

Government 311 United States Foreign Policy

Fall 2007
TTh 10:30-11:50 a.m.
Class Location: PAC 422
Home Page: <http://dfoyle.web.wesleyan.edu/>
Office Hours: Th 1-2, F 11-noon, and by appointment

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Course Description

This course provides a survey of the content and formulation of American foreign policy with an emphasis on the period after World War II. It considers the sources of American foreign policy including the international system, societal factors, government processes, and individual decision makers. The course begins with a consideration of major trends in U.S. foreign policy after World War II. With a historical base established, the major institutions and actors in American foreign policy are considered. The course concludes with an examination of the challenges and opportunities that face U.S. decision makers in building a new approach to foreign policy and coping with the post-September 11 context. A significant component of the course is the intensive discussion of specific foreign policy decisions. It is assumed that students have a basic understanding of the American system of government.

Students are strongly encouraged to stay current with foreign policy developments through reading one of the major newspapers (e.g., New York Times or Washington Post) in either the paper or on-line version.

Course Grading

Grades will be based on: (1) a research paper or final (35%), (2) a midterm (30%), (3) participation (30%), and (4) daily reading quiz (5%).

Students may choose to pursue either the research paper or final. Failure to turn in a paper rough draft by the mandatory rough draft deadline forecloses the research paper as an option. Subject to the final exam deadline, students pursuing the research paper may change to the final exam option at any point.

Class periods will be devoted to a mixture of lecture and discussion. Students must come to class prepared to discuss the day's assigned reading.

Research Paper

Topic and Expectations: Students may write a 15-20 page paper on a specific substantive issue in American foreign policy and evaluate the extent to which the American political system has and will be able to deal with the issue. A list of "preapproved topics" will be posted on the Blackboard, but students may also pursue a topic not listed with the instructor's approval.

The paper should consider several issues: (1) how and why the subject affects the U.S. national interest; (2) the nature of current U.S. policy on the subject; (3) why the U.S. adopted the policy; and (4) the nature of different attitudes on the issue within the United States; and (5) your assessment of the prospects that the U.S. will be able to effectively cope with the issue and why.

Important factors for consideration include: 1) position of the president; 2) congressional attitudes; 3) domestic societal considerations (interest groups, public opinion, media); 4) internal governmental politics (bureaucratic politics, decision making dynamics, etc.), and 3) international factors (balance of power, international threats, etc.).

Papers will be evaluated based upon clarity of presentation, organization, and quality of analysis.

Due Dates: Relevant dates for the research paper are:

November 2 Mandatory rough draft due, 5 p.m.
December 18 Research paper due, 4 p.m.

Rough Draft: Students pursuing the research paper option must turn in a complete rough draft for comments on their paper's substance and structure. If, in the instructor's judgment, the student turns in a less than complete rough draft, the student will be required to take the course final instead. Failure to turn in the rough draft on time automatically opts the student into the course final option for grading and out of the research paper option.

Late rough drafts will only be accepted under extraordinary circumstances (e.g., prolonged personal illness).

You will receive extensive comments from me on the rough draft directed toward improving your paper.

Final Paper Deadlines and Late Penalties: Excused (no penalty) late papers and incompletes will be allowed only for significant and verifiable personal emergencies. No unpenalized extensions will be granted due to the pressures of academic life (such as work due in other classes).

Unexcused late papers will be penalized one letter grade (e.g., B+ to B) for each day it is late (every full 24 hours from the due time is a one grade step). Please inform me through e-mail that your paper will be late under this provision. No unexcused late paper will be accepted after 7 days.

My comments on the final paper will be limited to one paragraph given the extensive comments on the rough draft.

Where and how to turn in your work: Post both your rough draft and final paper on the course Blackboard by the due date and time noted above. I will confirm receipt of your papers through e-mail.

Paper Format Instructions: The research paper should be 15-20 double-spaced, single-sided pages in length.

Footnotes and bibliography should be included and the style should conform to the style outlined in: Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual For Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). This book is available for examination from the Olin Library reference desk and can be ordered through Broad Street Books or Amazon.com. Examples of citation formatting are given through my homepage or directly at: <http://dfoyle.web.wesleyan.edu/citations.html>.

Papers should use 12 point font and have 1 inch margins. All pages should be numbered. Multiple sources must be used and all must be cited. Papers that do not conform to the above specifications will be deducted between 1/3 to a full grade depending on the size of the infraction.

Students are bound by the honor code and should consult the Student Handbook on plagiarism and expectations in that regard. If still in doubt, consult the instructor.

Exams

Midterm: The take-home essay midterm will be comprised of short answer questions and an essay. The exam is open book and open note, but you may not give or receive aid from any other person. The midterm will be posted on the Blackboard on Tuesday, October 9. It is due on Monday, October 22 at 9 am. Turn in your completed midterm at any point before the deadline in the appropriate section of the Blackboard. The midterm will cover material in the course through class 12.

The expectations for your answers are that they should be written in the format of an in-class midterm, but with higher expectations in terms of editing (spelling, grammar, etc.). You do not need to footnote anything. No references to material from outside the course are expected. Excused and unexcused rules apply as outlined for the final research paper except that the unexcused late penalty is 2/3's of a grade per day.

Students are bound by the honor code and should consult the Student Handbook on plagiarism and expectations in that regard. If still in doubt, consult the instructor.

Final: There will be a short answer and essay-format, take-home final. The expectations are the same as described for the midterm. The final will be due on Tuesday, December 18 at 4 p.m. Turn in your final on Blackboard. Excused and unexcused rules apply as outlined for the final research paper.

Students are bound by the honor code and should consult the Student Handbook on plagiarism and expectations in that regard. If still in doubt, consult the instructor.

Participation

Participation will be evaluated based upon the student's contribution to discussion, responsiveness to other students, and quality of insight. Class attendance is a basic requirement of the participation grade. You will receive two participation grades: one for the first half of the semester (classes 2-12) and one for the second half of the semester (classes 13-25). Your participation grade for the first half of class will be given shortly after the class 12. These two grades will be averaged to yield the final participation grade

Daily Reading Quiz

There will be a quiz on the reading for each class (classes #2-25). The quiz must be completed **before** the start of the class period (the Blackboard quiz will “close” 15 minutes before the start of class). The quiz will be available on the course **Blackboard** and will focus on the salient points from the reading. The quiz is “open book” but you may not help or receive help on the quiz from any person. The score will be calculated based upon the percentage of correct answers provided. The quizzes will be worth 5% of the final course grade.

Cases

This course employs a case study teaching method where, periodically, a class session will be devoted to the discussion of specific episodes of American foreign policy. This method allows for the application and reconsideration of the theoretical principles introduced in the course with reference to particular incidents. These class periods will be devoted exclusively to discussion.

For successful discussion of the cases, you must have read and analyzed the cases carefully. The discussions of the cases will focus on, but not be limited to, the following types of questions:

- What are the salient aspects of the context (domestic and global)?
- What are the stakes in the case?
- Who are the key actors and how do they define the situation?
- What policy options were considered? Which might have been, but were not? Why not?
- What were the key decisions?
- What factor(s) dominated the decision(s)?
- Were the processes by which decisions were reached appropriate?
- How would you rate the substance of the decision(s)?
- What lessons are to be learned from the case, if any?

Readings

The following books are required reading:

Joyce P. Kaufman, A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy

Ralph Carter, ed., Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade,
2nd ed.

Glenn P. Hastedt, ed., Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy 07/08, 13th edition

In addition, if you find that you need more detail regarding specific historical aspects of U.S. foreign policy, an additional resource is recommended:

Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, American Foreign Policy Since World War II, 17th ed.

Where appropriate, I have indicated sections of Hook/Spanier book that go with the day’s material.

All of the books are on reserve at Olin Library. A number of other readings are available directly from the course Blackboard as indicated on the syllabus.

CLASS SCHEDULE

I. Introduction

1. September 4 Introduction: Overview of Course

II. Approaches to the Study of American Foreign Policy and Its Historical Context

2. September 6 American Foreign Policy to 1946 -- Isolationism and Internationalism
- Kaufman, pp. 1-74
Walter Russell Mead, "The American Foreign Policy Legacy," Foreign Affairs 81 (January/February 2002): pp. 163-76. (Blackboard)
- Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 1-36
3. September 11 AFP 1947-1953 -- The Origins of Containment
- Kaufman, pp. 75-92
X Article/George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," Foreign Affairs 65 (Spring 1987):852-68. (Blackboard)
NSC-68. (Blackboard) Skim in comparison to the X article.
- Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 36-80
4. September 13 AFP 1953-1981 – Nuclear Weapons, Grand Strategy, and the Global Chessboard
- Kaufman, pp. 92-114
John Foster Dulles, "Massive Retaliation" (Blackboard)
Richard Smoke, "Flexible Response," pp. 90-94 (Blackboard)
- Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 81-109, 136-165
5. September 18 Case Discussion: Vietnam
- Americanizing the Vietnam War by Richard Neustadt– this case will be the basis for discussion. (Blackboard)
- Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 110-135

6. September 20 AFP 1981-present – Cold War II, the End of the Cold War, and the Immediate Post-Cold War Era

Kaufman, pp. 115-58

Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Stein, We All Lost the Cold War, selections (Blackboard)

Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 166-271

III. Institutions

7. September 25 The Presidency and the Constitution

Larry George, “Democratic Theory and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy” (Blackboard)

Wolfensberger, “The Return of the Imperial Presidency?” (Hastedt reader), pp. 95-98.

Chollet & Goldgeier, “The Truman Standard: (Hastedt reader), pp. 99-102

Wittes, “Checks, Balances, and Wartime Detainees,” (Hastedt reader), pp. 112-121

8. September 27 Congress

Harold Hongju Koh, “Why the President Almost Always Wins in Foreign Affairs” (Blackboard)

James M. Lindsay, “From Deference to Activism and Back Again: Congress and the Politics of American Foreign Policy” (Blackboard)

Slaughter & Rabkin, “Law, Liberty, and War,” (Hastedt reader), pp. 124-129

9. October 2 Case Discussion: Executive/Legislative Relations

Carter (Hendrickson, Jones), pp. 65-88, 181-248

Cases on Bin Laden, CTBT, and Crusader. Discussion will focus on the Hendrickson case on Bin Laden to start.

10. October 4 Public Opinion, Interest Groups, and Elections

Shoon Kathleen Murray and Christopher Spinosa, “The Post-9/11 Shift in Public Opinion: How Long Will it Last” (Blackboard)

Tenpas, “Words vs. Deeds: President George W. Bush and Polling” (Hastedt reader), pp. 130-133

William Quandt “The Electoral Cycle and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy, Political Science Quarterly Vol. 101, no. 5, pp. 825-37. (Blackboard)

11. October 9 Bureaucratic Politics

Midterm posted on Blackboard

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis,"
American Political Science Review Vol. 63 (September 1969): 689-
718. (Blackboard) (focus on the *main concepts* of the organizational
and bureaucratic politics models).

Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison in
Wonderland)" Foreign Policy (Summer 1972): 159-79. (Blackboard)

12. October 11 Case Discussion: Decision making

Carter (Foyle, Lantis & Moskowitz), pp. 1-32, 89-122
Cases on Bosnia and Iraq. We will begin discussion with Iraq and
move to consideration of Bosnia.

Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 339-361

Fall Break

IV. Actors and Issues

13. October 18 Foreign Policy Actors: The State Department, National Security Adviser, and
the Intelligence Community

Wright and Kessler, "At State, Rice Takes Control of Diplomacy"
Washington Post July 30, 2005. (Blackboard)

Glenn Kessler, "Transformed By Her Bond With Bush," Washington
Post 3 September 2007 (Blackboard)

Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, "How National Security Advisers See
Their Role" (Blackboard)

Abramowitz & Gelb, "In Defense of Striped Pants" (Hastedt reader), pp.
103-10

Prados, "The Pros from Dover" (Hastedt reader), pp. 134-139

October 22 Take-Home Midterm due, 8 am

14. October 23 Foreign Policy Actors: The Military

Ole Holsti, "A Widening Gap Between the U.S. Military and Civilian Society? Some Evidence, 1976-96" International Security 23 (Winter 1998/99): 5-42 (Blackboard)

Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, "The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians, and Their Mutual Misunderstanding" The National Interest 61 (Fall 2000). (Blackboard)

Carter & Glastris, "The Need for a Military Draft," (Hastedt reader), pp. 106-111

15. October 25 Trade

Stephen Cohen, Joel Paul, Robert Blecker, "Decisionmaking Explained: The How and Why of Policymakers' Behavior" (Blackboard)

Drezner, "Trade Talk," (Hastedt reader), pp. 87-91

Mead, "America's Sticky Power" (Hastedt Reader), pp. 142-145

Leverett & Noel, "The New Axis of Oil," (Hastedt Reader), pp. 146-151

16. October 30 Case Discussion: Trade

Carter (Blecker, Haney & Vanderbush, Hook), pp. 249-330.

Cases on Steel Tariffs, Cuban Sanctions, and Sino-U.S. Trade relations.

We will start with the discussion of Cuban sanctions, then move to the Steel or China case depending on student interest.

V. The Future of American Foreign Policy

17. November 1 Goals and Interests

Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," (Hastedt reader), pp. 2-6

Dueck, "Hegemony on the Cheap," (Hastedt reader), pp. 7-13

Brzezinski, "The Dilemma of the Last Sovereign," (Hastedt reader), pp. 14-20

Wallerstein, "The Eagle Has Crash Landed" (Hastedt reader), pp. 21-25

Fuller, "Strategic Fatigue," (Hastedt reader), pp. 26-29

November 2 Mandatory Paper Rough Draft Due, 5 pm (on Blackboard) if doing this option

18. November 6

American Grand Strategy

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," International Security 21 (Winter 1996-1997), pp. 5-53.

(Blackboard)

George W. Bush, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America" March 2006. (Blackboard) (skim for idea)

Judis, "The Author of Liberty," (Hastedt reader), pp. 74-76

Kupchan and Trubowitz, "Grand Strategy for a Divided America," Foreign Affairs 2007 (Blackboard).

Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 299-328

19. November 8

Security Threats in a Changing World

Yankelovich, "The Tipping Points," (Hastedt reader) pp. 83-86

"The Terrorism Index," (Hastedt reader), pp. 166-170

Nicholas Thompson, "A War Best Served Cold," New York Times, July 31, 2007 (Blackboard)

John Mueller, "Is There Still a Terrorist Threat?: The Myth of the Omnipresent Enemy," Foreign Affairs September/October 2006 (Blackboard)

Niall Ferguson, "The Next War of the World," Foreign Affairs September/October 2006 (Blackboard)

20. November 13

Defense Policy

Steven Metz, "Racing Toward the Future: The Revolution in Military Affairs," Current History (April 1997), pp. 184-88. (Blackboard)

Bacevich, "Requiem for the Bush Doctrine," (Hastedt reader), pp. 155-160

Cooley, "Base Politics" (Hastedt reader), pp. 161-165

Quadrennial Defense Review Report, Department of Defense, February 2006. (Blackboard) (skim)

Deutch, "A Nuclear Posture for Today," (Hastedt reader), pp. 171-176

McNamara, "Apocalypse Soon," (Hastedt reader), pp. 176-180

21. November 15

Case Discussion: Post-Cold War Security issues

Carter, (Holmes, James & Ozdamar, Hastedt), pp. 33-64, 123-180.

Cases on Columbia, North Korea, and Homeland Security. Case discussion order will be announced by e-mail after consultation with the class.

Thanksgiving Break

22. November 20

Regional Issues

Katz, "Exploiting Rivalries: Putin's Foreign Policy," (Hastedt reader) pp. 33-37

Hill, "United States and Russia in Central Asia," (Hastedt reader), pp. 38-41

Van Ness, "China's Response to the Bush Doctrine," (Hastedt reader), pp. 38-41

Scobell & Chambers, "The Fallout of a Nuclear North Korea," (Hastedt reader), pp. 48-52

Carter, "America's New Strategic Partner," (Hastedt reader), pp. 53-57

Shifter, "The U.S. and Latin America Through the Lens of Empire," (Hastedt reader) pp. 58-63

Andreas, "Politics on the Edge: Managing the U.S.-Mexico Border," (Hastedt reader) pp. 64-68

Eisenman & Kurlantzick, "China's Africa Strategy," (Hastedt reader), pp. 69-73

Recommended: Hook & Spanier, pp. 272-298, 329-338, 346-379, 362-389

23. November 27

Iraq and Iran

Albright, "When Could Iran Get the Bomb," (Hastedt reader), pp. 181-185

Munson, "Lifting the Veil: Understanding the Roots of Islamic Militancy," (Hastedt reader), pp. 189-191

Diamond, "Iraq and Democracy: Lessons Learned," (Hastedt reader), pp. 192-197

Kaplan, "Centripetal Force: The Case for Staying in Iraq," (Hastedt reader), pp. 198-202

Odom, "Withdraw Now," (Hastedt reader), pp. 203-206

Pollack, "The Right Way: Seven Steps Toward a Last Chance in Iraq," (Hastedt reader), pp. 207-213

Lang & Johnson, "Contemplating the Ifs," (Hastedt reader), pp. 213-215

Adams, "Iraq's Sticker Shock," Foreign Policy 2007 (Blackboard)

24. November 29

World Opinion

Stanley Hoffmann, "Why Don't They Like Us?" American Prospect 12 (November 19, 2001). (Blackboard)

World Opinion 2007, PIPA/CCFR Report (Blackboard)

Transatlantic Trends 2007, German Marshal Fund (Blackboard)

Foyle, "The Convinced, the Skeptical, and the Hostile: American and World Public Opinion on the Bush Doctrine," (Blackboard)

25. December 4 Case Discussion: Multilateral Issues

Carter, (Payne & Scott, Jackson & Carter, Scott & Carter, Cornett & Gibney), pp. 331-458.

Cases on the Kyoto Protocol, International Criminal Court, IMF, and Detainee Rights. Case discussion order will be announced on the Blackboard after consultation with the class.

VI. Conclusions

26. December 6 Why does the U.S. do what it does?

Final due Tuesday, December 18, 4 p.m.

Research Paper due Tuesday, December 18, 4 p.m.