

Government 311  
Spring 2007  
M, W 2:40-4:00pm  
PAC 422

Professor Kelly M. Greenhill  
Office and phone: PAC 409; 5-2499  
Email: kgreenhill@wesleyan.edu  
Office Hours: Mondays 10am-noon,  
or by appointment

## United States' Foreign Policy

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. Using a variety of illustrative case studies, we will explore competing theories and evaluate the sources of American foreign policy, including the international system, societal factors, government processes, group dynamics and individual decision makers. The course will conclude with an examination of the challenges and opportunities that face US decision makers in building a new approach to foreign policy and coping with the post-September 11<sup>th</sup> context.

Required Texts: The readings for this course include conflicting interpretations of both theory and history. Your job is to read critically and to identify, and then to compare and evaluate, contending arguments. Our key “dependent variable” will not be whether a particular policy succeeded or failed, though that we will definitely discuss policy outcomes. However, we will be most concerned with identifying the best explanation(s) for why a particular policy or strategy was chosen.

The following text will be available in the campus bookstore. You should also be able to find them in many neighborhood bookstores and on-line:

Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

All other readings will be available electronically. All assigned case studies are available for purchase at pdf files at: [www.gusid.org](http://www.gusid.org). Paper copies are also available. (Also, please note that buying all cases at once will likely lower the aggregate cost of the cases.) On-line journals may be accessed through the e-journals/databases link on Olin Library's main page. Several others are available through the hyperlinks listed below. The rest will be posted on Blackboard (hereafter BB) or accessible through the Library's electronic reserve system (hereafter ER). The class password will be govt311 or GOVT311.

In addition, while this is *not* a current events course, students are also expected to follow current events through a major newspaper with good coverage of foreign affairs; I recommend in particular the *New York Times*. I also recommend *The Economist* for its weekly coverage of global affairs.

Course Requirements: Students should attend all class meetings. The assigned readings will complement—but will not effectively substitute for—lectures and class discussions.

Students will be expected to complete the following tasks:

- I. Class Attendance and Participation (20% of grade). You are expected to do the readings **before the class** for which they are assigned, attend class, and actively participate in class discussions and exercises. Due to the interactive nature of this course, please be aware that: a) if you miss more than two classes, your grade will be adversely affected; b) if you arrive more than ten minutes after class begins, you will be

considered absent; and c) if you are tardy with regularity, even if less than ten minutes late, your final grade too will be adversely affected.

2. Midterm Examination (35%). This will be combination short answer/ID and essay blue book test, which will be **given in class on Monday, February 26**.
3. Short Paper (10%): This is a four page (max) paper, **a hard copy of which will be due—no exceptions—in my Government Dept. mailbox no later than 3pm on Friday, April 13**. (Be sure to get yours date stamped!) The paper will focus on the in-class simulation to be held in class on April 4 and 9. Paper topic TBA concurrent with the simulation. The paper will be graded based upon clarity of presentation, organization, and analytical quality. The paper should support its claims with evidence from class lectures and readings and should be correct in terms of grammar, punctuation and spelling. Papers deficient in these respects will be penalized.
4. Research Paper (35%). In this paper, you will be tasked with identifying the key driver(s) of a particular US foreign policy decision. The specifics of the assignment will be announced and discussed in class several weeks into the semester. You will be expected to produce both a complete rough and final draft of this paper. The papers—which should be 15-20 pages long, double-spaced, written in a 12 pt font, and use 1” margins throughout—will be graded based upon clarity of presentation, organization, and analytical quality. Papers must also be correct in terms of grammar, punctuation and spelling. Papers deficient in these respects will be penalized, as will incomplete rough drafts.

As part of this assignment, you will be also asked to offer a substantive, written critique of a fellow student's rough draft. Late comments will not be acceptable and may negatively affect that student's capacity to produce the best paper he/she can, so please plan accordingly.

**Rough draft due: March 28 (at the start of class)**  
**Student comments due: April 2 (at the start of class)**  
**My comments distributed: On or before April 23**  
**Final draft due: tentatively May 7 (at the start of class)**

Late final research papers will be accepted and incompletes will be granted at the discretion of the instructor and *only permitted in the event of significant and verifiable—i.e., documentable—personal emergencies* (e.g., serious illness (colds do not count), death in the family). *Under no condition will extensions will be granted due to the stresses of academic life* (e.g., demands of other classes, due dates of other papers or exams, extracurricular activities, etc.).

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **I. Introduction and Historical Context**

#### **Session One (January 24): Course Overview**

No assigned reading

#### **Session Two (January 29): What is Foreign Policy? Why Does it Matter?**

G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, Introduction, pp. 1-12. (ER)

Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry. (ER)

Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr, "International Relations Theory, Foreign Policy Substitutability, and 'Nice' Laws." *World Politics*, vol. 36 (April 1984), pp. 383-406.

*Recommended:*

John Lewis Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, vol. 17 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 5-58.

### **Session Three (January 31) Historical Backdrop and Influential Early Foreign Policy Decisions**

Walter Russell Mead, "The American Foreign Policy Legacy," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002). (BB)

Georgetown University Case Study #261: The Neutrality Proclamation of 1793; available at [www.guisd.org](http://www.guisd.org); see also <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/neutra93.htm>

Michael Kitzen, "Money Bags or Cannon Balls: The Origins of the Tripolitan War, 1795-1801," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Winter 1996).

"The Monroe Doctrine," 2 December 1823:  
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/monroe.htm>

## **II. International Sources of Foreign Policy**

### **Session Four (February 5)**

\*Michael Mastanduno, David A. Lake, G. John Ikenberry, "Toward a Realist Theory of State Action," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 33 (December 1989), pp. 457-474.

Kenneth Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," in *Theory of International Politics*. (ER)

Stephen Walt, "Alliances: Balancing and Bandwagoning," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (eds.), *International Politics*. (ER)

*Recommended:*

Robert Jervis, "Offense, Defense, and The Security Dilemma," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (eds.), *International Politics*; excerpted from *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2 (January 1978), pp. 186-214.

### **Session Five (February 7) (The Origins of) Containment**

Melvyn P. Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginning of the Cold War, 1945-1948," *American Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 2 (April 1984).

“Chapter 2: George F. Kennan and the Strategy of Containment,” in John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy* (Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 25-53. (ER)

### **III. Economic Drivers of US Foreign Policy**

#### **Session Six (February 12)**

Benjamin Cohen, *The Question of Imperialism* (Basic Books, 1973), pp. 36-72 and pp. 121-131. (ER)

Jeff Frieden, “Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940,” *International Organization*, vol. 42, no. 1 (Winter 1988).

David Lake, “International Economic Structures and American Foreign Economic Policy, 1887-1934,” *World Politics*, vol. 35 (July 1983).

### **IV. US Intervention in the Third World**

#### **Session Seven (February 14)**

David Gibbs, *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention* (U. of Chicago Press, 1991), Chapter 1. (ER)

Stephen Van Evera, “American Intervention in the Third World: Less Would Be Better,” *Security Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1991), pp. 1-24. (ER)

Max Boot, “Neither New nor Nefarious: The Liberal Empire Strikes Back,” *Current History*, vol. 102, no. 667 (November 2003); available at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/boot.htm>

“Domino Theory Principle,” Public Papers of the Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1954, p. 381-390; available at: <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/domino.html>.

#### **Session Eight (February 19): Regime Change in Iran**

Georgetown Case Study #332: The United States, Great Britain, and Mossadegh; available at [www.guisd.org](http://www.guisd.org).

Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change* (Times Books, 2006), Chapter 5: Despotism and Godless Terrorism. (ER)

[Excerpt from] Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Wiley and Sons, 2004), Chapters 11 and 12, pp. 167-215. (ER)

#### **Session Nine (February 21): Intervention into Guatemala**

[Excerpt from] Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger. *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*, pp. xi-xv, 65-117; AND/OR Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change* (Times Books, 2006), Chapter 6: Get Rid of This Stinker. (ER)

[Excerpt from] Nick Cullather, *Secret History: The CIA's classified account of its operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapter 2: Reversing the Trend and Chapter 3: Sufficient Means. (ER)

**Session Ten (February 26): MIDTERM**

**Session Eleven (February 28): NO CLASS MEETING**

## **V. Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Dynamics**

**Session Twelve (March 5):**

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 63, no. 3 (September 1969), pp. 689-718.

Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? Or Allison Wonderland?" *Foreign Policy*, vol. 7 (Summer 1971).

Robert Art, "A Critique of Bureaucratic Politics" in *American Defense Policy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 33-42. (ER)

**Session Thirteen (March 7): Cuban Missile Crisis**

Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

## **SPRING BREAK (March 9-25)**

## **VI. Cognitive theories and the role of personalities and individuals**

**Session Fourteen (March 26): Small group dynamics**

Irving Janis, "Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could It Happen?" in *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 97-130. (ER)

James C. Thomson, Jr. "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," *The Atlantic Monthly* (April 1968). (BB)

Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics*, vol. 20 (April 1968).

Yuen Foong Khong, "Seduction by Analogy in Vietnam: The Malaya and Korea Analogies," in Kenneth Thompson (ed.), *Institutions and Leadership: Prospects for the Future* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987). (ER)

*Recommended:*

Leslie H. Gelb, "Vietnam: The System Worked," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1971), pp. 140-167.

**Session Fifteen (March 28): The Role of Individuals**

Jerrold M. Post, *Leaders and their followers in a dangerous World*, “Chapter 2 When Personality Affects Political Behavior” and “Chapter 5: The Impact of Crisis-Induced Stress on Policy Makers.” (BB)

Richard Samuels, *Machiavelli's Children*, Preface (skim) and excerpt from "Introduction: Why Leaders Matter," pp. 1-10. (BB)

*Recommended:*

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In,” *International Security*, vol. 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001), pp. 107-146.

ROUGH DRAFT OF RESEARCH PAPER DUE (March 28)

### **Session Sixteen (April 2): The (Inside) Actors Who Influence US Foreign Policy and the Case of Nixon and the Bombing of Cambodia**

Georgetown Case Study #242: A Madman's Appetite—Operation Menu: The Nixon Administration and the Secret Bombing in Cambodia; available at: [www.guisd.org](http://www.guisd.org).

Additional reading TBA

STUDENT COMMENTS ON ROUGH DRAFTS DUE (April 2)

## **VII. In-class Policy Simulation: Details TBA**

**Session Seventeen (April 4) and Session Eighteen (April 9)**

**Session Nineteen (April 11): NO CLASS MEETING**

SHORT PAPER DUE FRIDAY (APRIL 16)

## **VIII. Groups, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy**

**Session Twenty (April 16)**

“The Theory of Public Opinion and Foreign Policy,” in Richard Sobol, *The Impact of Public Opinion on US Foreign Policy Since Vietnam* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 9-47. (ER)

Lawrence R. Jacobs, “Business versus Public Influence in U.S. Foreign Policy,” in Ikenberry. (ER)

Peter Trubowitz, “Political Conflict and Foreign Policy in the United States: A Geographical Interpretation,” *Political Geography*, vol. 12, no. 2 (March 1993). (ER)

[Excerpt from] Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Harvard University Press, 2000). (ER)

Yossi Shain, “For Ethnic Americans, the Old Country Calls”; available at:

<http://www.afsa.org/fsj/oct00/shain.cfm>

### **Session Twenty-one (April 18): Public Opinion, the Intelligence Community, and the Iran-Contra Affair**

Robert Parry and Peter Kornbluh, "Iran-Contra's Untold Story," *Foreign Policy*, no. 72 (Autumn 1988), pp. 3-30.

Richard Sobol, "Public Opinion's Influence on Contra Aid Policy, in Richard Sobol, *The Impact of Public Opinion on US Foreign Policy Since Vietnam* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 111-139. (ER)

Richard A. Brody and Catherine Shapiro, "Policy Failure and Public Support: The Iran-Contra Affair and Public Assessment," *Political Behavior*, vol. 11, no. 4 (December 1989), pp. 353-69.

*Recommended:*

Frederick M. Kaiser, "Congressional Oversight of the Presidency," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 499 (September 1988), pp. 75-89.

Allan E. Goodman, "Reforming U. S. Intelligence," *Foreign Policy*, no. 67 (Summer 1987), pp. 121-136.

## **IX. National Values, Democratic Institutions, and Foreign Policy**

### **Session Twenty-two (April 23)**

Samuel Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 97, no. 1 (Spring 1982).

Michael Mastunduno, "The United States Political System and International Leadership: A 'Decidedly Inferior' Form of Government?," in Ikenberry, *AFP*. (ER)

Tony Smith, "National Security Liberalism and American Foreign Policy," in *American Democracy Promotion* (August 2000), pp. 85-103. (ER)

### **Session Twenty-three (April 25)**

Kathryn Sikkink, "The Power of Principled Ideas: Human Rights Policies in the United States and Western Europe," in Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, eds., *Ideas and Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993). (ER)

Georgetown Case Study #277: When People Elect the Wrong Leaders: The United States and Elections in Algeria, 1991-92; and/or Georgetown Case Study #170: Values Versus Interests: The U.S. Response to the Tiananmen Square Massacre; both are available at: [www.guisd.org](http://www.guisd.org).

## **X. American Foreign Policy After the Cold War and 9/11**

### **Session Twenty-four (April 30) Post Cold-War Competing Grand Strategies and Military Intervention in the 1990s**

Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 1.

[Excerpt from] Robert J. Art, "A Defensible Defense: America's Grand Strategy After the Cold War." *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Spring 1991), pp. 5-53.

[Excerpt from] Charles Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," *International Security*, vol. 16 (Summer 1991), pp. 114-161.

[Excerpt from] Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation," *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-48.

### **Session Twenty-five (May 2): US Foreign Policy After 9/11**

Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 118, no. 3 (Fall 2003).

G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2002).

Niall Ferguson, "Empire Slinks Back," *New York Times Magazine*, April 27, 2003; available at:  
[http://www.agitprop.org.au/nowar/20030427\\_ferguson\\_empire\\_slinks\\_back.htm](http://www.agitprop.org.au/nowar/20030427_ferguson_empire_slinks_back.htm)

Georgetown Case #278: Going to the United Nations: George W. Bush and Iraq

Nicholas Kristoff, "Save Our Spooks," *New York Times*, May 30, 2003.

Jordan Eason, "The News We Kept To Ourselves," *New York Times*, April 11, 2003.

David Rose, "Neo Culpa," *Vanity Fair*, January 2007 (BB).

George Packer, "The Liberal Quandary over Iraq," *The New York Times Magazine*, December 8, 2002.

### **Session Twenty-six (May 7) Course Wrap-Up**

No assigned reading

FINAL RESEARCH PAPER DUE (tentative date)