Government 311 United States Foreign Policy

Professor Douglas Foyle

Winter 2021

Days: January 5 - January 29, Tuesday through Friday

Times: 1 pm - 3:30 pm Eastern Time Zone

Class Location: synchronous, online

Home Page: http://dfoyle.faculty.wesleyan.edu/

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The Winter Session course is open to all class years.

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 evaluates 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 and broad analytical tools. With this base established, the focus turns to the major institutions and actors in American foreign policy. The course concludes with an examination of the challenges and opportunities that face current U.S. decision makers. A significant component of the course is the intensive discussion of specific foreign policy decisions as well as a simulation of foreign policy decision making.

No prior knowledge of U.S. foreign policy or international politics is assumed other than what might be gathered from keeping up with the current events.

Course Grading

Grading Policies: For specifics on my grading standards and numerical thresholds for various grades, see the grading policies link at http://dfoyle.faculty.wesleyan.edu/.

Grades will be based on: (1) a take-home final (30%), (2) 3 short analytical papers (2-3 pages each) (35%), and (3) participation (35%).

Class periods will be devoted to a mixture of lecture, discussion, and other activities.

Incompletes will be allowed only for significant and verifiable personal emergencies (e.g., serious personal illness, death in the family).

Final Exam

Final: There will be an essay-format, take-home final due on February 2. The exam is open book and open note, but you may not give or receive aid from any other person. You do not need to provide footnotes to material assigned in the course. No references to material from outside the course are expected.

Excused (no penalty) late exams will be allowed only for significant and verifiable personal emergencies.

Unexcused late exams will be penalized 1/3 of a full 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 immediately through e-mail that your exam will be late under this provision. No unexcused late exams will be accepted after 7 days.

Papers

A 2-3 page essay is due on the following dates (3 papers total): Monday, January 11, Monday, January 18, and Monday, January 25. Each paper is due at 5 p.m.

Late papers will be handled according to the policies for the final.

Books

There are two books for purchase:

Donald M. Snow & Patrick J. Haney, U.S. Foreign Policy: Back to the Water's Edge, 5th edition, 2018 ISBN: 9781442268173.

James McCormick (ed.), Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy (<u>DSAFP</u>), 2018, 7th edition, ISBN 9781442275362.

You will also need to purchase a case study (see Cuban Missile Crisis case discussion for information).

There is one book on reserve.

Stanley Renshon & Peter Suedfeld, <u>The Trump Doctrine and the Emerging International System</u>, 2021. Referred to as <u>Trump Doctrine</u> on the Moodle. ISBN: 978-3030450496. This can also be rented or purchased through Amazon.

Additional readings are available on the course Moodle (students will be granted access to the Moodle shortly before the end of the Fall semester). Some of the reading references below are not complete since they are accessed through the Moodle

Case Discussion

This course employs a case study teaching method where, periodically, class time 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.

To aid your preparation, consider the following 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?

Accommodations Statement

Wesleyan University is committed to ensuring that all qualified students with disabilities are afforded an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, its programs and services. To receive accommodations, a student must have a disability as defined by the ADA. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

If you have a disability, or think that you might have a disability, please contact <u>Accessibility Services</u> in order to arrange an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. Accessibility Services is located in North College, rooms 021/218, or can be reached by email (accessibility@wesleyan.edu) or phone (860-685-2332).

Class Schedule

A note on class schedule: Because of daily classroom pacing, reading material is listed in 2 day blocks.

January 5, Tuesday and January 6, Wednesday

The Legacy of U.S. Foreign Policy History

Walter Russell Mead, "The American Foreign Policy Legacy," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> 81 (January/February 2002): pp. 163-76.

"Geopolitics of the United States, Part 1 The Inevitable Empire" August 24, 2011 (republished July 4, 2016), Stratfor. (Originally here: https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/geopolitics-united-states-part-1-inevitable-empire).

Snow & Haney, Chapter 1, Chapter 2.

Models of American Foreign Policy Making: International and Societal Forces

Ole R. Holsti, "Theories of International Relations," <u>Making American Foreign</u> Policy, pp. 313-343.

Snow & Haney, Chapter 3.

Eugene Wittkopf and Christopher Jones, "Pattern and Process in American Foreign Policy: An Analytical Perspective" <u>American Foreign Policy</u>, pp. 17-26.

Watch (3 minutes -- Look for messages and what you might not like): School House Rock: "Elbow Room."

Watch (3 minutes -- Look for messages and what you might not like): School House Rock: "No More Kings."

Donald J. Trump, RNC Speech Transcript, August 27, 2020, pp. 16-17. (Moodle Readings). From red arrow and blue highlighted text to conclusion. Consider in light of other material.

Models of American Foreign Policy Making: Individual Level

Philip Tetlock and Charles McGuire, Jr., "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy," in G. John Ikenberry, American Foreign Policy, 5th ed., pp. 484-500.

Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in U.S. Decision on Somalia and Bosnia," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 327-342.

Goldgeier, "NATO Expansion: Anatomy of a Decision,", pp. 345-360.

January 7, Thursday and January 8, Friday

Case Discussions -- Cuban Missile Crisis

ISD Case 129 "The Cuban Missile Crisis" Note: For purchase directly from the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy: casestudies.isd.georgetown.edu. Please note that this item is nonreturnable.

Daniel Ellsberg, Doomsday Machine, 2017 (selections).

Vojtech Mastny, "Soviet Foreign Policy, 1953-1962," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. <u>The Cambridge History of the Cold War</u>, Vol. 1, 2010, pp. 331-333.

The Presidency

Larry George, "Democratic Theory and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy."

Snow & Haney, Chapter 4.

Fisher, "Presidential Wars," DSAFP, pp. 183-202.

Josh Gerstein, "President Obama Invokes Iraq War Authorization in Syria," <u>Politico</u> September 23, 2014.

Andrew Rudalevige, "No, A Downed Drone Does not Give Trump the Authority to Start a War," <u>Washington Post</u> (Money Cage), June 22, 2019 (Moodle Readings).

Watch: "School House Rock: 3 Ring Circus."

Case Discussions -- Vietnam

"Americanizing the Vietnam War" by Richard Neustadt– this case will be the basis for discussion.

Thomson, "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 315-327.

January 12, Tuesday and January 13, Wednesday

Congress

Harold Hongju Koh, "Why the President Almost Always Wins in Foreign Affairs."

Snow & Haney, Chapter 6.

Lindsay, "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy" <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 219-236.

Miller Center, "National War Powers Commission Report."

Mort Halperin & Soren Dayton, "Can Congress Reclaim Authority It Has Handed Over to the President? It's Trying." <u>Washington Post</u> August 20, 2020.

The President

Nelson, "Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 173-182.

Henry R. Nau, "Trump and America's Foreign Policy Traditions," <u>Trump Doctrine</u>, Chapter 3

Kaplan, "Obama's Decision-Making Style," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 381-97

Ryan Lizza, "(Obama) The Consequentialist" New Yorker 2011 (selections)

Julie Kaarbo, "Trump's Personality and U.S. Foreign Policy" <u>BRICOLAGE</u>, 2017.

Elizabeth Saunders, "Is Trump a Normal Foreign-Policy President? What We Know After One Year," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, January 2018.

Philip Rucker & Robert Costa, "It's a Hard Problem": Inside Trumps Decision to Send More Troops to Afghanistan, <u>Washington Post</u>, August 21, 2017.

Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt, Maggie Haberman, & Rukmini Callimachi, "As Tensions with Iran Escalated, Trump Opted for Most Extreme Measure," New York Times January 4, 2020.

Case Discussion -- *Iraq War 2003*

Pfiffner, "President Bush and the Invasion of Iraq: Presidential Leadership and Thwarted Goals," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 361-380.

Douglas Foyle, "Leading the Public to War?" <u>International Journal of Public Opinion Research</u>, 2004.

January 14, Thursday and January 15, Friday

Public Opinion and Elections

Snow & Haney, Chapter 8 (through p. 205).

Douglas C. Foyle, "The New Normal? Public Opinion, Partisan Division, and the Trump Doctrine," <u>Trump Doctrine</u>, Ch. 7

Colin Dueck, "American Nationalism and the Future of the Trump Doctrine," Trump Doctrine, Ch. 14

Berinsky, "Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 103-118.

Smeltz et al., "Foreign Policy Beliefs Among Leaders and the Public," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 133-152.

Busby, Smeltz, Tama, "Trump and His Advisers Are Probably Wrong About What Foreign Policy Americans Want," <u>Washington Post</u> (Monkey Cage), July 3, 2019

Interest Groups and Political Parties

Snow & Haney, Chapter 7.

Mearsheimer and Walt, "The Israel Lobby," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 69-84.

Sam Goldman, "It's Christian Politics, Not AIPAC Money, That Explains American Support for Israel," <u>Washington Post</u> (Monkey Cage), February 12, 2019

The Media, Public Opinion, and Information

Snow & Haney, Chapter 8 (The Media through end of chapter).

Jeffrey Lantis, <u>US Foreign Policy In Action</u>, pp. 216-37 (Moodle Readings) (Note: You are <u>not</u> doing the presentations discussed in this reading).

Entman, "How Media Limit Accountability in Foreign Policymaking: Iraq and Beyond," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 119-132.

Case Discussion -- DP World 2006

Foyle, "Anatomy of a Crash: Port Security and the 2006 Dubai Ports World Controversy."

January 19, Tuesday and January 20, Wednesday

Foreign Policy Institutional Actors

Snow & Haney, Chapter 5.

Martha Cottam, "Foreign Policy Decision Making in the Trump Administration," Trump Doctrine, Ch.5

Destler, "How National Security Advisers See Their Role," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 203-218.

American Academy of Diplomacy, "American Diplomacy at Risk," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 237-52.

Jervis, "Why Intelligence and Policymakers Clash," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 266-282.

William Taylor, "Opening Statement" October 22, 2019 (Moodle Readings) Look for aspects of the interagency process and short-circuits of the interagency process.

The Military

Feaver & Gelpi, "American Veterans in Government and the Use of Force," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 85-122.

Flournoy, "The Urgent Need for Defense Reform" <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 253-264.

Fred Kaplan, "The Thin Skin of John Kelly," Slate October 26, 2017.

Alice Hunt Friend, "This is the One Norm Trump Didn't Break When He Pulled Troops Out of Syria," <u>Washington Post</u> (Monkey Cage) January 6, 2019

Alex Horton, "For Some Veterans, John Kelly's Remarks Add to A Worrying Civilian-Military Divide," <u>Washington Post</u> October 21, 2017.

Jeffrey Goldberg, "James Mattis Denounces President Trump, Describes Him as a Threat to the Constitution," <u>The Atlantic</u>, June 3, 2020

David Ignatius, "How Trump Came to the Brink of Deploying Active-Duty Troops in Washington," <u>Washington Post</u> June 5, 2020

Interests and Goals

"Geopolitics of the United States, Part 2 American Identity and the Threats of Tomorrow" August 24, 2011 (republished July 4, 2016), Stratfor. (Originally here: https://worldview.stratfor.com/analysis/geopolitics-united-states-part-2-american-identity-and-threats-tomorrow).

Smith, "Liberal Internationalism," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 31-42.

Dueck, "Conservative American Realism," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 43-58.

Nau, "Conservative Internationalism," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 59-68.

Walt, "The End of Hubris And the Age of American Restraint" <u>Foreign</u> Affairs May/June 2019

Beinart, "Obama's Idealists: American Power in Theory and Practice," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, October 2019. pp 1-4 (through "Yes We Can")

Peter Seudfeld, Bradford H. Morrison, and Lawrence Kuznar, "National Interests and the Trump Doctrine: The Meaning of "America First" <u>Trump Doctrine</u>, Ch. 2

January 21, Thursday and January 22, Friday

Grand Strategy

Hal Brands, What Good is Grand Strategy?, 2014, Chapter 1.

Barry Posen & Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," <u>International Security</u> 1996-1997, (Neo-isolationism, Selective Engagement, Cooperative Security, Primacy), pp. 3, 9-15, 17-21, 23-30, 32-42.

Stanley A. Renshon, "The Trump Doctrine and Conservative American Nationalism," <u>Trump Doctrine</u> Ch. 1

Robert Singh, "The Trump, Bush, and Obama Doctrines: A Comparative Analysis," Trump Doctrine Ch. 13

Security Threats

Snow & Haney, Chapter 9.

Thomas Preston, "Deterrence, Competence, and Containment in the Trump Foreign Policy: Comparing Present and Past Strategies of American Leadership" <u>Trump Doctrine</u> Ch. 6

Thomas Wright, "The Folly of Retrenchment," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> March/April 2020

Stephen Wertheim, "The Price of Primacy," Foreign Affairs March/April 2020

Ben Rhodes, "The 9/11 Era is Over," The Atlantic, April 6, 2020

Economics

Snow & Haney, Chapter 10.

James Jay Carafano, "The Trump Doctrine and the Institutions of the Liberal International Order," Trump Doctrine, Ch. 4

Destler, "American Trade Policymaking: A Unique Process," <u>DSAFP</u>, pp. 301-318.

Adam S. Posen, "The Post-American World Economy: Globalization in the Trump Era," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> 2018

Adam Dean, "Free Trade Doesn't Just Lead to Job Loss," <u>Washington</u> <u>Post</u> (Monkey Cage), July 15, 2019.

Neil Irwin, "The Trump Trade Strategy is Coming Into Focus," <u>New York Times</u> October 6, 2018.

January 26, Tuesday and January 27, Wednesday

National Security Council Simulation

January 28, Thursday and January 29, Friday

Resource Allocation: Budgets and Defense Policy

Kathleen Hicks, "Getting to Less: The Truth About Defense Spending," Foreign Affairs March/April 2020

Paul Krugman, "Peacocks and Vultures are Circling the Deficit," <u>New York</u> Times, April 27, 2020.

Katrina vanden Heuvel, "After This Pandemic Passes, America Needs a Reckoning with its National Security," <u>Washington Post</u> April 7, 2020

Niall Ferguson, "Complexity and Collapse: Empires on the Edge of Chaos," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2010

Great Power Dynamics

Daniel W. Drezner, "This Time is Different: Why U.S. Foreign Policy Will Never Recover," <u>Foreign Affairs May/June 2019</u>

Graham Allison, "The New Spheres of Influence," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, March/April 2020

Jennifer Lind & Daryl Press, "Reality Check: American Power in an Age of Constraints" Foreign Affairs March/April 2020

Michael Beckley, "The End of the Affair: U.S.-China Relations Under Trump," <u>Trump Doctrine</u> Ch. 9

Why does the U.S. do what it does?

Snow & Haney, Chapters 11, 12.

Final Due: February 2, 5 p.m. (upload to the Moodle)