

American Foreign Policy: Interests, Values, and Process IPS 242, GLOBAL 220, POLISCI 217A

Term: Spring 2017

Units: 5

Instructor: Michael McFaul, mcfaul@stanford.edu

Time: Tuesdays 3:00 PM - 5:50 PM.

Location: [200-219](#)

Office Hours

Encina Hall C137, *by appointment only*, schedule with Anna Coll acoll@stanford.edu

Course Description

This seminar will examine the tension in American foreign policy between pursuing U.S. security and economic interests and promoting democratic values. In the first half of the course we will retrace the theoretical and ideological debates about values versus interests, with a particular focus on realism versus liberalism. The course will examine the evolution of these debates over time, starting with the French Revolution, but with special attention given to the Cold War and American foreign policy after September 11th. The course also will examine how these contending theories and ideologies are mediated through the U.S. bureaucracy that shapes the making of foreign policy. In the second half of the course, we will examine how these approaches to American foreign policy shaped debates within the Obama administration.

Organization

We will meet once a week for three hours. Students are expected to attend every class session and complete all required readings before each class session. Students with an excused absence must notify the course assistant in writing before the start of class. More than one excused absence will affect class participation grading.

In the first half of the course, we will discuss readings. Students should come to class prepared to summarize, evaluate and criticize all the required reading. Active participation is expected.

In the second half of the course, our format will be different. For each policy discussion, one student will defend the Obama administration's policy, a second student will critique the policy from a realist perspective, and third student will critique the policy from a liberal perspective. After these three presentations, the rest of the class also will engage in an analysis of the policy from the perspective of a particular member of the National Security Council. At each session, we will have students roleplaying the following positions: (1) National Security Advisor, (2) Secretary of State, (3) Secretary of Defense,

(4) Chairman of the Joints Chiefs, (5) Secretary of the Treasury, (6) Director of National Intelligence, (7) White House Chief of Staff, (8) Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and (9) the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL).

Assignments

Each student will write a 5-8 page policy memo on a particular foreign policy issue during the Obama administration, to be circulated ahead of class and then presented in class.

The final paper will be a 15-page policy memo to the president the United States, outlining a strategy for U.S. foreign policy in 2017. These memos will be informed by analysis of both theory and history. Final paper due: **Friday, June 9, 2017, 11:59 PM.**

Evaluation

Class participation	25%
Policy memo	25%
Final paper	50%

Technology Policy

The use of laptops, tablets, mobile phones, and any recording devices is prohibited during seminar discussions.

Course Materials

Required Texts: Students are expected to read the following books (available at the Stanford Bookstore):

Derek Chollet, *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World*, Public Affairs, 2016

Mark Landler, *Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power*, Random House, 2016.

Michael McFaul, *Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.

Suggested Books:

Hillary Clinton, *Hard Choices*, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2015

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1 (April 4, 2017) Introduction

Required Readings:

Stephen Sestanovich, "American Maximalism", *The National Interest*, Spring 2005.
<http://nationalinterest.org/print/article/american-maximalism-431>

Jeffrey Goldberg, "Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic*, April 2016.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>

Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Tradition and American Foreign Policy," *The National Interest*, No. 58 (Winter 1999/ 2000): pp. 5-29.

Recommended Readings:

James Traub, "When Did Obama Give Up? Reading Between The Lines," *Foreign Policy*, February 26, 2015.
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/26/when-did-obama-give-up-speeches/>

2010 National Security Strategy, *The White House*, May 2010. (Especially section II).

James Mann, *The Obamians*, Penguin Books, 2013.

Week 2 (April 11, 2017): Realism

Required Readings:

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton & Co., 2014, preface and chapters 1 & 2, pp. 1-54.

James Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992): pp. 467-491.

Sebastian Rosato and John Schuessler, "A Realist Foreign Policy for the United States," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (December 2011): pp. 803-819.

Barry Posen, "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January/February 2013): pp. 116-128.

Robert Kagan, "Superpowers Don't Get to Retire," *The New Republic*, May 26, 2014.
<https://newrepublic.com/article/117859/superpowers-dont-get-retire>

Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 110 (Spring 1998): pp. 29-47.

Recommended Readings:

Fareed Zakaria, "The Future of American Power: How America Can Survive the Rise of the Rest," *Foreign Affairs*, May/ June 2008.

Richard Haass, "The Age of Non-Polarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (May/ June 2008): pp. 44-56.

William Wolforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999): pp. 5-41.

Week 3 (April 18, 2017): Liberalism

Guest speaker: **Jeremy Weinstein**, former Deputy to the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

Required Readings:

Michael McFaul, *Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.

Stephen Walt, "Democracy, Freedom, and Apple Pie Aren't a Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, July 1, 2014.

Recommended readings:

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (May/June 1995), pp. 79-97.

Condoleezza Rice, "Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (July/ August 2008): pp. 2-26.

Christopher Walker, "The Authoritarian Threat: The Hijacking of 'Soft Power,'" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 2016): pp. 49-63.

Diamond, Larry, "Can the Whole World Become Democratic? Democracy, Development, and International Policies," *Center for the Study of Democracy*, Working Paper, April 2003.

Week 4 (April 25, 2017): Bureaucratic Politics

Required Readings:

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (September 1969): pp. 689-718.

William Howell and Jon Pevehouse, "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 5 (September/ October 2007): pp. 95-107.

Diana Smeltz and Ivo Daalder, "Foreign Policy in an Age of Retrenchment: Results of the 2014 Chicago Council Survey of American Publican and US Foreign Policy," *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs*, September 15, 2014.

https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/2014_CCS_Report_1.pdf

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Fall 2006): pp. 29-87.

Recommended Readings:

Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important (Or Allison in Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy*, No. 7 (Summer 1972): pp. 159-179.

Ken Shultz, "Domestic Politics and International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd edition (London: Sage Publications, 2012).

Daniel Drezner, "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics and the Crafting of Foreign Policy," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (October 2000): pp. 733-749.

Week 5 (May 2, 2017): U.S. Withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan

Guest Speaker: **General Karl Eikenberry**, former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan

Required Readings:

Mark Landler "Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power", chapter 4 "Holbrooke Agonistes", p. 75-98

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 3 "Rebalance, Reset, Resurge", "Resurge", p. 68-78

President Obama, "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan" speech at the United States Military Academy on the Afghanistan surge," *The White House*, December 1, 2009.

President Obama, "Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize," *The White House*, December 10, 2009.

Robert Gates, "Afghanistan: A House Divided," chapter 10 in *Duty*, p. 335-386.

Karl Eikenberry, "The Limits of Counterinsurgency Doctrine in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 5 (September/October 2013): pp. 59-74.

Tamara Cofman Wittes, "The Slipperiest Slope of Them All," *The Brookings Institution*, March 15, 2016.

Recommended Readings:

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 8 "Afghanistan: To End a War", p. 140-159

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 7 "Af-Pak: Surge", p.119-140

Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2004) and "Was Iraq a Fool's Errand [exchange between Tony Smith and Larry Diamond], *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2004): pp. 130-133.

Rick Brennan, "Withdrawal Symptoms: The Bungling of the Iraq Exit," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 6 (November/ December 2014): pp. 25-36.

Malou Innocent and Ted Carpenter, "Escaping the 'Graveyard of Empires'," *CATO Institute*, September 14, 2009.

Javid Ahmad, "Afghanistan Is Not Iraq," *Foreign Policy*, October 15, 2015.

Lisa Curtis, "U.S. Engagement Required: Afghanistan Must Avoid an Iraq-Style Breakdown," *The Heritage Foundation*, Backgrounder No. 3038, July 23, 2015.

"Preface," "Ch. 1: Understanding the Strategic Context," and "Ch. 2: Understanding an Operational Environment," in *Field Manual (FM) 3-24/Marine Corps War Fighting Publication (MCWP) 3-33.5, Counterinsurgency*, December 2006. Available online.

Week 6 (May 9, 2017): U.S. “Pivot” to Asia

Guest Speaker: **Mark Landler**, White House correspondent for the New York Times

Required Readings:

Mark Landler "Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power", chapter 12 "The Pivot", p.285-208

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 3 "Rebalance, Reset, Resurge", "Rebalance" p. 52-61

Remarks By Tom Donilon, National Security Advisor to the President: "The United States and the Asia-Pacific in 2013," *The White House*, March 11, 2013.

FACT SHEET: U.S.-China Economic Relations, *The White House*, September 25, 2015.

Shawn Brimley and Ely Ratner, "Smart Shift: A Response to "The Problem With the Pivot," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January/ February 2013): pp. 177-181.

John Ikenberry, "From Hegemony to the Balance of Power: The Rise of China and American Grand Strategy in East Asia," *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, Vol. 23, No.2 (2014): pp. 41-63.

Kenneth Lieberthal, "The American Pivot to Asia," *Foreign Policy*, December 21, 2011.

Robert Ross, "The Problem with the Pivot," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 6 (November/ December 2012): pp. 70-82.

Recommended Readings:

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 3 "Asia: The Pivot", p. 37-59

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 4 "China: Uncharted Waters", p. 59-74

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 5 "Beijing: The Dissident", p. 74-91

Justin Logan, "China, America, and the Pivot to Asia," *Cato Institute*, Policy Analysis No. 717, January 8, 2013.

Rong Chen, "A Critical Analysis of the U.S. 'Pivot' toward the Asia-Pacific: How Realistic is Neo-realism?" *Connections: Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Summer 2013): pp. 39-62.

Week 7 (May 16, 2017): Reset with Russia

Required Readings:

Mark Landler "Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power", chapter 11 "Resets and Regrets", p. 259-284

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 6 "The Bear Roars Back", "From Reset to Resolve", p. 164-179.

President Obama, "Remarks By The President At The New Economic School Graduation," *The White House*, July 7, 2009.

Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner, "Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer 2015): pp. 167-187.

Michael McFaul, Stephen Sestanovich, and John Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 6 (November/ December 2014): pp. 167-178.

David Kramer, "America's Silence Makes Us Complicit in Russia's Crimes," *Washington Post*, September 20, 2010.

Ariel Cohen, "Rethinking Reset: Re-Examining the Obama Administration Russia Policy," Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, July 7, 2011.

Gary Kasparov, "The Rewards of the Obama Doctrine: Offering a Helping Hand to America's Enemies in Iran, Russia and Cuba Will Ruin Lives and Many More Will Die," *Wall Street Journal Opinion*, September 9, 2015.

"Sergey Lavrov: The Interview," *The National Interest*. March 29, 2017
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/sergey-lavrov-the-interview-19940>

Recommended Readings:

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 11 "Russia: Reset and Regression", p. 201-217

U.S.-Russia Relations: "Reset" Fact Sheet, *The White House*, June 24, 2010.

Stephen Blank "Beyond the Reset Policy: Current Dilemmas of U.S.–Russia Relations," *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (2010): pp. 333-367.

Gary Kasparov, *Winter is Coming*, Public Affairs, 2015.

Ruth Deyermond, "Assessing the Reset: Successes and Failures in the Obama

Administration's Russia Policy, 2009-2012," *European Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (2013), p. 500-523.

Week 8 (May 25, Make-up Session, 3 PM – 5.45 PM): The Arab Spring

Guest Speaker: **Wael Ghonim**, Egyptian activist and co-founder of Parlio

Required Readings:

Mark Landler "Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power", chapter 7 "Sinking Sands", p. 153-177

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 4 "A Cascade of Crises", "Hope Springs", p. 90-96

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 4 "A Cascade of Crises", "Libya and the Immaculate Intervention", p. 96-116

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 4 "A Cascade of Crises", "Egypt and the Limits of Leverage", p. 116-125

President Obama, "Remarks by the President at Cairo University," *The White House*, June 4, 2009.

President Obama, "Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa," *The White House*, May 19, 2011.

David Ignatius, "Hillary Clinton Was Right on Egypt," *The Washington Post*, January 28, 2016.

Recommended Readings:

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 15 "The Arab Spring: Revolution", p. 275-295

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 16 "Libya: All Necessary Measures", p. 295-313

Daniel Byman, "Explaining the Western Response to the Arab Spring," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2013): pp. 289-320.

Shadi Hamid, "Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the Failure of America's Do-Nothing Policy in the Middle East" *The Atlantic*, October 9, 2015.

Steve Simon and Jonathan Stevenson, "The End of Pax Americana: Why Washington's Middle East Pullback Makes Sense," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 6 (November/December 2015): pp. 2-10.

Jo Becker and Scott Shane, "Clinton, 'Smart Power' and a Dictator's Fall," *New York Times*, February 27, 2016.

Jo Becker and Scott Shane, "A New Libya, 'With Very Little Time Left'," *New York Times*, February 27, 2016.

David Rothkopf, "Leading from Behind," chapter 9 in *National Insecurity: American Leadership in the Age of Fear*, pp. 269-306.

Frederic Hof, "Altering the Past to Shape the Prologue," *Atlantic Council*, March 28, 2016.

Ben Fishman, "How We Can Still Fix Libya," *Politico*, February 28, 2016.

Pierre Atlas, "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring: Balancing Values and Interests," *Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (November 2012): pp. 353-385.

Daniela Huber, "A Pragmatic Actor- The US Response to the Arab Uprisings," *Journal of European Integration*, Vo. 37, No. 1 (2015): pp. 57-75.

Uri Dadush and Michele Dunne, "American and European Responses to the Arab Spring: What's the Big Idea?" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Fall 2011): pp. 131-145.

Anthony Celso, "Obama and the Arab Spring: The Strategic Confusion of a Realist-Idealist," *Journal of Political Science & Public Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (February 2014).

Amy Hawthorne, "Remember That Historic Arab Spring Speech?" *Foreign Policy*, May 21, 2013.

Week 9 (May 30, 2017): U.S. Engagement with Iran

Guest Speaker: **Abbas Milani**, director of the Iranian studies program at Stanford

Required Readings:

Mark Landler "Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power", chapter 10 "The Back Channel", p.233-258

Derek Chollet "The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World", chapter 7 "Playing All Four Quarters", p. 181-201

President Obama, "Remarks by the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal," *The White House*, August 5, 2015.

Should Congress Approve the Iran Deal? Foreign Affairs' Brain Trust Weighs In," *Foreign Affairs*, September 7, 2015.

Abbas Milani and Michael McFaul, "What the Iran-Deal Debate Is Like in Iran," *The Atlantic*, August 11, 2015.

Mathew Kroenig, "Time to Attack Iran: Why a Strike Is the Least Bad Option," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 1 (January/February 2012): pp. 76-86.

Recommended Readings:

Gary Samore (editor), "The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Definitive Guide," *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*, August 3, 2015.

Hillary Clinton "Hard Choices", chapter 18 "Iran: Sanctions and Secrets", p. 347-378

Shahram Akbarzadeh, "Democracy Promotion versus Engagement with Iran," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (August 2011): pp. 470-482.

Reza Simbar, "Iran and the US: Engagement or Confrontation," *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (June 2006): pp. 73-87.

Abbas Milani, Michael McFaul, and Larry Diamond, "A Win-Win U.S. Strategy for Dealing with Iran," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2006/ 2007): pp. 121-138.

Week 10 (June 6, 2017): US foreign policy under Trump administration

Required Readings:

Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Revolt," *Foreign Affairs*, January 20, 2017, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-01-20/jacksonian-revolt>

Robert Kagan, "This Is How Fascism Comes to America," *The Washington Post*, May 17, 2016 https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/this-is-how-fascism-comes-to-america/2016/05/17/c4e32c58-1c47-11e6-8c7b-6931e66333e7_story.html?utm_term=.ec27c23e326f

Robert Kagan, "The Twilight of the Liberal World Order | Brookings Institution."

Brookings, January 24, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-twilight-of-the-liberal-world-order/>

Michael McFaul, "Let's get the facts right on foreign involvement in our elections," *The Washington Post*, December 10, 2016.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2016/12/10/lets-get-the-facts-right-on-foreign-involvement-in-our-elections/?utm_term=.b600c172e06b

Michael McFaul, "How Trump Can Play Nice With Russia, Without Selling Out America," *Foreign Policy*.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/06/how-trump-can-play-nice-with-russia-without-selling-out-america/>

Francis Fukuyama, "US against the World? Trump's America and the New Global Order." *Financial Times*, November 11, 2016

<https://www.ft.com/content/6a43cf54-a75d-11e6-8b69-02899e8bd9d1>

Susan Shirk. "Trump and China: Getting to Yes with Beijing." *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2017 Issue.

"Inaugural Address: Trump's Full Speech." *CNN*.

<http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/20/politics/trump-inaugural-address/index.html>

"This Is How Steve Bannon Sees The Entire World." *BuzzFeed*.

<https://www.buzzfeed.com/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world>

Michael McFaul. "Donald Trump and Ronald Reagan Could Not Be More Different on Foreign Policy." *The Washington Post*, September 23, 2016.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/donald-trump-and-ronald-reagan-could-not-be-more-different-on-foreign-policy/2016/09/23/e0e4ec68-819e-11e6-8327-f141a7beb626_story.html?utm_term=.a10ff33fecec

McFaul, Michael, and Abbas Milani. "Reading Reagan in Tehran: A Strategy of Realistic Engagement." *The Washington Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2016): 145-163.

Sestanovich, Stephen. "The Brilliant Incoherence of Trump's Foreign Policy." *The Atlantic*, May 2017. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/05/the-brilliant-incoherence-of-trumps-foreign-policy/521430/?utm_source=atltw

Recommended Readings:

Francis Fukuyama. "American Political Decay or Renewal?" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2016 Issue.

Michael Armacost, Karl Eikenberry, Donald Emmerson, Thomas Fingar, Takeo Hoshi, Gi-Wook Shin, Daniel Sneider, Kathleen Stephens, “President Trump’s Asia Inbox”, *Stanford APARC*, February 10, 2017

Key Recommendations:

<http://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/news/president-trumps-asia-inbox>

Full Report:

http://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/president_trumps_asia_inbox.pdf

Evan Osnos, David Remnick, and Joshua Yaffa, “Trump, Putin and the New Cold War. What lay behind Russia’s interference in the 2016 election – and what lies ahead?” *The New Yorker*, March 6, 2017 issue

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/03/06/trump-putin-and-the-new-cold-war>

David Frum, “How to Build an Autocracy,” *The Atlantic*, March 2017,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/03/how-to-build-an-autocracy/513872/>