serve American interests? Is it in danger?


13) Is the United States in decline? If so, why? Was this avoidable, or is it the consequence of inevitable structural changes? If not, why is recurrent concern about American decline so prominent?

Suggested readings: Huntington 1988; Cox 2007; Beckley 2011/12; Beckley 2018; Walt 2018; Kupchan 1989; Joffe 2014; Cerny 1989; Musgrave 2019; Layne 2012; Fettweis 2018; Lieber 2012 (both).

14) Would the erosion of unipolarity constitute a fundamental threat to American national security? Would it alter the character of international politics in other ways?

POL 14: US Foreign Policy
Mock Exam

Students must answer a total of three of the following questions. There are three sections; students must answer exactly ONE (1) question from each section. Though questions are primarily directed at material from the designated section, answers should draw, as appropriate, on material from the other two sections as well.

Section A: Theories and concepts (answer ONE question from this section)

1) Is “grand strategy” a useful concept for understanding US foreign policy?
2) Is realism – as applied by analysts of US foreign policy – best understood as a set of ideas about what the United States should do, or a way of explaining how the United States has behaved historically?
3) Would US foreign policy be “better” if the United States had different political institutions?
4) Does the identity of the US president matter for the quality or character of US foreign policy?
5) How do gender politics and dynamics influence US foreign policy?

Section B: Evolution of US foreign policy (answer ONE question from this section)

6) How did American foreign policy change after the end of the Cold War?
7) Is the emergence and persistence of American dominance since the end of World War II evidence that US foreign policy has been especially well-directed, or is it evidence of something else (like extremely good luck)?
8) Is it accurate to say that the United States acted as an “offshore balancer” during the first half of the 20th century?
9) Why did the United States invade Iraq in 2003?
10) Did Donald Trump fundamentally alter American foreign policy?

Section C: Contemporary debates (answer ONE question from this section)

11) Should the United States try to accommodate China?
12) Should the United States maintain troops deployed overseas?
13) Is the erosion of the “liberal international order” a threat to US interests?
14) Why have Americans so frequently expressed anxiety about relative decline?
15) What would the world be like if “unipolarity” – American military and economic dominance – eroded?
Students must answer a total of three (3) questions, with exactly one (1) question coming from Section A, exactly one (1) question coming from Section B, and exactly one (1) question coming from Section C.

Section A (theories and concepts)

1) Neorealists have argued that intense concerns about national security reduce the severity of domestic political conflict within states. Is this theoretical claim accurate in the context of the United States?

2) After visiting the United States in the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote: “Foreign politics demand scarcely any of those qualities which a democracy possesses; and they require, on the contrary, the perfect use of almost all those faculties in which it is deficient.” Is Tocqueville’s bleak assessment of the link between the United States’ democratic political institutions and the quality of its foreign policy reasonable?

3) In what ways have national identities influenced US foreign policy?

4) How much – and in what ways – did Donald Trump’s personal characteristics, traits, and prior experiences affect American foreign policy between 2017 and 2021?

5) Deudney and Ikenberry recently wrote that “the [2003] Iraq War was a realist war far more than a liberal one.” Do you agree?

Section B (the evolution of US foreign policy)

6) What factors are most important for understanding the process of American territorial expansion across the North American continent during the first half of the 19th century?

7) When, why and how did the United States become a “great power”?

8) What factors best explain why the United States became increasingly concerned with the stability of the European balance of power during the first half of the 20th century?

9) Are American strategic mistakes during the Cold War – such as the escalation in Vietnam during the 1960s – better understood as consequences of the influence of George Kennan’s doctrine of containment, or as consequences of departures from or distortions of that doctrine?

10) In 1990, Jeane Kirkpatrick wrote that the end of the Cold War offered the United States an opportunity to “give up the dubious benefits of superpower status” and become “A Normal Country in a Normal Time.” What factors best explain why American foreign policymakers declined that opportunity?

Section C (contemporary issues and debates)

11) Should the United States accede to Russia’s demand that NATO not expand farther east than it already has?
12) Is the role that ideology plays in the emerging great power competition between the United States, China and Russia broadly similar to or different than the role that ideology played in the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War?

13) Should the United States maintain existing security guarantees to partners in Europe, East Asia and the Middle East, or should it seek to reduce these commitments?

14) Would the erosion of American hegemony make it harder for the international system to manage global problems (like, for instance, pandemics and anthropogenic climate change)?

15) Is the “unipolar moment” over?