

Political Science 275: American Foreign Policy

Thomas M. Dolan, Instructor

Spring Semester 2010

Class: Gavet 208, TW 3:25-4:40 PM

Office Hours: Friday, 9:30-11:30 AM and by appointment; Office: 323 Harkness Hall

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This course examines both the historic roots and contemporary practice of U.S. foreign policy. It will begin with a brief survey of U.S. foreign policies from the earliest days of the Republic to the challenges of the twenty-first century, with a particular emphasis on debates over the best strategy and role for the U.S. in the world. It will then move to an analysis of the policy process and the determinants of U.S. policy, with a particular focus on the relationships between the executive, public opinion, the Congress, and the bureaucracy, as well as relationships with allies and international organizations. Last, it will analyze in detail the challenges, options, and limits of contemporary American foreign and national security policy, including the rise of China, increasing globalization, and terrorism.

Goals

The presentation of this course, and the evaluation of students' efforts in it, will be tailored to the following aims:

- Students will acquire an understanding of American foreign policy, with particular emphasis on major approaches to American foreign policy, influences on foreign policy, and current challenges.
- Students will develop their powers of political and social analysis, with an emphasis on logical argument and the effective use of evidence in drawing conclusions.
- Students will develop their faculties in writing and speaking about politics and political phenomena.

Please note that none of these goals involve the advancement of anyone's political or policy opinions (including those of the instructor). While I encourage political activity and the fulfillment of one's citizenship duties outside of the classroom, a political science course is not a proper forum for the airing of one's personal politics.

Course Design

This course involves a combination of class seminars, directed readings, papers, a final exam, and opportunities for informal discussion during office hours. Each part serves a purpose, be it information transmission and retention, promoting rigorous analysis, or encouraging the development of new ideas. Failing to engage with all parts will diminish the return on your efforts. For this reason, pre-class preparation is essential for this course. Students are expected to have read and considered the assigned material prior to the course, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Please remember that that the material of the course is delivered in *both* texts and in-class discussion, which means that the texts contain valuable ideas and information which may not be specifically addressed in class, and discussions and lectures will go beyond the readings. You are responsible for understanding both, so please be sure to raise questions about things you are unsure about.

Assignments and Evaluation

Debate Participation, 15%.

Each student will be a member of an approximately 5 member debate team. Each team will contest one side of a historical debate on American foreign policy for 15 minutes (thus, the formal component of each debate will be 30 minutes). In addition to the formal debate itself, the team will collectively produce two documents for the instructor, to be handed in at the end of the debate: a **4-5 page statement of debate strategy** including key arguments and key counter-arguments to anticipated attacks, and a **collectively signed statement describing each team member's role** in preparing and presenting the debate. In addition, the two teams associated with each debate will jointly produce a **2-page background statement** about the subject of the debate for their fellow class-members, which is due to the instructor not less than two days before the debate. 95% of the debate grade will be based on the materials and the presentation of the debate; the remaining 5% of the grade and up to 5% in extra credit will be assigned on based on the team's success in persuading their fellow students that their side is right. Students who do not fully participate may receive a lower grade than other team-members.

The debate topics are:

Debate 1, 2 February: **Declaring War on Mexico**, 12 May 1846

Debate 2, 2 February: **The Smoot-Hawley McKinley Tariff**, 17 June 1930

Debate 3, 11 February: **Lend-Lease**, 11 March 1941

Debate 4, 11 February: **Détente**, 1 November 1980

Debate 5, 25 February: **NAFTA**, 1 September 1993

Debate 6, 25 February: **Invading Iraq**, 15 March 2003

Students may not use arguments or information unavailable to American decision-makers after the indicated date.

Midterm, 20%, 2 March

Includes both short answer and essay components. Study guide will be distributed 1 week in advance.

Term Paper, 30% 8 Pages; Due 20 April. Write on one of the following options:

1. Choose an issue in American Foreign Policy. Describe its key features and present two fully developed paths forward, advancing the strongest possible arguments for each. Express a convincing argument in favor of one or the other.
2. Analyze an aspect of current American Foreign Policy. Explain why that policy is in place: what interests, interest groups, and other influences are responsible for its current status. Be sure to specifically address executive and legislative branch actors as well as outside forces, and consider counter-arguments to your explanation.

Final Exam, 25%, Saturday, 5 May, 0830

Includes both short answer and essay components. Study guide will be distributed 1 week in advance.

Participation, 10%

Your active participation in class is necessary if this class is to be a successful learning experience. This means you must come in having read the assignments and join in the class-room discussion of them, making evident that you have read and thought about them. While attendance is not graded as such, excessive truancy can affect this grade, since you are unable to participate when absent.

Assignments are to be turned in by class time on the day they are due. They should be in hardcopy unless unforeseen circumstances prevent printing them in or handing them in a timely manner. For every 24 hours that pass thereafter, 5% of credit is lost, to a maximum of 40% lost.

Exams are to be sat at the date and time specified, unless prior approval has been given or a doctor's excuse is submitted at the next attended class meeting. Exams should be sat within 1 week of the general administration of the exam.

Grades

Grades are assigned to both individual pieces of work and cumulatively. The grade scale I use for both is below (note that "g" refers to the numerical grade you receive). I do not usually curve grades, but reserve the right to do so if I deem it necessary. All material is graded on its own terms, rather than through comparison with other students' work. For the cumulative grades, I do not round: what you get is what you get.

100>g≥93: A	90>g≥88: B+	80>g≥78: C+	70>g≥68: D+	60>g: E
	88>g≥83: B	78>g≥73: C	68>g≥63: D	
93>g≥90: A-	83>g≥80: B	73>g≥70: C-	63>g≥60: D	

Cheating and plagiarism are, of course, unacceptable in academic work, and when suspected will be pursued through the appropriate university channels. Proper citations and standards of integrity are not optional. If you have questions about what this means, please ask the instructor.

Changes to the Syllabus:

In the event that there is a need for there to be any changes to the syllabus, an e-mail will be sent to all students' e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar), and will be mentioned in class at two class meetings. Changes become effective immediately after their second mention in class, or the sending of the e-mail, whichever comes last.

Cancellation of Class: In the event that the instructor needs to cancel class, an e-mail will be sent to all students' e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar) prior to class time.

Readings

All Readings are available on-line through blackboard at my.rochester.edu

14 January: Introduction

The Constitution of the United States

Part 1: The History of American Foreign Policy

19 January: Enduring views of US foreign policy

Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Tradition" *The National Interest*, 12.01.1999

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 1994, Chapter 2.

Ole Holsti and J. Rosenau, "The Structure of Foreign Policy Attitudes among American Leaders," *Journal of Politics*, 52 (Feb 1990), pp. 94-125.

S. Murray, J. Cowden, and B. Russett, "The Convergence of American Elites' Domestic Beliefs with their Foreign Policy Beliefs," *International Interactions*, 25 (1999) p. 153-180.

Recommended:

Benjamin Fordham, "Economic Interests and Public Support for American Global Activism," *International Organization*, 62 (Winter 2008), pp. 163-82.

John Ruggie, "The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy," *International Security* (Spring 1997).

Irving Kristol, "The Neoconservative Persuasion," *The Weekly Standard*, August 25, 2003

G. John Ikenberry, "The End of the Neoconservative Moment," *Survival*, 46:1

Brian Rathbun, "Does One Right Make a Realist?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 123:2 (2008)

21 January: The 18th and 19th Centuries

Federalist Papers 3, 4, 5, 11, 64, 74;

Washington's Farewell Address

Monroe Doctrine

26 January: Rise to Great Power

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). *The Strenuous Life*. 1900. "MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND UNPREPAREDNESS"; <http://www.bartleby.com/58/11.html>; "EXPANSION AND PEACE";

<http://www.bartleby.com/58/2.html>;

CAPTAIN A.T. MAHAN, *THE INTEREST OF AMERICA IN SEA POWER, PRESENT AND FUTURE*. "THE UNITED STATES LOOKING OUTWARD" <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15749/15749-h/15749-h.htm#>

Woodrow Wilson, "War Message,"

[http://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s War Message to Congress](http://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s_War_Message_to_Congress)

Woodrow Wilson, "14 Points for Peace,"

[http://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President Wilson%27s Fourteen Points](http://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points)

28 January: Isolationism, the interwar period, and the coming of WWII

Reading from Ruth Sarles, *A Story of America First*. Praeger, 2003.

Recommended:

Peter Bell, "The Foreign Office and the 1939 Royal Visit to America: Courting the USA in an Era of Isolationism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, (37:4), 599-616.

2 February: Debate Day #1

Debates on the Mexican War and the Smoot-Hawley Tariff

4 February: The Post-War Settlement and the Cold War

X*, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, 25:4 (July 1947).

*X was later revealed to be George Kennan.

Julian Zelizer, "Détente and Domestic Politics," *Diplomatic History*, 3:4 (2009)

Recommended:

Potsdam Agreement

NSC-68. <http://www.fas.org/jrp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm>

Deborah Larson, *Origins of Containment*, Princeton University Press, 1985

Steven Casey, "Selling NSC-68: The Truman Administration, Public Opinion, and the Politics of Mobilization, 1950-51," *Diplomatic History*, 29:4 (2005)

David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*, 1973

9 February: Détente, The Second Cold War and the End of the Cold War

John Gaddis, *The Cold War*, Penguin Press, 2005, Chapter 6.

Jeffrey Engel, "A Better World...But Don't Get Carried Away: The Foreign Policy of George H. W. Bush Twenty Years On," *Diplomatic History* 34:1 (2010)

Recommended:

Dennis Ross, *Statecraft*, Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2007, Chapter 2

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 25:3 (2000/2001)

11 February: Debate Day #2

Debates on Lend-Lease/the Peacetime Draft and Détente

Part 2: US FP Today

16 February : 9-11 and US Foreign Policy

Melvyn Leffler, "9/11 and American Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* (June 2005).

Daniel Drezner, "Values, Interests, and American Grand Strategy," *Diplomatic History*, (June 2005)

Recommended:

Walter Lefeber, "The Bush Doctrine," *Diplomatic History*, 2002.

Condoleezza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, 79 (Jan-Feb 2000), pp. 45-62)

Andrew Bacevich and Elizabeth Prodromou, "God is Not Neutral: Religion and US Foreign Policy after 9/11," *Orbis* 48:1 (2003)

18 February: US Security Policy Today

2006 *National Security Strategy of the USA*

2008 *National Defense Strategy*

Barack Obama, "Renewing American Leadership," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2007, p. 2-16.

Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: A New Strategy for a New World, Washington, D.C., July 15, 2008

Recommended:

2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review*

23 February: US Foreign Economic Policy Today

Roger Altman, "The Great Crash, 2008," *Foreign Affairs*, 2009.

25 February March: Debate Day #3

Debates on NAFTA and the Iraq War

2 March: Midterm Exam

Part 3: The Basis of US Foreign Policy

16 March: The Decision-Maker

Graham Alison and Philip Zelikow. *The Essence of Decision*. Second Edition, (1999). Chapter 1.

Robert Jervis. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976). Ch. 2 and 10.

Paul T'Hart, Karen Tindall, and Christer Brown, "Crisis Leadership and the Bush Presidency: Advisory Capacity and Presidential Performance in the Acute Stages of the 9-11 and Katrina Crises," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 39:3 (2009)

Recommended:

Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (1992).

Ernest R. May, "Lessons" of the Past: *The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy* (1973).

Herbert Simon, "Rationality as Process and as Product of Thought," *American Economic Review*, 68:2, (1978) pp. 1-16.

18 March: Congress

Lisa Martin, *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton University Press, 2000. Chapter 2.

Richard Pious, "Inherent War and Executive Powers and Prerogative Politics," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 37:1 (2007)

Barren Wheeler, "Checking Presidential Detention Power in the War on Terror: What Should We Expect from the Judiciary," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 39:4 (2009)

23 March: The Bureaucracy

Amy Zegart, *Flawed By Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. Stanford University Press, 1999. Chapter 2.

25 March: Bureaucratic Politics

Graham Alison and Philip Zelikow. *The Essence of Decision*. Second Edition, (1999). Chapter 3.

Recommended:

Benjamin Fordham, "The Political and Economic Sources of Inflation in the American Military Budget," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47:5, (2003) pp. 574-93.

Timothy McKeown, "Plans and Routines, Bureaucratic Bargaining, and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Journal of Politics*, 63:4, (2001) pp. 1163-90.

Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86, no. 2 (June 1992).

Report of the 9-11 Commission.

30 March: American Civil-military relations

Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, "The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians and their Mutual Misunderstanding," *National Interest*, 61 (Fall 2000) pp. 29-37.

Christopher Gelpi and Peter Feaver, "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force," *American Political Science Review*, 96:4 (2002) pp. 779-793.

Recommended:

H. R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Johnson, McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam*. Harper Perennial, 1998.

Richard Kohn, "Out of Control: The Crisis in Civil-Military Relations," *National Interest* no. 35 (Spring 1994).

David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace*, Simon and Shuster, 2001.

Bob Woodward, "The War Within" Articles 1-3, *The Washington Post*, 7-9 September 2008.

1 April: Intelligence

Richard K. Betts, "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," *World Politics*, 31:1, pp. 61-89.

Robert Jervis, "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29: 1, pp. 3-52.

Recommended:

Christopher Andrews, *For The President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush*. HarperCollins, 1995.

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on the US Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq*, 2004.

Paul Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, March 2006, p. 15

6 April: Foreign Policy in a Democratic State: the Nature and role and of public opinion

Reading from Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, *The Rational Public*, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Reading from Walter Lippmann, *Essays in Public Philosophy*, 1955.

Thomas A. Schwartz, "Henry,...Winning an Election is Terribly Important": Partisan Politics in the History of US Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History*, 33:2, (2009)

Recommended:

Aldrich, John, John Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting" *American Political Science Review*, v. 83, no. 1 (March, 1989), pp. 123-141

Bruce Jentleson and Rebecca Britton, "Still Pretty Prudent: Post-Cold War Public Opinion on the Use of Force," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (August 1998).

Piers Robinson, "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Review of International Studies*, 25 (1999), pp. 301-309.

Matt Baum, "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public," *American Political Science Review*, 96, (2004), pp. 91-109.

Gelpi, C., P. Feaver, and J. Reifler. (2005/6) "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq," *International Security*. 30:3, pp. 7-44.

8 April: Interest groups in American Foreign Policy

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books* (March 2006), available at: <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01.html>

Recommended:

Benjamin Fordham and Timothy McKeown, "Selection and Influence: Interest Groups and Congressional Voting on Trade Policy," *International Organization*, 57:3, (2003), pp. 519-549.

Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: the Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy*, Harvard University Press, 2000.

13 April: The Economics of Foreign Policy: the Tariff and Trade

Jeffrey Frieden, "Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940," *International Organization*, 42:1, (1988) pp. 59-90.

Michael Hiscox, "the Magic Bullet? The RTAA, Institutional Reform, and Trade Liberalization," *International Organization*, 53, (Fall 1999), pp. 669-698.

Recommended:

Michael Hiscox, "Commerce, Coalitions, and Factor Mobility: Evidence from Congressional Votes on Trade Legislation," *APSR*, 96:3

Jens Hainmueller and Michael Hiscox, "Learning to Love Globalization: Education and Individual Attitudes toward International Trade," *International Organization*, 60, (Spring 2006)

Richard Herrmann, Philip Tetlock, and Matthew Diascro, "How Americans Think About Trade: Reconciling Conflicts Among Money, Power, and Principles," *International Studies Quarterly*, 45:2, (2002) pp. 191-218.

Part 4: Current Challenges and Strategies

15 April: Foreign Friends: US Allies and Alliances

Michael E. Brown, "The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion," *Survival* 37, no. 1 (Spring 1995).

Victor Cha, "Powerplay Origins of the US Alliance System in Asia," *International Security*, 34:3, Winter 2009/2010

James Rubin, "Building a New Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, 2008

20 April: The Rise of China PAPER DUE

Daniel Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics," *International Security*, 34:2 (2009)

Ashley J. Tellis, "China's Military Space Strategy," *Survival*, Volume 49, Issue 3 September 2007, pages 41 - 72

Wang Jisi, "China's Search for Stability with America," *Foreign Affairs*, 84:5, (2005) pp. 39-48

Recommended:

Yun-han Chu and Andrew Nathan, "Seizing the Opportunity for Change in the Taiwan Strait," *Washington Quarterly* 31:1 (2007)

Suisheng Zhao, "China's Pragmatic Nationalism," *Washington Quarterly*, 29:1 (2005)

Hugh White, "Why War in Asia Remains Thinkable," *Survival*, 50:6 (2008).

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2008

Robert Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism," *International Security*, vol. 34:2 (2009)

22 April: The Middle East

Glen Kessler, "Fix this Middle Eastern Mess," *Washington Quarterly*, 31: 4.

Robert E. Hunter, "A New American Middle East Strategy?" *Survival*, 50:6, 2008.

Reading from Olivier Roy, *Globalized Islam*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

27: Grand Strategy

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

Fareed Zakaria, "The Future of American Power," *Foreign Affairs*, 87:3, (2008) pp. 18-43

Recommended:

Scott Lucas and Kaeten Mistry, "Illusions of Coherence: George Kennan, US Strategy and Political Warfare in the Early Cold War," *Diplomatic History*, 33:1 (2009)

Final Exam: Saturday, 5 May, 0830