A final version of the syllabus will be available on the first day of class.

## **U.S. Foreign Policy**

University of California Washington Center, Room 318, Tuesdays, 6:30-9:30 pm

Instructor: Christopher A. Preble

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 5:00 - 6:00 pm (UCDC Rm. 336); or By Appointment (at Cato)

Phone: Cato (202) 218-4630 / Mobile (571) 212-2414 (Before 10 pm)

E-mail: <a href="mailto:cpreble@cato.org">cpreble@cato.org</a>

### **Overview:**

This course examines contemporary issues in U.S. foreign policy, focusing primarily on a series of regional case studies including U.S.-Iranian relations; U.S., Japan, the Koreas & East Asia; and the U.S. in Central Asia (Afghanistan/Pakistan). Although the course is organized on a regional basis, we will explore a number of recurring themes including: nuclear proliferation; the problems of weak and failing states; promoting democracy and political reform; relations with China and Russia; terrorism and counterterrorism; resource competition; the importance of culture and national identity; transnational threats; and the economics of national security.

### **About the Instructor:**

I am the vice president for defense and foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute. In this capacity, I have written two books (on U.S. foreign policy/grand strategy) and edited four others (on U.S. foreign policy choices, Iraq, counterterrorism, and threat perception). I've also written a number of shorter papers and book chapters (on, for example, the Middle East, nuclear weapons, the defense budget, intelligence assessment, fixing failed states, and U.S.-Japan relations). Before joining Cato in February 2003, I taught at St. Cloud State University in Minnesota; and at Temple University, where I earned my PhD in History. I earned my BA (also in History) at George Washington University, and served for four years in the U.S. Navy, including a little more than three years on the USS TICONDEROGA (CG 47).

### **Books (The A List):**

- Ian Bremmer, Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World (Portfolio/Penguin, 2015)
- Bruce W. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Fifth Edition (Norton, 2013)

Because I want the course to be focused on contemporary issues, I may augment many of the readings from the books with short articles or think tank papers published within the last year. Nearly all of these will be easily accessible on the Internet, and I'll always distribute such readings via email. In addition to the required readings, you are encouraged to explore areas of particular interest to you and be prepared to discuss them in class.

I will also be taking advantage of our unique location here in the city, and you should do the same. Several guest speakers will visit the class during the term. In addition, each student will be expected to attend **at least one foreign policy-related event** somewhere in the District during the quarter and to report briefly to the class on what he or she learned.

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## **Assignments:**

All students must complete the following:

- 1) The first exam will test your understanding of the material discussed in Jentleson, Bremmer and President Trump's National Security Strategy. The exam is due no later than the beginning of class on *Tuesday*, *April 24th*.
- <u>2) Book report</u> on your chosen "optional" book (From the B List at the end of the syllabus). This assignment enables you to focus on one of the regional case studies that is of particular interest to you, or which has special relevance to your other studies. The written portion is a paper, in two parts. Part one summarizes the book's main themes, and considers how these themes fit with Bremmer and Jentleson. Part two is in the form of a memo or letter to President Trump that begins: "*Mr. President, you should read this book because...*" In this section, you will describe how material in the book either confirms or contradicts elements of the National Security Strategy. What would President Trump learn from reading this book? Which of his policies, if any, would change? This assignment is due no later than *Tuesday, May 15th*.

The second portion of your book report is an in-class assignment. You are expected to serve as a "go-to expert" for the relevant class, and your performance will be considered within the class participation portion of your grade.

- 3) The final exam will test your understanding of the material discussed throughout the course. The exam is due no later than 9 am (Eastern Time) on Friday, June 8th.
- 4) Participate in class. This class consists of both lectures and class discussions, typically mixed together in the same class period. Participation in these discussions is essential to helping you understand the themes of the course and is therefore an important part of your grade. Of course, good *attendance* is also crucial, since you cannot participate if you are not present. It is also important to be prepared; you should complete, and be ready to discuss, the week's reading assignment *before* you come to class. Your "field trip" in the city also counts as part of your class participation grade.

### **Grading:**

Grades will be based on the following percentages:

First Exam	25%
Book Report	30%
Final Exam	35%
Class Participation	15%

## **General Notes on Written Assignments and Grading:**

Written assignments, including the mid-term and final exams, and the book report, must be typewritten, double-spaced, with one-inch margins in a standard 10- or 12-point font. All papers should have the student's name at the top right hand corner of the paper, the date, and the total word count. Due dates for assignments will be strictly enforced. Papers must be handed in at the *beginning of class* on the given due date. Late papers will automatically receive a full letter grade deduction, and additional deductions for every additional day they are late.

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## **Policy on Academic Misconduct**

UCDC has a zero-tolerance policy for cheating, plagiarism, and any other form of dishonesty. Students should refer to their home campus Student Code of Conduct for the regulations that apply to them. The burden is on each student to know what behaviors constitute cheating and plagiarism. Ignorance of these behaviors is not an adequate defense.

Academic honesty affirms our regard for each other and the nature of our work together. Students should review closely and follow in both letter and spirit the principles expressed on academic integrity. (For example, see UC-Davis's Code of Academic Conduct, http://sja.ucdavis.edu/cac.html.)

I take plagiarism, in particular, very seriously. Do not plagiarize. I will never penalize you for doing research and citing your references. Do not pass off someone else's work as your own. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to raise them with me. Plagiarized work will result in failure and referral to the appropriate campus administrative office.

## **Statement on Sexual Harassment and Sexual Violence**

The University of California is committed to creating and maintaining a community where all individuals who participate in University programs and activities can work and learn together in an atmosphere free of harassment, exploitation, or intimidation. Every member of the community should be aware that the University prohibits sexual harassment and sexual violence, and that such behavior violates both law and University policy. The University will respond promptly and effectively to reports of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and will take appropriate action to prevent, to correct, and when necessary, to discipline behavior that violates this policy on Sexual Harassment and Sexual Violence.

Students who wish to speak confidentially about an incident of sexual misconduct should contact UCDC's Counseling Services at UCDCCounseling@gmail.com. To report sexual misconduct to ask questions about UCDC policies and procedures regarding sexual misconduct, please contact the UCDC Title IX administrator, Josh Brimmeier (202-974-6214 or josh.brimmeier@ucdc.edu). Because the University of California is legally obligated to investigate reports of sexual misconduct, the confidentiality of reported misconduct cannot be guaranteed.

### **Statement on Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:**

In compliance with the Federal Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended (Public Law 93- 112) and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-336), University of California policy prohibits unlawful discrimination on the basis of disability in its programs, services, and activities. The full text of the policy can be found here:

http://policy.ucop.edu/doc/2710534/PACAOS-140

If you require accommodation for class, please let me know at our first meeting (if not earlier) so the necessary arrangements can be made.

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# **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

Lectures will address the major topics and themes of the course, and will correspond with assigned readings. You should complete the assigned readings *before* the beginning of class, and be prepared to participate in the class discussion.

<u>Pre-Class Exercise:</u> *Before* the first class, take the survey. Are your views closest to Independent America, Moneyball America, or Indispensable America? Or somewhere in between? Find out by completing the survey sent via email.

Please note: Our first class will be held on **Tuesday**, **April 3<sup>rd</sup>** even though the quarter officially begins the previous week.

# Week One (4/3) – Course Introduction and Overview - Choice vs. Necessity

Read – Bremmer, *Superpower*, Introduction, and Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-46); Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 1 - The Strategic Context: Foreign Policy Strategy and the Essence of Choice (pp. 2-26); Readings 1.1 through 1.4 (pp. 216-33).

# Week Two (4/10) – Foreign Policy Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Read - Bremmer, *Superpower*, Chapters 3-5 (pp. 47-162); Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 7 - Grand Strategy for a New Era: (I) Power and Peace (pp. 286-331)

# Week Three (4/17) - Part I: Debating Bremmer: Independent, Moneyball, or Indispensable?

Read - Bremmer, *Superpower*, Chapter 6 and Conclusion (pp. 163-204); and Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 8 - Grand Strategy for a New Era: (II) Prosperity and Principles (pp. 332-84).

# Part II: Debating the Trump National Security Strategy

Read - The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, December 2017.

# Week Four (4/24) – The United States, Europe, and Russia

Read - Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 12 - Old Friends, Old Enemy: Twenty-First-Century Relations with Europe and Russia (pp. 503-40).

B List Books – Hill and Gaddy, *Mr. Putin*Merritt, *Slippery Slope*Meyers, *The New Tsar*Stent, *The Limits of Partnership*Verhofstadt, *Europe's Last Chance* 

## The first exam is due at the beginning of class.

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# **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments (Continued)**

# Week Five (5/1) - Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Problem of Failed States

Read – TBD

B List Books – Bacevich, America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History Chandrasekaran, Little America Gall, The Wrong Enemy Gopal, No Good Men among the Living Kaplan, The Insurgents

# Week Six (5/8) – The United States in Asia (Part I): Japan and China

Read - Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 10 - Asia's Rising Strategic Importance: Relations with China and in the Asia-Pacific Region (pp. 419-54).

B List Books – Campbell, *The Pivot* Kaplan, *Asia's Cauldron* Economy and Levi, *By All Means Necessary* Shambaugh, *China's Future* 

# Week Seven (5/15) – The United States in Asia (Part II): The Two Koreas and China

Read – Joel Wit and Richard Sokolsky, "<u>The Art of the Deal with North Korea</u>," Politico Magazine, January 24, 2017; John R. Allen, Richard C. Bush, Robert Einhorn, et al., "<u>Averting Catastrophe: U.S. Policy Options for North Korea</u>," Brookings Institution, April 2017.

B List Books – Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Cha, *The Impossible State* 

McGregor, Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan, and the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century Pillsbury, The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America...

### The book review on your chosen B List book is due at the *beginning* of class.

# Week Eight (5/22) – Iran, Iraq, and the Greater Middle East

Read – Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 11 - War, Peace, Terrorism, Democracy: Old and New Challenges in the Middle East (pp. 455-83).

B List Books – Dodge, *Iraq: From War to a New Authoritarianism* Gordon and Trainor, *Endgame* Solomon, *The Iran Wars* Pollack, *Unthinkable* Sky, *The Unraveling* 

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## **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments (Continued)**

# Week Nine (5/29) – The Arab Reform Movements and Beyond

Read – Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 11 - War, Peace, Terrorism, Democracy: Old and New Challenges in the Middle East (pp. 483-502).

B List Books – Hamid, Temptations of Power Lynch, The New Arab Wars McCants, The ISIS Apocalypse Muasher, The Second Arab Awakening Warrick, Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS

# The Final Exam prompt will be handed out at the end of class.

### Week Ten (6/5) – Aid, Trade, Counternarcotics and Counterterrorism

Part I – The Western Hemisphere. Read – Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 13 - The Americas: Relations with Latin America and Canada (pp. 541-66); Readings 13.1-13.2 (pp. 659-63).

B List Books – Cuadros, *Brazillionaires* Correa-Cabrera, *Los Zetas Inc.* Sweig, *Cuba: What Everyone Needs to Know, 3d Edition* 

Part II – The United States in Africa. Read - Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, Chapter 14 - Africa: Persisting Old Issues, Pressing Newer Ones (pp. 567-94); Readings 14.1-14.2 (pp. 664-72).

B List Books – Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*Banerjee and Duflo, *Poor Economics*Bright and Hruby, *The Next Africa: An Emerging Continent Becomes a Global Powerhouse* 

The Final Exam is due no later than 9 am (Eastern Time) on Friday, June 8th.

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## The B List (Student Expert Books – Every student must pick one)

Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James. Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Power (Crown, 2012).

Allison, Graham. Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap? (Houghton Mifflin, 2017).

Bacevich, Andrew. America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History (Random House, 2016).

Banerjee, Abhijit and Esther Duflo, Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight... (Public Affairs, 2012).

Bright, Jake, and Hruby, Aubrey, The Next Africa: An Emerging Continent Becomes a Global... (Thomas Dunne, 2015).

Campbell, Kurt. The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia (Twelve, 2016).

Cha, Victor. The Impossible State: North Korea, Past and Future (Ecco, 2012).

Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. Little America: The War within the War for Afghanistan (Knopf, 2012).

Correa-Cabrera, Guadalupe. Los Zetas Inc.: Criminal Corporations, Energy, and Civil War in Mexico (Univ of Texas, 2017).

Cuadros, Alex. Brazillionaires: Wealth, Power, Decadence, and Hope in an American Country (Spiegel & Grau, 2016).

Dodge, Toby. Iraq: From War to a New Authoritarianism (Intl Institute of Strategic Studies, 2013).

Economy, Elizabeth C., and Levi, Michael By All Means Necessary: How China's Resources Quest... (CFR/Oxford, 2014).

Gall, Carlotta. The Wrong Enemy: America in Afghanistan, 2001–2014 (Mariner, 2015).

Gopal, Anand, No Good Men among the Living: America, the Taliban, and the War through Afghan Eyes (Metro, 2014).

Gordon, Bernard and Bernard Trainor. Endgame: The Inside Story of the Struggle for Iraq... (Random House, 2012).

Hamid, Shadi. Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democrats in a New Middle East (Oxford, 2014).

Hill, Fiona, and Gaddy, Clifford G. Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin, New and Updated (Brookings, 2015).

Kaplan, Fred. The Insurgents: David Petraeus and the Plot to Change the American Way of War (Simon and Schuster, 2013).

Kaplan, Robert. Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific (Random House, 2014).

Lynch, Marc. The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East (Public Affairs, 2016).

Merritt, Giles. Slippery Slope: Europe's Troubled Future (Oxford, 2016).

Meyers, Steven Lee. The New Tsar: The Rise and Reign of Vladimir Putin (Vintage, 2016).

McCants, William. The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic St... (St. Martins, 2015).

McGregor, Richard. Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan, and the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century (Viking, 2017).

Muasher, Marwan. The Second Arab Awakening: And the Battle for Pluralism (Yale, 2014).

Pillsbury, Michael. The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America... (St. Martin's, 2016).

Pollack, Kenneth, Unthinkable: Iran, the Bomb, and American Strategy (Simon and Schuster, 2013).

Shambaugh, David. China's Future (Polity, 2016).

Sky, Emma. The Unraveling: High Hopes and Missed Opportunities in Iraq (Public Affairs, 2015).

Solomon, Jay. The Iran Wars: Spy Games, Bank Battles, and the Secret Deals That Reshaped the M.E. (Random Hse, 2016)

Stent, Angela. The Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century (Princeton, 2014).

Sweig, Julia E. Cuba: What Everyone Needs to Know, 3rd Edition (Oxford, 2016).

Verhofstadt, Guy. Europe's Last Chance: Why the European States Must Form a More Perfect Union (Basic, 2017).

Warrick, Joby. Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS (Anchor, 2016).