

**Department of Politics and International Studies**  
**University of Cambridge**  
POL 14: U.S. Foreign Policy  
2022-23

**Paper Organiser**

Dr. Steven Ward  
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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](mailto:rmb89@cam.ac.uk))  
Moez Hayat ([mh2149@cam.ac.uk](mailto:mh2149@cam.ac.uk))  
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**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:

Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Penguin, 2011).

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**

*The New Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*—esp. Vol. 4, *Challenges to American Primacy, 1945 to the Present* by Warren Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); **available as an electronic resource.**

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

K.J. Holsti, “Exceptionalism in American Foreign Policy: Is It Exceptional?” *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 17, no. 3 (2010)

Hilde Restad, “Old Paradigms in History Die Hard in Political Science: US Foreign Policy and American Exceptionalism,” *American Political Thought* vol. 1, no. 1 (2012)

##### Supplemental

Taesuh Cha, “The Formation of American Exceptional Identities: A Three-Tier Model of the ‘Standard of Civilization’ in US Foreign Policy,” *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 21, no. 4 (2015)

Byron Shafer, “American Exceptionalism,” *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 2:445-463 (1999)

Meghana Nayak and Christopher Malone, “American Orientalism and American Exceptionalism: A Critical Rethinking of US Hegemony,” *International Studies Review* vol. 11, no. 2 (2009)

James Guth, “The Religious Roots of Foreign Policy Exceptionalism,” *The Review of Faith and International Affairs* vol. 10, no. 2 (2012)

Nick Robinson, “Have You Won the War on Terror? Military Videogames and the State of American Exceptionalism,” *Millennium* vol. 43, no. 2 (2015)

Rogers Smith, “‘Our Republican Example’: The Significance of the American Experiments in Government in the Twenty-First Century,” *American Political Thought* vol. 1, no. 1 (2012)

Peter Onuf, “American Exceptionalism and National Identity,” *American Political Thought* vol. 1, no. 1 (2012)

Patrick Deneen, “Cities of Man on a Hill,” *American Political Thought* vol. 1, no. 1 (2012)

James Caeser, “The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism,” *American Political Thought* vol. 1, no. 1 (2012)

Hilde Restad, “Whither the ‘City Upon a Hill’? Donald Trump, America First, and American Exceptionalism,” *Texas National Security Review* vol. 3, no. 1 (2019)

Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (Metropolitan Books, 2008)

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

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

#### Core

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (W.W. Norton, 2014), chapters 1 and 7

John Thompson, “The Exaggeration of American Vulnerability: The Anatomy of a Tradition,” *Diplomatic History* vol. 16, no. 1 (1992)

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

David Zarnett, “What Does Realist Foreign Policy Activism Tell Us About Realist Theory?” *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 13, no. 3 (2017)

#### Supplemental

Gideon Rose, “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy,” *World Politics* vol. 51, no. 1 (1998)

Stephen Brooks, “Dueling Realisms,” *International Organization* vol. 51, no. 3 (1997)

Robert Gilpin, “No One Loves a Political Realist,” *Security Studies* vol. 5, no. 3 (1996)

Stephen Walt, “US Grand Strategy after the Cold War: Can Realism Explain It? Should Realism Guide It?” *International Relations* vol. 32, no. 1 (2018)

Tudor Onea, “Putting the ‘Classical’ in Neoclassical Realism: Neoclassical Realist Theories and US Expansion in the Post-Cold War,” *International Relations* vol. 26, no. 2 (2012)

Sean Lynn-Jones, “Realism and America’s Rise: A Review Essay,” *International Security* vol. 23, no. 2 (1998)

Brian Rathbun, “Does One Right Make a Realist? Conservatism, Neoconservatism, and Isolationism in the Foreign Policy Ideology of American Elites,” *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 123, no. 2 (2008)

Sean Kay, “Realist Foreign Policy and Transatlantic Security Institutions,” *Security Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (2020)

Robert Alexander Craig, “The Tragic Science: The Uses of Jimmy Carter in Foreign Policy Realism,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* vol. 5, no. 1 (2002)

Dexter Fergie, "Geopolitics Turned Inwards: The Princeton Military Studies Group and the National Security Imagination," *Diplomatic History* vol. 43, no. 4 (2019)

Andrew Preston, "Monsters Everywhere: A Genealogy of National Security," *Diplomatic History* vol. 38, no. 3 (2014)

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

#### Core

Michael Desch, "America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security* vol. 32, no. 3 (2008)

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

Rebecca Friedman Lissner, "What Is Grand Strategy? Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 2, no. 1 (2018)

#### 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)

Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, "Why is there no non-Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* vol. 7, no. 3 (2007)

Judith Goldstein, *Ideas, Interests, and American Trade Policy* (Cornell University Press, 1993)

Bruce Kuklick, *Blind Oracles: Intellectuals and War from Kennan to Kissinger* (Princeton University Press, 2006)

Christopher Hemmer, *American Pendulum: Recurring Debates in U.S. Grand Strategy* (Cornell University Press, 2015)

Hal Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft From Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Cornell University Press, 2014), introduction

John Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (Cornell University Press, 2000)

Henry Nau, *Conservative Internationalism: Armed Diplomacy Under Jefferson, Polk, Truman, and Reagan* (Princeton University Press, 2013)

Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic Pressure and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation," *Review of International Studies* vol. 36, no. 1 (2010)

Hal Brands, "Democracy vs. Authoritarianism: How Ideology Shapes Great-Power Conflict," *Survival* vol. 60, no. 5 (2018)

David Edelstein and Ron Krebs, "Delusions of Grand Strategy: The Problem with Washington's Planning Obsession," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2015)

Eric Nordlinger, *Isolationism Reconfigured: American Foreign Policy for a New Century* (Princeton University Press, 1996)

Michael Williams, "Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* vol. 58, no. 4 (2004)

Paul Avey, Jonathan Markowitz, and Robert Reardon, "Disentangling Grand Strategy: International Relations Theory and U.S. Grand Strategy," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 2, no. 1 (2018)

Robert Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Cornell University Press, 2003)

Alexander Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to Be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," vol. 37, no. 4 (2013)

Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter, "Ensuring Peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914-2001," *International Organization* vol. 62, no. 4 (2008)

Alexander Downes and Lindsey O'Rourke, "You Can't Always Get What You Want: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Seldom Improves Interstate Relations," *International Security* vol. 41, no. 2 (2016)

Goran Pelc and Dan Reiter, "Foreign-Imposed Regime Change, State Power and Civil War Onset, 1920-2004," *British Journal of Political Science* vol. 41, no. 3 (2011)

#### **4 (Thurs., Oct. 20): Identities – beyond 'exceptionalism'**

##### Core

Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott, "Identity as a Variable," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 4, no. 4 (2006)

John Glaser, "Status, Prestige, Activism and the Illusion of American Decline," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 41, no. 1 (2018)



Michelle Mart, "Tough Guys and American Cold War Policy: Images of Israel, 1948-1960," *Diplomatic History* vol. 20, no. 3 (1996)

Gerald Horne, "Race from Power: U.S. Foreign Policy and the General Crisis of 'White Supremacy,'" *Diplomatic History* vol. 23, no. 3 (1999)

### Supplemental

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

Joshua Schwartz and Christopher Blair, "Do Women Make More Credible Threats? Gender Stereotypes, Audience Costs, and Crisis Bargaining," *International Organization* vol. 74, no. 4 (2020)

Richard Maass, *The Picky Eagle: How Democracy and Xenophobia Limited U.S. Territorial Expansion* (Cornell University Press, 2020) chapters 1 and 2

Srdjan Vucetic, "A Racialized Peace? How Britain and the U.S. Made Their Relationship Special," *Foreign Policy Analysis* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2011), pp. 403-22

Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (2002), pp. 575-608

Jutta Weldes, "Constructing National Interests," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 2, no. 3 (1996)

Carolyn Warner and Stephen Walker, "Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 7, no. 1 (2011)

William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Jonathan Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2011)

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

Murat Ülgül, "Faith Abroad: How Religion Shapes Trump Administration's Foreign Policy," *International Relations* vol. 35, no. 4 (2021)

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

Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark, "Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross-National Study of Gender and International Conflict," *Security Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (2020)

Saskia Stachowitsch, "Military Gender Integration and Foreign Policy in the United States: A Feminist International Relations Perspective," *Security Dialogue* vol. 43, no. 4 (2012)

Judith Papachristou, "American Women and Foreign Policy, 1898-1905: Exploring Gender in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* vol. 14, no. 4 (1990)

Weber, Cynthia, *Faking It: U.S. Hegemony in a Post-Phallic Era* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999)

Roxanne Lynn Doty, "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-positivist Analysis of US Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1993), pp. 297-320

Alvin Tillery, *Between Homeland and Motherland: Africa, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Black Leadership in America* (Cornell University Press, 2011)

Samuel Huntington, "Dead Souls: The Denationalization of the American Elite," *The National Interest* no. 75 (Spring 2004)

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

Robert Jervis, "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies* vol. 22, no. 2 (2013)

Allan Dafoe and Devin Caughey, "Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation," *World Politics* vol. 68, no. 2 (2016)

Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Who Fights for Reputation: The Psychology of Leaders in International Conflict* (Princeton University Press, 2018), chapters 1-4

William Howell, "Presidential Power in War," *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 14 (2011)

### Supplemental

Elizabeth Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Cornell University Press, 2011)

Elizabeth Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* vol. 34, no. 2 (2009)

Elizabeth Saunders, "Leaders, Advisers, and the Political Origins of Elite Support for War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 62, no. 10 (2018)

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

Michele Swers, "Building a Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* vol. 32, no. 4 (2007)

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)

Michael Horowitz and Allan Stam, "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders," *International Organization* vol. 68, no. 3 (2014)

Michael Horowitz, Allan Stam, and Cali Ellis, *Why Leaders Fight* (Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Danielle Lupton, "Military Experience and Elite Decision-Making: Self-Selection, Socialization, and the Vietnam Draft Lottery," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 66, no. 1 (2022)

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)

Michael Rubiner, "The Reagan Administration, the 1973 War Powers Resolution, and the Invasion of Grenada," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 100, no. 4 (1985/86)

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

Timothy Boylan, "War Powers, Constitutional Balance, and the 'Imperial Presidency' Idea at Century's End," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* vol. 29, no. 2 (1999)

Dino Christenson and Douglas Kriner, *The Myth of the Imperial Presidency: How Public Opinion Checks the Unilateral Executive* (The University of Chicago Press, 2020)

Brandice Canes-Wrone and William Howell, "Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis," *The Journal of Politics* vol. 70, no. 1 (2008)

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

Consuelo Thiers and Leslie Wehner, "The Personality Traits of Populist Leaders and Their Foreign Policies: Hugo Chávez and Donald Trump," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 66, no. 1 (2022)

John Harden, "All the World's a Stage: US Presidential Narcissism and International Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 65, no. 3 (2021)

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

Kenneth Schultz, "Perils of Polarization for U.S. Foreign Policy," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 40, no. 4 (2017)

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

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" *American Political Science Review* vol. 63, no. 3 (1969)

Risa Brooks, "Paradoxes of Professionalism: Rethinking Civil-Military Relations in the United States," *International Security* vol. 44, no. 4 (2020)

### Supplemental

Bryan Marshall and Patrick Haney, "The Impact of Party Conflict on Executive Ascendancy and Congressional Abdication in US Foreign Policy," *International Politics* vol. 59, no. 4 (2022)

Rasmus Sinding Søndergaard, "The Contested Origins of US Democracy Promotion: The National Endowment for Democracy and Its Congressional Critics," *International Politics* vol. 59, no. 2 (2022)

Lawrence Freedman, "Logic, Politics and Foreign Policy Processes: A Critique of the Bureaucratic Politics Model," *International Affairs* vol. 52, no. 3 (1976)

Christopher Jones, "Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Process Models," *Oxford Research Encyclopedias, International Studies* (2010)

David Cooper, Nikolas Gvodsev, and Jessica Blankshain, "Deconstructing the 'Deep State': Subordinate Bureaucratic Politics in U.S. National Security," *Orbis* vol. 62, no. 4 (2018)

Mikael Blomdahl, "Bureaucratic Roles and Positions: Explaining the United States Libya Decision," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* vol. 27, no. 1 (2016)

Or Arthur Honig, "The Impact of CIA's Organizational Culture on its Estimates under William Casey," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* vol. 24, no. 1 (2011)

David Ucko, "Innovation or Inertia: The U.S. Military and the Learning of Counterinsurgency," *Orbis* vol. 52, no. 2 (2008)

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)

Bryan Mabee, "Historical Institutionalism and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Origins of the National Security Council Revisited," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 7, no. 1 (2011)

Robert Zoellick, "Congress and the Making of US Foreign Policy," *Survival* vol. 41, no. 4 (1999)

Shereen Kotb and Gyung-Ho Jeong, "The US Congress and Rogue States," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 17, no. 3 (2021)

James Scott and Ralph Carter, "Acting on the Hill: Congressional Assertiveness in U.S. Foreign Policy," *Congress & the Presidency* vol. 29, no. 2 (2002)

Joseph Uscinski, Michael Rocca, Gabriel Sanchez, and Marina Brenden, "Congress and Foreign Policy: Congressional Action on the Darfur Genocide," *PS: Political Science and Politics* vol. 42, No. 3 (2009)

Kenneth Schultz, "Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises," *American Political Science Review* vol. 92, no. 4 (1998)

Kenneth Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War," *International Organization* vol. 53, no. 2 (1999)

Kenneth Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Samuel McMillan, "Subnational Foreign Policy Actors: How and Why Governors Participate in U.S. Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 4, no.3 (2008)

Douglas Johnson and Steven Metz, "Civil-Military Relations in the United States: The State of the Debate," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 18, no. 1 (1995)

Deborah Avant, "Conflicting Indicators of 'Crisis' in American Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society* vol. 24, no. 3 (1998)

Peter Feaver, "Civil-Military Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 2 (1999)

Hew Strachan, "Making Strategy: Civil-Military Relations after Iraq," *Survival* vol. 48, 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)

Peter White, "Generals in the Cabinet: Military Participation in Government and International Conflict Initiation," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 65, no. 2 (2021)

Polina Beliakova, "Erosion by Deference: Civilian Control and the Military in Policymaking," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 4, no. 3 (2021)

Andrea Arsoni, Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli, and Tino Sanandaji, “A Mercenary Army of the Poor? Technological Change and the Demographic Composition of the Post-9/11 U.S. Military,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 45, no. 4 (2022)

Susan Bryant, Brett Swaney, and Heidi Urben, “From Citizen Soldier to Secular Saint: The Societal Implications of Military Exceptionalism,” *Texas National Security Review* vol. 4, no. 2 (2021)

Jim Golby and Hugh Liebert, “Keeping Norms Normal: Ancient Perspectives on Norms in Civil-Military Relations,” *Texas National Security Review* vol. 4, no. 2 (2021)

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

### Core

Patrick Haney and Walt Vanderbush, “The Role of Ethnic Interest Groups in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Case of the Cuban American National Foundation,” *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 43, no. 2 (1999)

Jonathan Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War* (Princeton University Press, 2007), chapter 1

Diana Mutz, “How Americans Think about Trade: Winners, Losers, and the Psychology of Globalization,” *Foreign Affairs* (July 30, 2021)

Michael Tomz, Jessica Weeks, and Keren Yarhi-Milo, “Public Opinion and Decisions about Military Force in Democracies,” *International Organization* vol. 74, no. 1 (2020)

### Supplemental

Dmitry Zaytsev, Valentina Kuskova, and Alexandra Kononova, “The Power of Knowledge: How Think Tanks Impact US Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 18, no. 1 (2022)

Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, “Diasporas and International Relations Theory,” *International Organization* vol. 57, no. 3 (2003)

Peter Verovšek, “Screening Migrants in the Early Cold War: The Geopolitics of U.S. Immigration Policy,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 20, no. 4 (2018)

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007)

Benjamin Fordham, “Economic Interests, Party, and Ideology in Early Cold war Era U.S. Foreign Policy,” *International Organization* vol. 52, no. 2 (1998)

Alexander Langer, “The Hotel on the Hill: Hilton Hotel’s Unofficial Embassy in Rome,” *Diplomatic History* vol. 46, no. 2 (2022)

- Kevin Narizny, "Both Guns and Butter, or Neither: Class Interests in the Political Economy of Rearmament," *American Political Science Review* vol. 97, no. 2 (2003)
- Daniel Drezner, "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 6, no. 1 (2008)
- Miroslav Nincic and Donna Nincic, "Race, Gender, and War," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 39, no. 5 (2002)
- Jody Baumgartner, Peter Francia, and Jonathan Morris, "A Clash of Civilizations? The Influence of Religion on Public Opinion of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East," *Political Research Quarterly* vol. 61, no. 2 (2008)
- Richard Eichenberg, "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes toward the Use of Force by the United States, 1990-2003," *International Security* vol. 28, no. 1 (2003)
- Deborah Brooks and Benjamin Valentino, "A War of One's Own: Understanding the Gender Gap in Support for War," *Public Opinion Quarterly* vol. 75, no. 2 (2011)
- Joslyn Barnhart, Robert Trager, Elizabeth Saunders, and Allan Dafoe, "The Suffragist Peace," *International Organization* vol. 74, no. 4 (2020)
- Dara Kay Cohen and Sabrina Karim, "Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence," *International Organization* vol. 76, no. 2 (2022)
- Rachel Myrick, "Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy," *International Organization* (2021)
- Mirya Holman, Jennifer Merolla, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, "Sex, Stereotypes, and Security: A Study of the Effects of Terrorist Threat on Assessments of Female Leadership," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* vol. 32, no. 3 (2011)
- Joshua Kertzer, "Making Sense of Isolationism: Foreign Policy Mood as a Multilevel Phenomenon," *Journal of Politics* vol. 75, no. 1 (2013)
- 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)
- David Skidmore, "Foreign Policy Interest Groups and Presidential Power: Jimmy Carter and the Battle over Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* vol. 23, no. 3 (1993)
- Matthew Baum, "Going Private: Public Opinion, Presidential Rhetoric, and the Domestic Politics of Audience Costs in U.S. Foreign Policy Crises," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 48, no. 5 (2004)
- Alexandra Guisinger, *American Opinion on Trade: Preferences without Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2017)

Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley, “Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy,” *International Organization* vol. 65, no. 1 (2011)

Yuval Feinstein, “Applying Sociological Theories of Emotions to the Study of Mass Politics: The Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon in the United States as a Test Case,” *The Sociological Quarterly* vol.61, no. 3 (2020)

Jane Cramer, “‘Just Cause’ or Just Politics? US Panama Invasion and Standardizing Qualitative Tests for Diversionary War,” *Armed Forces & Society* vol. 32, no. 2 (2006)

Efe Tokdemir and Brendan Skip Mark, “When Killers Become Victims: Diversionary War, Human Rights, and Strategic Target Selection,” *International Interactions* vol. 44, no. 2 (2018)

James Meernik and Peter Waterman, “The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents,” *Political Research Quarterly* vol. 49, no. 3 (1996)

Erin Baggott Carter, “Diversionary Cheap Talk: Economic Conditions and US Foreign Policy Rhetoric, 1945-2010,” *International Interactions* vol. 46, no. 2 (2020)

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

Erik Lin-Greenberg, “Soldiers, Pollsters, and International Crises: Public Opinion and the Military’s Advice on the Use of Force,” *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:**

- 1) What is American exceptionalism? Is it an identity? A set of ideas? Something else? What is the content of exceptionalism? Is it unique to the United States? In light of your positions on the previous issues, does exceptionalism matter for understanding US foreign policy? If so, how? If not, why is the concept so popular among analysts of US foreign policy?

**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?



**Suggested readings:** Abdelal et al. 2006; Horne 1999; Maass 2020; Vucetic 2011; Hemmer and Katzenstein 2002; Tillery 2011.

- 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?

**Suggested readings:** Friedman Lissner 2018; Hemmer 2015; Brands 2014; Kitchen 2010; Edelstein and Krebs 2015; Avey, Markowitz, and Reardon 2018.

- 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?

**Suggested readings:** Desch 2008; Mead 2002; McDougall 1997; Nau 2013; Art 2003.

- 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?

**Suggested readings:** Owen 2000; Schultz 2004; Schultz 2017; Silverstone 2004; Baum 2004; Tomz, Weeks, and Yarhi-Milo 2020.

- 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

Richard Maass, *The Picky Eagle: How Democracy and Xenophobia Limited U.S. Territorial Expansion* (Cornell University Press, 2020) chapters 3-6

Brent Steele, "Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War," *Review of International Studies* vol. 31, no. 3 (2005)

#### Supplemental

Scott Silverstone, "Federal Democratic Peace: Domestic Institutions and International Conflict in the Early American Republic," *Security Studies* vol. 13, no. 3 (2004)

Reginald Horsemann, "The Dimensions of an 'Empire for Liberty': Expansion and Republicanism, 1775-1825," *Journal of the Early Republic* vol. 9, no. 1 (1989)

Colin Elman, "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony," *American Political Science Review* vol. 98, no. 4 (2004)

Daniel Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861," *International Organization* vol. 49, no. 2 (1995)

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)

Andrew Szarejko, "Do Accidental Wars Happen? Evidence from America's Indian Wars," *Journal of Global Security Studies* (2020)

Arthur Spirling, "US Treaty Making with American Indians: Institutional Change and Relative Power, 1784-1911," *American Journal of Political Science* vol. 56, no. 1 (2012)

Nau, *Conservative Internationalism* chapters 4 and 5

Mlada Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights from Independence to the War of 1812," *International Organization* vol. 51, no. 2 (1997)

James Sofka, "American Neutral Rights Reappraised: Identity or Interest in the Foreign Policy of the Early Republic?" *Review of International Studies* vol. 26, no. 4 (2000)

Jasper Trautsch, "The Causes of the War of 1812: 200 Years of Debate," *The Journal of Military History* vol. 77: 273-293 (2013)

Donald Hickey, "New England's Defense Problem and the Genesis of the Hartford Convention," *The New England Quarterly* vol. 50, no. 4 (1977)

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

Alison LaCroix, "A Singular and Awkward War: The Transatlantic Context of the Hartford Convention," *American Nineteenth Century History* vol. 6, no. 1 (2005)

Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Harvard University Press, 1981)

Paul Poast, "Lincoln's Gamble: Fear of Intervention and the Onset of the American Civil War," *Security Studies* vol. 24, no. 3 (2015)

Peter Thompson, "The Case of the Missing Hegemon: British Nonintervention in the American Civil War," *Security Studies* vol. 16, no. 1 (2007)

Richard Little, "British Neutrality versus Offshore Balancing in the American Civil War: The English School Strikes Back," *Security Studies* vol. 16, no. 1 (2007)

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

Alan McPherson, *A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wiley Blackwell, 2016), chapter 1

## **9 (Thurs., Nov. 10): Becoming a 'great power'**

### Core

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

Benjamin Fordham, "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890-91," *International Organization* vol. 73, no. 2 (2019)

Jonathan Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War* (Princeton University Press, 2007) chapter 2

Masuda Hajimu, "Rumors of War: Immigration Disputes and the Social Construction of American-Japanese Relations, 1905-1913," *Diplomatic History* vol. 33, no. 1 (2009)

Supplemental

Daniel Byman, "White Supremacy, Terrorism, and the Failure of Reconstruction in the United States," *International Security* vol. 46, no. 1 (2021)

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

Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (Picador, 2019)

Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War* chapter 5

Maass, *The Picky Eagle* chapter 7

Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton University Press, 1998)

Mark Peceny, "A Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Peace: The Ambiguous Case of the Spanish-American War," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 34, no. 4 (1997)

Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (Yale University Press, 1998)

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)

Paul McCartney, "Religion, the Spanish-American War, and the idea of American Mission," *Journal of Church and State* vol. 54, no. 2 (2012)

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)

Stuart Anderson, "Racial Anglo-Saxonism and the American Response to the Boer War," *Diplomatic History* vol. 2, no. 3 (1978)

Eric Love, *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005)

Frank Ninkovich, "Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology," *Diplomatic History* vol. 10, no. 3 (1986)

Charles Neu, "Theodore Roosevelt and American Involvement in the Far East, 1901-1909," *Pacific Historical Review* vol. 35, no. 4 (1966)

Carl Cavanagh Hodge, "A Whiff of Cordite: Theodore Roosevelt and the Transoceanic Naval Arms Race, 1897-1909," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* vol. 19, no. 4 (2008)

Colin Dueck, "Theodore Roosevelt and American Realism," *Orbis* vol. 61, no. 4 (2017)

Greg Russell, "Theodore Roosevelt, Geopolitics, and Cosmopolitan Ideals," *Review of International Studies* vol. 32, no. 3 (2006)

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

Ivan Musicant, *Empire by Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (Henry Holt, 1998)

Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934* (Rutgers University Press, 1995)

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)

Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: A History of U.S. Japan Relations* (W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 3-99.

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

Richard Collin, *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context* (Louisiana State University Press, 1990)

Max Paul Friedman and Tom Long, "Soft Balancing in the Americas: Latin American Opposition to U.S. Intervention, 1898-1936," *International Security* vol. 40, no. 1 (2015)

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)

Galen Jackson, "The Offshore Balancing Thesis Reconsidered: Realism, the Balance of Power in Europe, and America's Decision for War in 1917," *Security Studies* vol. 21, no. 3 (2012)

Mark Ledwidge and Inderjeet Parmar, "Clash of Pans: Pan-Africanism and Pan-Anglo-Saxonism and the Global Colour Line, 1919-1945," *International Politics* vol. 55: 765-781 (2018)

John Schuessler, "The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War," *International Security* vol. 34, no. 4 (2010)

Supplemental

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

Stephen Wertheim, *Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy* (Harvard University Press, 2020)

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

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

LaFeber, *The Clash*, pp. 99-257

Daniel Larsen, "Abandoning Democracy: Woodrow Wilson and Promoting German Democracy, 1918-1919," *Diplomatic History* vol. 37, no. 3 (2013)

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

John Thompson, "Woodrow Wilson," in Michael Cox, Timothy Lynch, and Nicolas Bouchet, eds., *US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion: From Theodore Roosevelt to Barack Obama* (Routledge, 2013)

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

Brooke Blower, "From Isolationism to Neutrality: A New Framework for Understanding American Political Culture, 1919-1941," *Diplomatic History* vol. 38, no. 2 (2014)

Charles Kupchan, *Isolationism: A History of America's Efforts to Shield Itself from the World* (Oxford University Press, 2020), chapters 8-11

Bear Braumoeller, "The Myth of American Isolationism," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 6, no. 4 (2010)

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

Steven Ward, "Race, Status, and Japanese Revisionism in the Early 1930s," *Security Studies* vol. 22, no. 4 (2013)

David Scott Fogelsohn, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: United States Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995)

Malcolm Magee, "Woodrow Wilson, Wilsonianism, and the Idealism of Faith," *The Review of Faith and International Affairs* vol. 9, no. 4 (2011)

Lloyd Ambrosius, "Woodrow Wilson and *The Birth of a Nation*: American Democracy and International Relations," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* vol. 18, no. 4 (2007)

Jeremy Menchik, "Woodrow Wilson and the Spirit of Liberal Internationalism," *Politics, Religion, & Ideology* vol. 22, no. 2 (2021)

Chad Williams, "World War I in the Historical Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois," *Modern American History* vol. 1, no. 1 (2018)

Seok-Won Lee, "The Paradox of Racial Liberation: W.E.B. Du Bois and Pan-Asianism in Wartime Japan, 1931-1945," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* vol. 16, no. 4 (2015)

Sam Klug, "The Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Institutional Imagination of Black Internationalism, 1941-1945," *Diplomatic History* vol. 46, no. 4 (2022)

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

Christopher Darnton, "Archives and Inference: Documentary Evidence in Case Study Research and the Debate over U.S. Entry into World War II," *International Security* vol. 42, no. 3 (2017/18)

Chris Layne, *The Peace of Illusion: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Cornell University Press, 2006)

Geoffrey Smith, "Isolationism, the Devil, and the Advent of the Second World War: Variations on a Theme," *The International History Review* vol. 4, no. 1 (1982)

John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security During the Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2005), chapter 1

Henry Stimson and Harry S. Truman, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (originally printed in Harper's Magazine)* vol. 3, no. 2 (1947)

Robert Pape, "Why Japan Surrendered," *International Security* vol. 18, no. 2 (1993)

Ward Wilson, "The Winning Weapon? Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima," *International Security* vol. 31, no. 4 (2007)

Rufus Miles, Jr., "Hiroshima: The Strange Myth of Half a Million American Lives Saved," *International Security* vol. 10, no. 2 (1985)

Barton Bernstein, "Eclipsed by Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Early Thinking about Tactical Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* vol. 15, no. 4 (1991)

Barton Bernstein, "Truman and the A-bomb: Targeting Noncombatants, Using the Bomb, and His Defending the 'Decision'," *The Journal of Military History* vol. 62, no. 3 (1998)

Martin Sherwin, "Hiroshima as Politics and History," *The Journal of American History* vol. 82, no. 3 (1995)

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

Katherine McKinney, Scott Sagan, and Allen Weiner, "Why the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima Would be Illegal Today," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* vol. 76, no. 4 (2020)

Phillips Payson O'Brien, "The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the atom bomb, the American Military Mind, and the end of the Second World War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 42, no. 7 (2019)

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

Cary Fraser, "Crossing the Color Line in Little Rock: The Eisenhower Administration and the Dilemma of Race for US Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* vol. 24, no. 2 (2000)

### Supplemental

Thompson, *A Sense of Power* chapter 6

Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Status University of New York Press, 1986)

Thomas Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton University Press, 1996)

Jeff Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery* (Cornell University Press, 2004), chapter 5

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)

Brian Rathbun, "Before Hegemony: Generalized Trust and the Creation and Design of International Security Organizations," *International Organization* vol. 65, no. 2 (2011)



Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton University Press, 1991)

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

William Burr, "Avoiding the Slippery Slope: The Eisenhower Administration and the Berlin Crisis, November 1958-January 1959," *Diplomatic History* vol. 18, no. 2 (1994)

Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 3, no. 1 (2001)

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

Clive Webb, "Reluctant Partners: African Americans and the Origins of the Special Relationship," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* vol 14: 350-364 (2016)

Ebere Nwaubani, *The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950-1960* (University of Rochester Press, 2001)

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

Karen Guttieri, Michael Wallace, and Peter Suedfeld, "The Integrative Complexity of American Decision Makers in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 39, no. 4 (1995)

Marc Trachtenberg, "The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Security* vol. 10, no. 1 (1985)

Marc Trachtenberg, "A 'Wasting Asset': American Strategy and the Shifting Nuclear Balance, 1949-1954," *International Security* vol. 13, no. 3 (1988)

Marc Trachtenberg, "Strategic Thought in America, 1952-1966," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 104, no. 2 (1989)

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapters 1-5

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

Brendan Green, "Two Concepts of Liberty: U.S. Cold War Grand Strategies and the Liberal Tradition," *International Security* vol. 37, no. 2 (2012)

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

Paul Avey, "Confronting Soviet Power: U.S. Policy during the Early Cold War," *International Security* vol. 36, no. 4 (2012)

Jeffrey Herf, "The U.S. State Department's Opposition to Zionist Aspirations During the Early Cold War: George F. Kennan and George C. Marshall in 1947-1948," *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 23, no. 4 (2021)

Donald Alan Carter, "Eisenhower versus the Generals," *The Journal of Military History* vol. 71, no. 4 (2007)

## **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

Jonathan Caverley, "The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam," *International Security* vol. 34, no. 3 (2010)

Rose McDermott, "Prospect Theory in International Relations: The Iranian Hostage Rescue Mission," *Political Psychology* vol. 13, no. 2 (1992)

### Supplemental

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

Kenneth Waltz, "The Politics of Peace," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 11, no. 3 (1967)

Kenneth Waltz, "International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power," *Journal of International Affairs* vol. 21, no. 2 (1967)

Peter Trubowitz, "Sectionalism and American Foreign Policy: The Political Geography of Consensus and Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 36, no. 2 (1992)

Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton University Press, 1992)

Robert Pape, "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War," *International Security* vol. 15, no. 2 (1990)

Nina Tannenwald, "Nuclear Weapons and the Vietnam War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 29, no. 4 (2006)

Jonathan Caverley, "Explaining U.S. Military Strategy in Vietnam: Thinking Clearly about Causation," *International Security* vol. 35, no. 3 (2010)

Ron Gurantz, "Was Airpower 'Misapplied' in the Vietnam War? Reassessing Signaling in Operation Rolling Thunder," *Security Studies* (2021)

James McAlister, "Who Lost Vietnam? Soldiers, Civilians, and U.S. Military Strategy," *International Security* vol. 35, no. 3 (2010)

Stephen Pelz, "John F. Kennedy's 1961 Vietnam War Decisions," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 4, no. 4 (1981)

Chad Levinson, "Partners in Persuasion: Extra-Governmental Organizations in the Vietnam War," *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2021)

Mao Lin, "China and the Escalation of the Vietnam War: The First Years of the Johnson Administration," *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 11, no. 2 (2009)

Francis Gavin, "The Myth of Flexible Response: United States Strategy in Europe During the 1960s," *The International History Review* vol. 23, no. 4 (2001)

Jonathan DiCicco and Benjamin Fordham, "The Things They Carried: Generational Effects of the Vietnam War on Elite Opinion," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 62, no. 1 (2018)

Galen Jackson, "Who Killed Détente? The Superpowers and the Cold War in the Middle East, 1969-77," *International Security* vol. 44, no. 3 (2019/20)

Galen Jackson, "The Showdown that Wasn't: U.S.-Israeli Relations and American Domestic Politics, 1973-75," *International Security* vol. 39, no. 4 (2015)

Galen Jackson, "Strategy and Two-Level Games: U.S. Domestic Politics and the Road to a Separate Peace, 1977-1978," *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 19, no. 3 (2017)

Simon Miles, "The War Scare That Wasn't: Able Archer 83 and the Myths of the Second Cold War," *Journal of Cold War History* vol. 22, no. 3 (2020)

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

Gregory Winger, "Prospect Theory and Civil-Military Conflict: The Case of the 1976 Korean Axe Murder Incident," *Armed Forces & Society* vol. 43, no. 4 (2017)

Fredrick Loegevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (University of California Press, 1999)

Gareth Porter, *Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam* (University of California Press, 2004)

David Milne, "Our Equivalent of Guerrilla Warfare': Walt Rostow and the Bombing of North Vietnam, 1961-1968," *The Journal of Military History* vol. 71, no. 1 (2007)

Martha Cottam, *Images and Intervention: U.S. Policies in Latin America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), chapter 5

William LeoGrande, *Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977-1992* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998)

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapters 6-10

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

Andrew Jenks, "U.S.-Soviet Handshakes in Space and the Cold War Imaginary," *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 23, no. 2 (2021)

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

Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?* chapters 2-3

John Lewis Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* vol. 17, no. 3 (1992)

William Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* vol. 19, no. 3 (1994/95)

Brendan Green and Austin Long, "The MAD Who Wasn't There: Soviet Reactions to the Late Cold War Nuclear Balance," *Security Studies* vol. 26, no. 4 (2017)

### **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)

Alexandra Homolar, "How to Last Alone at the Top: US Strategic Planning for the Unipolar Era," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 34, no. 2 (2011)

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

#### Supplemental

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

Jane Kirkpatrick, "A Normal Country in a Normal Time," *The National Interest* (Fall 1990)

Hugh De Santis, "The Graying of NATO," *Washington Quarterly* vol. 14, no. 4 (1991)

Coral Bell, "Why Russia Should Join NATO: From Containment to Concert," *The National Interest* no. 22 (1990/91)

Ronald Asmus, Richard Kugler, and F. Stephen Larrabee, "Building a New NATO," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 72, no. 4 (1993)

Strobe Talbott, "Why NATO Should Grow," *The New York Review of Books* (August 10, 1995)

Richard T. Davies, "Should NATO Grow? A Dissent," *The New York Review of Books* (September 21, 1995)

Michael Mandelbaum, "Preserving the New Peace: The Case Against NATO Expansion," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 74, no. 3 (1995)

George Kennan, "A Fateful Error," *The New York Times* (February 5, 1997)  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1997/02/05/opinion/a-fateful-error.html>

"Opposition to NATO Expansion" (open letter signed by foreign policy experts against NATO expansion) <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/1997-06/arms-control-today/opposition-nato-expansion>

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)

Richard Holbrooke and Mark Danner, "Marooned in the Cold War': An Exchange," *World Policy Journal* vol. 14, no. 4 (1997/98)

Mark Danner, George F. Kennan, Strobe Talbott, and Lee Hamilton, "'Marooned in the Cold War': An Exchange between Mark Danner and George F. Kennan, Strobe Talbott, and Lee H. Hamilton," *World Policy Journal* vol. 15, no. 1 (1998)

Michael MccGwire, "NATO Expansion: 'A Policy Error of Historic Importance,'" *Review of International Studies* vol. 24, no. 1 (1998)

John Lewis Gaddis, "History, Grand Strategy and NATO Enlargement," *Survival* vol. 40, no. 1 (1998)

Christopher Ball, "Nattering NATO Negativism? Reasons Why Expansion may be a Good Thing," *Review of International Studies* vol. 24, no. 1 (1998)

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)

Emad El-Din Aysha, "Samuel Huntington and the Geopolitics of American Identity: The Function of Foreign Policy in America's Domestic Clash of Civilizations," *International Studies Perspectives* vol. 4, no. 2 (2003)

Hal Brands, "Choosing Primacy: US Strategy and Global Order at the Dawn of the Post-Cold War Era," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 1, no. 2 (2018)

"Prevent the Emergence of a New Rival: The Making of the Cheney Regional Defense Strategy, 1991-1992," *The National Security Archive at the George Washington University*  
<https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/>

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

James Goldgeier, "NATO expansion: The anatomy of a decision," *Washington Quarterly* vol. 21, no. 1 (1998)

Christopher Layne, "US Hegemony and the Perpetuation of NATO," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 23, no. 3 (2000)

Charles Kupchan, "The Origins and Future of NATO Enlargement," *Contemporary Security Policy* vol. 21, no. 2 (2000)

Frank Schimmelfennig, "NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation," *Security Studies* Vol. 8, No. 2-3 (1998)

Mark Kramer, "The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia," *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 2 (2009)

William Wohlforth and Vladislav Zubok, "An Abiding Antagonism: Realism, Idealism and the Mirage of Western-Russian Partnership after the Cold War," *International Politics* Vol. 54 (2017)

Mary Sarotte, "How to Enlarge NATO: The Debate inside the Clinton Administration, 1993-95," *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2019)

Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security* vol. 40, no. 4 (2016)

Marc Trachtenberg, "The United States and the NATO Non-Extension Assurances of 1990: New Light on an Old Problem?" *International Security* vol. 45, no. 3 (2020)

Timothy Sayle, *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order* (Cornell University Press, 2019)

Mary Sarotte, "Perpetuating U.S. Preeminence: The 1990 Deals to 'Bribe the Soviets Out' and Move NATO In," *International Security* Vol. 35, No. 1 (2010)

Mary Sarotte, "Not One Inch Eastward? Bush, Baker, Kohl, Genscher, Gorbachev, and the Origin of Russian Resentment toward NATO Enlargement in February 1990," *Diplomatic History* Vol. 34, No. 1 (2010)

Russell Burgos, "Origins of Regime Change: 'Ideapolitik' on the Long Road to Baghdad, 1993-2000," *Security Studies* vol. 17, no. 2 (2008)

Alexandra Homolar, "Rebels without a Conscience: The Evolution of the Rogue States Narrative in US Security Policy," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 17, no. 4 (2010)

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

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security* vol. 17, no. 4 (1993)

John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* vol. 15, no. 1 (1990)

Rose McDermott and Jacek Kugler, "Comparing Rational Choice and Prospect Theory Analyses: The US Decision to Launch Operation 'Desert Storm', January 1991," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 24, no. 3 (2001)

Lauren Holland, "The U.S. Decision to Launch Operation Desert Storm: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis," *Armed Forces & Society* vol. 25, no. 2 (1999)

William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1996)

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

##### Core

Amy Zegart, "9/11 and the FBI: The Organizational Roots of Failure," *Intelligence and National Security* vol. 22, no. 2 (2007)

Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *International Security* vol. 29, no. 4 (2005)

Ahsan Butt, "Why Did the United States Invade Iraq in 2003?" *Security Studies* vol. 28, no. 2 (2019)

Ronald Krebs and Jennifer Lobasz, "Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, and the Road to War in Iraq," *Security Studies* vol. 16, no. 3 (2007)

Frank Harvey, "President Al Gore and the 2003 Iraq War: A Counterfactual Test of the Conventional 'Wisdom,'" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* vol. 45, no. 1 (2012)

##### Supplemental

James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (Penguin, 2004)

Alexandre Debs and Nuno Monteiro, "Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War," *International Organization* vol. 68, no. 1 (2014)

Samuel Helfont, "The Gulf War's Afterlife: Dilemmas, Missed Opportunities, and the Post-Cold War Order Undone," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 4, no. 2 (2021)

Frank Harvey, *Explaining the Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic and Evidence* (Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Review Symposium – "Ideology, Realpolitik, and US Foreign Policy: A Discussion of Frank P. Harvey's *Explaining the Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic and Evidence*," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 11, no. 2 (2013)

Amy Zegart, "An Empirical Analysis of Failed Intelligence Reforms before September 11," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 121, no. 1 (2006)

Robert Jervis, "Explaining the War in Iraq," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Colin Dueck, "Ideas, American Grand Strategy, and the War in Iraq," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Andrew Flibbert, "Ideas and Entrepreneurs: A Constructivist Explanation of the Iraq War," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Jerome Slater, "Explaining the Iraq War: The Israel Lobby Theory," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Michael Lind, "Neoconservatism and American Hegemony," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

John Duffield, "Oil and the Decision to Invade Iraq," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Jane Sharp, "Tony Blair Nurtures the Special Relationship," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Jane Cramer and Edward Duggan, "In Pursuit of Primacy: Why the United States Invaded Iraq," in Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall, eds., *Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?* (Routledge, 2012)

Chaim Kauffmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas," *Security Studies* vol. 29, no. 1 (2004)

Jane Kellett Cramer, "Militarized Patriotism: Why the U.S. Marketplace of Ideas Failed Before the Iraq War," *Security Studies* vol. 16, no. 3 (2007)



Martin Smith, "US Bureaucratic Politics and the Decision to Invade Iraq," *Contemporary Politics* vol. 14, no. 1 (2008)

Stephen Benedict Dyson, "'Stuff Happens': Donald Rumsfeld and the Iraq War," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 5, no. 4 (2009)

David Mitchell and Tansa George Massoud, "Anatomy of Failure: Bush's Decision-Making Process and the Iraq War," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 5, no. 3 (2009)

Anthony Clark Arend, "International Law and the Preemptive Use of Military Force," *Washington Quarterly* vol. 26, no. 2 (2003)

Jeffrey Record, "The Use and Abuse of History: Munich, Vietnam and Iraq," *Survival* vol. 49, no. 1 (2007)

Peter Krause, "The Last Good Chance: A Reassessment of U.S. Operations at Tora Bora," *Security Studies* vol. 17, no. 4 (2008)

Daniel Byman, "An Autopsy of the Iraq Debacle: Policy Failure or Bridge Too Far?" *Security Studies* vol. 17, no. 4 (2008)

Benjamin Miller, "Explaining Changes in U.S. Grand Strategy: 9/11, the Rise of Offensive Liberalism, and the War in Iraq," *Security Studies* vol. 19, no. 1 (2010)

Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer, "Cheater's Dilemma: Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the Path to War," *International Security* vol. 45, no. 1 (2020)

Gregory Koblentz, "Saddam Versus the Inspectors: The Impact of Regime Security on the Verification of Iraq's WMD Disarmament," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 41, no. 3 (2018)

Colin Kahl, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *International Security* vol. 32, no. 1 (2007)

Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey Friedman, and Jacob Shapiro, "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* vol. 37, no. 1 (2012)

Jonathan Monten and Radha Iyengar Plumb, "Is There an 'Emboldenment' Effect: Evidence from the Insurgency in Iraq," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 45, no. 4 (2022)

Peter Liberman and Linda Skitka, "Vicarious Retribution in US Public Support for War Against Iraq," *Security Studies* vol. 28, no. 2 (2019)

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

### Core

Patrick Porter, "Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment," *International Security* vol. 42, no. 4 (2018)

Hal Brands, "Barack Obama and the Dilemmas of American Grand Strategy," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 39, no. 4 (2016)

Reinhard Wolf, "Donald Trump's Status-Driven Foreign Policy," *Survival* vol. 59, no. 5 (2017)

Hilde Restad, "What Makes America Great? Donald Trump, National Identity, and US Foreign Policy," *Global Affairs* vol. 6, no. 1 (2020)

Supplemental

Robert Jervis, "Liberalism, the Blob, and American Foreign Policy: Evidence and Methodology," *Security Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (2020)

C. William Walldorf, "Narratives and War: Explaining the Length and End of U.S. Military Operations in Afghanistan," *International Security* vol. 47, no. 1 (2022)

Christopher Kolenda, "Slow Failure: Understanding America's Quagmire in Afghanistan," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 42, no. 7 (2019)

Laurel Miller, "Biden's Afghanistan Withdrawal: A Verdict on the Limits of American Power," *Survival* vol. 63, no. 3 (2021)

Sylvia Bashevkin, *Women as Foreign Policy Leaders: National Security and Gender Politics in Superpower America* (Oxford University Press, 2018)

Jonathan Kirshner, "Gone But Not Forgotten: Trump's Long Shadow and the End of American Credibility," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 100, no. 2 (2021).

Brendon O'Connor and Danny Cooper, "Ideology and the Foreign Policy of Barack Obama: A Liberal-Realist Approach to International Affairs," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (2021)

Colin Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today* (Oxford University Press, 2015)

Wyn Bowen, Jeffrey Knopf, and Matthew Moran, "The Obama Administration and Syrian Chemical Weapons: Deterrence, Compellence, and the Limits of the 'Resolve plus Bombs' Formula," *Security Studies* vol. 29, no. 5 (2020)

John Logan Mitton, "Lessons in Deterrence: Evaluating Coercive Diplomacy in Syria, 2012-2019," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 45. No. 3 (2022)

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)

Leslie Gelb, "The Elusive Obama Doctrine," *The National Interest* (2012)

Robert Kaufman, "Prudence and the Obama Doctrine," *Orbis* vol. 58, no. 3 (2014)

- Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic* (April 2016)
- Georg Löfflmann, "From the Obama Doctrine to America First: The Erosion of the Washington Consensus on Grand Strategy," *International Politics* vol. 57, no. 4 (2020)
- Mirya Holman, Jennifer Merolla, Elizabeth Zechmeister, and Ding Wang, "Terrorism, Gender, and the 2016 US Presidential Election," *Electoral Studies* vol. 61 (2019)
- Peter Dombrowski and Simon Reich, "Does Donald Trump have a Grand Strategy?" *International Affairs* vol. 93, no. 5 (2017)
- Hal Brands, "The Unexceptional Superpower: American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump," *Survival* vol. 59, no. 6 (2017)
- Michael Clarke and Anthony Ricketts, "Donald Trump and American Foreign Policy: The Return of the Jacksonian Tradition," *Comparative Strategy* vol. 36, no. 4 (2017)
- Hal Brands, "US Grand Strategy in an Age of Nationalism: Fortress America and its Alternatives," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 40, no. 1 (2017)
- Randall Schweller, "Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy: What the Establishment Misses," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 97 (September/October 2018)
- Matthew Kroenig, "The Case for Trump's Foreign Policy: The Right People, the Right Positions," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 97 (2017)
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, "After Credibility: American Foreign Policy in the Trump Era," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 97 (2018)
- Daniel Drezner, "Present at the Destruction: The Trump Administration and the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy," *The Journal of Politics* vol. 81, no. 2 (2019)
- Richard Haass, "Present at the Disruption: How Trump Unmade US Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 99 (2020)
- Thorsten Wojczewski, "Trump, Populism, and American Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 16, no. 3 (2020)
- Peter Harris, "Why Trump Won't Retrench: The Militarist Redoubt in American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 133, no. 4 (2018)
- Michelle Bentley and Maxine David, "Unpredictability as Doctrine: Reconceptualising Foreign Policy Strategy in the Trump Era," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (2021)
- Taesuh Cha, "The Return of Jacksonianism: The International Implications of the Trump Phenomenon," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 39, no. 4 (2016)

Barry Posen, “The Rise of Illiberal Hegemony: Trump’s Surprising Grand Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 97, no. 2 (2018)

Jean-Christophe Boucher and Cameron Thies, “I am a Tariff Man’: The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric Under President Trump,” *The Journal of Politics* vol. 81, no. 2 (2019)

Hal Brands, “The Emerging Biden Doctrine: Democracy, Autocracy, and the Defining Clash of Our Time,” *Foreign Affairs* (June 29, 2021)

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

Lindsey Ford and Zack Cooper, “America’s Alliances After Trump: Lessons from the Summer of ’69,” *Texas National Security Review* vol. 4, no. 2 (2021)

## 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?

**Suggested readings:** Herring chapter 20; Krauthammer 1990; Homolar 2011; Fukuyama 1989; Kirkpatrick 1990; Huntington 1993; Aysha 2003; Brands 2018; Burgos 2008; Kristol and Kagan 1996.

- 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

**Suggested readings:** Stimson and Truman 1947; Pape 1993; Wilson 2007; Miles, Jr. 1985; Bernstein 1991; Bernstein 1998; Sherwin 1995; Walker 2005; McKinney, Sagan, and Weiner 2020; O'Brien 2019.

- 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; Shiffrinson 2016; Trachtenberg 2020; Sayle 2019; Sarotte 2010 (both); Sarotte 2019; Layne 2000; Kupchan 2000; Schimmelfennig 1998; Kramer 2009; Wohlforth and Zubok 2017

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

**Suggested readings:** Butt 2019; Harvey 2012; Monten 2005; Krebs and Lobasz 2007; Kauffmann 2004; Cramer 2007; Smith 2008; Dyson 2009; Mitchell and Massoud 2009; Record 2007; Debs and Monteiro 2014.

- 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

Aaron Friedberg, “The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing’s Assertiveness,” *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 37, no. 4 (2014)

Benjamin Zala, “Interpreting Great Power Rights in International Society: Debating China’s Right to a Sphere of Influence,” *Journal of International Political Theory* vol. 16, no. 2 (2020)

Charles Glaser, “A U.S.-China Grand Bargain? The Hard Choice Between Military Competition and Accommodation,” *International Security* vol. 39, no. 4 (2015)

Alexander Cooley, Daniel Nexon, and Steven Ward, “Revising Order or Challenging the Balance of Military Power? An Alternative Typology of Revisionist and Status-Quo States,” *Review of International Studies* vol. 45, no. 4 (2019)

### Supplemental

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

Hal Brands and Michael Beckley, *The Danger Zone: The Coming Conflict with China* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2022)

Christian Wirth, “Emotions, International Hierarchy, and the Problem of Solipsism in Sino-US South China Sea Politics,” *International Relations* vol. 34, no. 1 (2020)

Joshua Shiffrin, “The Rise of China, Balance of Power Theory and US National Security: Reasons for Optimism?” *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 43, no. 2 (2020)

Andrew Chubb, “PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015,” *International Security* vol. 45, no. 3 (2021)

Brendan Rittenhouse Green and Caitlin Talmadge, “Then What? Assessing the Military Implications of Chinese Control of Taiwan,” *International Security* vol. 47, no. 1 (2022)

Fiona Cunningham, “The Maritime Rung on the Escalation Ladder: Naval Blockades in a US-China Conflict,” *Security Studies* vol. 29, no. 4 (2020)

Isaac Kardon and Wendy Leutert, “Pier Competitor: China’s Power Position in Global Ports,” *International Security* vol. 46., no. 4 (2022)

Fiona Cunningham, “Strategic Substitution: China’s Search for Coercive Leverage in the Information Age,” *International Security* vol. 47, no. 1 (2022)

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

Thomas Wright, *All Measures Short of War: The Contest for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century & the Future of American Power* (Yale University Press, 2017)

Matthew Kroenig, *The Return of Great Power Rivalry: Democracy versus Autocracy from the Ancient World to the U.S. and China* (Oxford University Press, 2020)

Randall Schweller, "Opposite but Compatible Nationalisms: A Neoclassical Realist Approach to the Future of US-China Relations," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* vol. 11, no. 1 (2018)

Peter Harris and Peter Trubowitz, "The Politics of Power Projection: The Pivot to Asia, Its Failure, and the Future of American Primacy," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* vol. 14, no. 2 (2021)

Steven Ward, *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), chapter 7

Steven Ward, "Status, Stratified Rights, and Accommodation in International Relations," *Journal of Global Security Studies* vol. 5, no. 1 (2020)

Barry Buzan and Michael Cox, "China and the US: Comparable Cases of 'Peaceful Rise'?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2013)

Daniel Nexon, "Against Great Power Competition," *Foreign Affairs* (2021)

Graham Allison, "The New Spheres of Influence: Sharing the Globe With Other Great Powers," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 99, no. 2 (2020)

*National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2017)

Uri Friedman, "The New Concept Everyone in Washington Is Talking About," *The Atlantic* (August 6, 2019)

Oliver Turner and Nicola Nymalm, "Morality and Progress: IR Narratives on International Revisionism and the Status Quo," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* vol. 32, no. 4 (2019)

Adam Liff, "Whither the Balancers? The Case for a Methodological Reset," *Security Studies* vol. 25, no. 3 (2016)

Ryan Griffiths, "States, Nations, and Territorial Stability: Why Chinese Hegemony Would Be Better for International Order," *Security Studies* vol. 25, no. 3 (2016)

Darren Lim and Zack Cooper, "Reassessing Hedging: The Logic of Alignment in East Asia," *Security Studies* vol. 24, no. 4 (2015)

Sung Eun Kim and Yotam Margalit, "Tariffs As Electoral Weapons: The Political Geography of the US-China Trade War," *International Organization* vol. 75, no. 1 (2021)

Robert Ross, "The 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force," *International Security* vol. 25, no. 2 (2000)

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

Jianhai Bi, "The Role of the Military in the PRC Taiwan Policymaking: A Case Study of the Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1995-1996," *Journal of Contemporary China* vol. 11, no. 32 (2002)

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

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

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

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## 21 (Thurs., Feb. 23): The function and fate of American hegemony

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

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Joseph Bafumi and Joseph Parent, "International Polarity and America's Polarization," *International Politics* vol. 49, no. 1 (2012)

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Christopher Fettweis, "Unipolarity, Hegemony, and the New Peace," *Security Studies* vol. 26, no. 3 (2017)

M. Patrick Hulme and Erik Gartzke, "The Tyranny of Distance: Assessing and Explaining the Apparent Decline in U.S. Military Performance," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 65, No. 2 (2021)

### **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?

**Suggested readings:** Mearsheimer 2014; Götz 2017; Chrzanowski 2021; Theiler 2018; Clunan 2014; Clunan 2018; Goldgeier 1998; Shiffrin 2016; Trachtenberg 2020.

- 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 Mildemberger 2020; Barker and Bearce 2013; Hardin 1968; Mildemberger 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?

**Suggested readings:** Kirshner 2008; Kirshner 2014; Norrlof 2010; Norrlof 2014; *International Studies Perspectives* symposium on “Global Monetary Order and the Liberal Order Debate,”; Eichengreen 2012.

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

**Suggested readings:** Cooley and Nexon 2020; Adler-Nissen and Zarakol 2021; Ikenberry 2012; Musgrave 2019; Norrlof 2018; Glaser 2019; Adler and Drieschova 2021.

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?

**Suggested readings:** Monteiro 2011/12; Monteiro 2018; Wohlforth 1999; Blagden 2015; Brooks and Wohlforth 2008; special issue of the *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* on Brooks and Wohlforth 2008 (introduced by Brendan Simms, 2011); MacDonald and Parent 2018; Roberts 2011; Laïdi 2014; Bafumi and Parent 2012; Ballard-Rosa, Jensen, and Scheve 2021.

## **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 20<sup>th</sup> 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?

**POL 14: US Foreign Policy**  
**2021-22 Exam**  
**Time: Three hours**

**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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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?