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

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

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

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

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

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

**Course Requirements:**

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

**Grading:** Student grades will be based on the following:

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

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

**Course Policies:**

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

**Course Outline**

I. Prisms: Realism & Wilsonianism
II. Key Watersheds
   a. The Founders: T Roosevelt vs Wilson
      • Special Problem: Exceptionalism
   b. Wilson’s Moment: Building a New Order After First World War – What Went Wrong
      • Special Problem: National Self-Determination
d. Cold War: Containment, Victory, & Democracy
   • Special Problem: Overthrowing Democracies (Debating 1953, 1954, 1973)
   • Special Problem: Human Rights & the Soviet Empire

III. Gyrations: Bush, Obama, & Trump
   a. Strategy, States, & Democratization
   b. Obama & Retrenchment
   c. Trump: Where is this going?

IV. Current Problem (i.e., cyberwar, drone strikes, or surveillance & Snowden)

V. Grand Strategy Agenda for the Next President
   a. Primacy
   b. Neo-Isolationism
   c. Liberal Internationalism

Tentative Schedule of Assignments

M  6/10 I. Worldviews: Realists & Wilsonians
Read: Kissinger, "The Hinge" (Chap 2)
Seminar Session: Exceptionalism
   • Seymour Martin Lipset, “Exceptionalism” (excerpt) at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/americanexceptionalism.htm

TH 6/13 II. Watersheds
“Wilson’s Moment”
Read:
   • Kissinger, “The New Face of Diplomacy: Wilson & the Treaty of Versailles” (Chap 9)

Special Moment: 1914 / 2014 – The Rise of Germany, the Rise of China…Is it the same thing all over again?

Seminar Session: America & The Problem of National Self-Determination
   • Read on Kurdistan problem
   • Podcast: Are there standards for justified secession?

M  6/17 Truman Revolution
Read:
   • Kissinger, “The Success & Pain of Containment” (Chap 18)

   • Tony Smith, “Eisenhower & His Legacy, 1953-77,” pp. 180-99 (partial chapter) (BB)

TH 6/20 Competing Revolutions: Nixon & Reagan
Read:
- Kissinger, “Foreign Policy as Geopolitics: Nixon’s Triangular Diplomacy” (Chap 28)
- Kissinger, “The End of the Cold War: Reagan & Gorbachev” (Chap 30)

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

**M 6/24**

**III. Reagan & Bush Revolutions**

On Reagan:
- Kissinger, “The End of the Cold War: Reagan & Gorbachev” (Chap 30)

On Bush
  - Chap 1 (length: 11:56), Chap 2 (9:43), Chap 3 (9:36), Chap 6 (7:49), Chap 8 (10:37), Chap 12 (11:35), Chap 13 (9:22), Chap 14 (9:31)
- President Bush, National Security Strategy, 2002:

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

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

Trump: Where Is This Going?

M 7/1 Exam

M 7/8 IV. Current National Security Problem: Drone Strike Policy
(We will choose a current problem: drone strike policy, cyberwar, or surveillance – the assignments below are illustrative.)

- Database Comparisons. Examine these competing databases. Look carefully at their methodologies, especially in how they count civilians.
  - New America Foundation: http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/pakistan-analysis.html
- President Obama’s Policy:

• Dan De Luce, “Obama’s Most Dangerous Drone Tactic Is Here to Stay,” https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/05/obamas-most-dangerous-drone-tactic-is-here-to-stay/

• On Proportionality:

• On International Law:

• Videos:
  o “Unmanned: America’s Drone Wars” (1 hr), at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpzk7OdjbBw
  o PBS Nova, “Rise of the Drones” (52:24), at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iku2VU2WCh

TH 7/11 Current National Security Problem: Cyber-war – what if others do it?


• “Chinese Army Unit Is Seen as Tied to Hacking Against US,” 2/18/2013, at http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/19/technology/chinas-army-is-seen-as-tied-to-hacking-against-us.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&


• Shane Harris, “Inside the FBI’s Fight Against Chinese Cyber Espionage,” Foreign Policy, 5/27/2014 at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/05/27/exclusive_inside_the_fbi_s_fight_against_chinese_cyber_espionage

• “Is Indicting Chinese Hackers a Smart Move or Dumb Strategy,” For Pol, 5/20/2014 at
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/05/20/China_hackers_PLA_indictment


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

A. Neo-Isolationism or Offshore Balancing

Read:

Think Tank Exercise: Ukraine Crisis

- Background: See video, PBS Newshour “New Fault Line Series”

- Analytical Problem: What are Russia’s objectives?
  o Prof. Angela Stent testimony to Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 2014, at http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Stent_Testimony.pdf

- The “It’s the West’s Fault Debate”

- The Geopolitics
  o NYT, Ukraine Crisis in Maps, http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/02/27/world/europe/ukraine-divisions-crimea.html?_r=0
  o Current Ukraine Incident Map at http://liveuamap.com

TH 7/18

B. Primacy: American Leadership & Reform

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

Think-Tank Exercise: South China Sea

Situation Background:

Geopolitics:

Key Chinese Views:
Analysis:

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

US Policy Options:


General IR Debates with American Scholars

- Interview with Mearsheimer, “On Strangling China’s Rise” at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/peter-navarro-and-greg-autry/mearsheimer-on-strangling_b_9417476.html (Note Mearsheimer’s argument that China is a “revisionist power.”)

M 7/22 C. Liberal Internationalism

Read: Joseph Nye

  - Recommended: Nye, Soft Power, Preface, Chap 1 (BB)

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

Suggested Preparation: Background:

  - Does the ICC have “universal” or “complementary” jurisdiction? (Study Articles 12 and 17 carefully.)
  - Study Articles 12 and 17 carefully to answer this question: if US does not sign nor ratify the treaty, are American military personnel liable to investigation and prosecution?
Study the basic crimes which the ICC defines and is willing to punish. (Articles 5-8)

- Suggested Video: How the ICC Works – and Can Palestine join it? (3:08) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rTWPgF6bNL&feature=youtu.be
- Suggested Video: Is the ICC effective? (2:48) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rLqIeWnD3VM
- Suggested Video: Bosnian Serb leader convicted on genocide (2:19) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wb8EEIxcDY

**Background: Debating Jurisdiction**


**The ICC and Syria: Peace or Justice?**

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

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**About the Professor**

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