

American Foreign Policy in Europe

February-April 2021

2 February 1600-1800, 3 February 1000-1200, 2 March 1600-1800, 3 March 1000-1200, 30 March 1600-1800, 31 March 1000-1200, 27 April 1600-1800, and 28 April 1000-1200.

Instructor: Kenneth Forder, kenneth-arthur.forder.aff@unilim.fr

Office Hours: on-line, per request

I. Introduction to the course:

What this course is about:

The first section of the course will discuss the origins and history of American foreign policy. The second section will focus on the American foreign policy making process and how diplomats and embassies function as implementers of U.S. foreign policy. The third and final section will explore America's post-WWII foreign policy toward Europe, focusing on both the traditional approach shared by all Republican and Democratic presidents from 1945-2016 (i.e., the construction and maintenance of the "post-war liberal international order"), and the revolutionary and very disruptive approach adopted following the November 2016 election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. The course will discuss newly-elected President Biden's emerging foreign policy vis-à-vis Europe and will emphasize the actual practice of American foreign policy rather than the theory undergirding it.

Learning outcomes:

Students will gain a greater understanding of what drives American foreign policy, how it is made and implemented, and how American foreign policy has been applied in the European context, both pre and post-Trump. By the end of this course, students will better understand how the 'American Empire' has been administered, why it appeared to unravel under the Trump Administration, and whether President Biden can "put the genie back into the bottle" and return to pre-2016 norms of U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis Europe. The course should highlight the sometimes rather stark gap between traditional academic discussion of the subject matter and the realities of the conduct of diplomacy, revealing that foreign policy is quite often 'made up as you go' (or muddling through) rather than the result of the implementation of some preconceived 'grand scheme.' A more nuanced understanding of the foreign policy of what remains, for now, the world's leading power should help students find success in their post-University of Limoges careers, notwithstanding whether they enter government service or work for the private sector, international organizations, or NGOs. Anyone with an internationally focused career will have to grapple with the influence of the United States. After this course, students should be able to better understand their American interlocutors and thus hopefully leverage them to advance the agenda of future employers.

II. Format:

The class will be composed of eight two-hour course sessions, with two classes being held on successive days during four occasions from February through April 2021. Students will be expected to come to class prepared and to participate actively in the class discussions, even

though these will be attenuated by the constraints imposed by the on-line format. Students are encouraged to voice their opinions, challenge the professor and posit alternative ideas, as learning is reinforced via debate and constructive disagreement.

III. Course Requirements:

Students are expected to read all the materials delineated below, focusing especially on the readings marked with an “*”. Note that the extensive readings for lectures 2 and 3 can be “skimmed.” The teaching objective here is to get a sense of the origins and history of American Foreign Policy and not to memorize dates and/or events. The same applies to the QDDR reading for lecture 5, where the teaching point is not to memorize the tenants of U.S. Foreign Policy but rather to gain a better understanding of the broad strategy and general organization of U.S. Foreign Policy. Students will prepare one short essay chosen from the four topics listed below derived from the sections of the course. This essay will be due on 30 April 2021.

IV. Readings: see below. All readings except for Robert Kagan’s short book “A Jungle Grows Back” (lecture 6) should be available via your student account on the UCLLOUD server

V. Assignments and Grading

- 75% - 1500-word essay in 12 font, Times New Roman, due 30 April 2021
- 25% - Class attendance and participation

VI. Course Schedule:

Lecture 1: Introduction to the course, the professor, the students, teaching objectives, course requirements, and exam/essay. 02/02

Part 1: A Background to American Foreign Policy:

Lecture 2: Introduction to the Course and The Origins of American Foreign Policy 03/02

- Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, 1994, Chapters 1-3 *
- Mead, Walter Russell, *Special Providence*, 2001, Introduction and Chapters 1-3 *
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostategic Imperatives*, 1998 Chapter 1

Lecture 3: The History of American Foreign Policy 1945-2016 02/03

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Chapters 17-18 and 28-31 *
- Sestanovich, Stephen, *Maximalist*, 2014, Prologue and Chapters 1 and 10-12 *
- Nye, Joseph, (1990), *Soft Power*, Foreign Policy (Autumn, 1990) pp. 153-171

Part 2: The Making and Implementation of American Foreign Policy

Lecture 4: Actors: Congress, POTUS/NSC, State and Defense Departments, other ministries, intelligence community, media, business, NGOs, and the “American people” 03/03

- McCormick, J. M., (2005), *American Foreign Policy and Process*. Thomson, Wadsworth, pp. 251-258, 362-385, and 425-449 *
- DeYoung, Karen, *How the Obama Administration Runs Foreign Policy*, Washington Post, 4 August 2015
- Burns, William, *The Demolition of U.S. Diplomacy, Not Since Joe McCarthy has the State Department Suffered Such a Devastating Blow*, Foreign Affairs, 14 October 2019

Lecture 5: Implementation: Embassies, Day in the Life of a Diplomat 30/03

- American Foreign Service Association, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, 2011, 3rd Edition, Introduction and Parts I-IV
- Rousseau, Richard, *From Ancient Greek Diplomacy to Modern Summitry*, Diplomatic Courier, Fall 2011 *
- *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR)*, Department of State, April 2015, 90 pages *
- Department of State, *Organizational Chart: November 2016* *

Part 3: American Post WWII Foreign Policy in Europe and beyond

Lecture 6: U.S. and Europe 1945-2016 – partners in maintaining the global “order” 31/03

- Kagan, Robert, *A Jungle Grows Back*, September 2018, 192 pages *
- Allison, Graham, *The Truth About the Liberal Order: Why it Didn't Make the Modern World*, Foreign Affairs, 28 August 2018
- Mazarr, Michael, *The Real History of the Liberal Order: Neither Myth Nor Accident*, Foreign Affairs, 7 August 2018
- Friedman Lissner, Rebecca and Rapp-Hooper, Mira, *The Liberal Order is More than a Myth: But it Must Adapt to the New Balance of Power*, Foreign Affairs, 31 July 2018
- Kendall-Taylor, Andrea and Shullman, David, *How Russia and China Undermine Democracy: Can the West Counter the Threat?* Foreign Affairs, 2 October 2018

Lecture 7: Trump Administration Policy Toward Europe 27/04

- Mead, Walter Russell, *The Jacksonian Revolt*, Hudson Institute, January 20, 2017*
- Rottgen, Norbert, *How to Save the Transatlantic Alliance, Waiting out Trump Won't be Enough*, Foreign Affairs, 17 June 2019 *
- The Economist, *On the Edge of a Precipice, Macron's Stark Warning to Europe*, 9-15 November 2019 edition, Leader on page 6, Briefing on pages 17-20, Interview via on-line edition *
- Graham, Thomas, *Let Russia be Russia, The Case for a More Pragmatic Approach to Moscow*, Foreign Affairs, 15 October 2019 *
- Nougayrede, Nathalie, *France's Gamble, As America Retreats, Macron Steps Up*, Foreign Affairs, 15 August 2017

- Kagan, Robert, *The New German Question, What Happens When Europe Comes Apart*, Foreign Affairs, 2 April 2019 *

Lecture 8: Prospects for the Biden Administration's emerging foreign policy vis-à-vis Europe, conclusions, anchoring teaching objectives, and student feedback 28/04

ESSAY TOPICS

- Discuss the roots of the Trump Administration's "America First" foreign policy, outlining its historical and philosophical antecedents as covered in section one.
- Discuss how the Trump Administration's foreign policy-making process differed from, or was similar to, that of its predecessors, focusing on the roles of the "Actors" and "Implementers" discussed in section two.
- Discuss how the Trump Administration's foreign policy toward Europe differed from that of his predecessors, citing specific examples raised in section three.
- Discuss whether the Biden Administration can "put the genie back into the bottle" and return to pre-2016 norms of U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis Europe.