

University of Rochester
Department of Political Science
IR 230 Implements of U.S. Foreign Policy
Spring 2013
MWF 10 a.m.-10:50 a.m.
Morey 502

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About this course: This course analyzes several tools of foreign policy -- ways to address international problems -- in the contemporary context, with a focus on international security. Students will consider the traditional theoretical elements of Cold War security thinking, including deterrence, compellence, and defense. Students will also learn about and analyze other types of foreign policy efforts, military and non-military, including sanctions; state building; humanitarian intervention; peacekeeping operations; and cyber operations. The broader context of the course is the variety of ways in which states may attempt to shape the behavior of other actors, including through cooperation with allies and international institutions.

We devote the first part of the course to theories about the uses of force as foreign policy tools. Because a state's power and influence stem in large part from its military as well as economic strength, in international interactions a state's military power is latently or directly relevant to its attempts to affect events outside its borders. The second part of the course focuses on specific policy choices.

This course is not primarily about the policymaking process (e.g., bureaucratic politics), drivers of foreign policy choices (e.g., domestic politics, Congressional politics, external threats), or international issues. It is not an exhaustive survey of foreign policy tools or goals. The purpose is to introduce students to key theories underlying policy choices, largely in the security realm, and several tools wielded to serve state interests. Because the course focuses on tools rather than threats, assignments require students to go beyond course material in conducting research for their papers.

The course provides no answers about "correct" policy choices. It presents paradigms, theories, facts, and arguments intended to encourage students to think through foreign policy problems as citizens assessing the choices of their leaders, and, potentially, as policymakers or analysts.

Educational goals: Build students' analytical abilities; develop students' ability to weigh available evidence and present a logically consistent argument that accords with it; to find and use evidence effectively; to analyze others' use of evidence and logic; to analyze world events and state policies through a social science lens; to increase students' understanding of states' foreign policy choices in order to build their ability to act as

responsible and informed citizens; to increase their ability to assess certain types of foreign policy tools and understand under what conditions they are more and less likely to be effective.

Course requirements: Students are expected to have read and considered the material prior to the class for which it is assigned, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Students are expected to attend all classes. Lectures, participation, and assignments are all critical to doing well in the course. No late assignments will be accepted without documentation of a medical or personal emergency. Assignments turned in late without documented evidence of an emergency will be dropped one full grade for every day they are late, starting on the day the assignment is due. The assignments are discussed in more detail below.

Should I make any changes in the syllabus or assignments, I will notify students through the Blackboard system. Students should feel free to email or meet with me to discuss class material and assignments.

Academic Integrity: Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action (<http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII>). Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with severely, which means that your grade will suffer and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty.

Additional Resources: I encourage students to use the university's resources. The Writing Center, other tutoring, and the Department of Political Science librarian are all here to work with you. Note that the Writing Center apparently requires a professor's approval to work on a class assignment with you, so plan ahead.

The Office of the Dean, through the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning and the College Center for Academic Support, provides tutoring. Students wanting information may go to CCAS in Lattimore 312, 275-2354.

The College Writing Program offers tutoring on written assignments.
<http://writing.rochester.edu/help/index.html>

Valuable information on research and writing is at
http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=3869&this_pageID=59. Resources also appear on a page within the Blackboard course.

The Department of Political Science reference librarian, Ann Marshall, is a terrific resource. Contact her at amarshall@library.rochester.edu.

Books Suggested for Purchase

These books should be on reserve in the library, but they are also available in the bookstore and elsewhere (the Flynn book is available on Amazon and other sites but is not at the bookstore. It is also available as an e-book).

All other material is available online, either on Blackboard or in the public realm. Assigned books will be on reserve in the library. Scholarly articles are also available through the library's online resources.

1. Richard Betts, *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)
2. T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, James Wirtz, editors, *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age* (Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 2009)
3. Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008 reissue)
4. Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation* (New York: Random House, 2007) OUT OF PRINT; available from various online outlets
5. Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Vintage, 2007)
6. Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011)
7. Daryl Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007)
8. Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011)

Course requirements

The course requirements are: three five-page essays, each worth 20% of the course grade; participation, worth 20%, including attending class, joining in discussions of the material, and asking questions about it; and a midterm exam worth 20%.

Essays are due to me by email before start of class on the due date. Remember to put your name on your work.

1. The **essays** must be clear, succinct, well written, and focused. They must draw on scholarly theories from class. They must include empirical material that goes beyond class assignments. You need to demonstrate mastery of the subjects you discuss in your papers. You must use a standard citation format employed accurately. You must use correct spelling, grammar, syntax, and word choice. Your papers must be formatted properly. No fiddling with margins or font size; use the default settings. Pay attention to

the scope of theories and the definitions used. Use and cite at least six scholarly articles in each. This is the minimum. You are free to use more sources. If you cite Wikipedia, you will receive a failing grade on the assignment. Grade will be based on these criteria and the accuracy of theories and facts, logic and strength of the argument, strength of the evidence presented, and clarity and precision of expression. There are many differences between formal written speech, on the one hand, and informal spoken and online-style speech on the other. I expect you to use formal language in your papers.

a. **Essay #1 is due by start of class on Wednesday, February 6.** Assignment: What are the top three international interests of the state of your choosing, and the top three international threats to those interests? This assignment requires you to make an argument about why the interests and threats you select are more important than other interests and threats. This assignment requires you to conduct empirical research that goes beyond the syllabus. Plan ahead and start working on it early.

b. **Essay #2 is due by start of class on Wednesday, April 10.** Assignment: For the state you discussed in your first essay, what foreign policy tool should it use to meet the top threat you identified to one of its core security interests? Is there any spillover from your recommended policy choice, good or bad, affecting the other core interests or threats you identified previously? This assignment requires you to make an argument weighing the relative value of a variety of foreign policy tools. You must consider at least three from the course, the one you prescribe and the two you compare it to and ultimately reject. This assignment also requires you to make an argument about why the desired outcome of your chosen course of action is worth any unintended or second-order effects. This assignment requires you to conduct empirical research that goes beyond the syllabus. Plan ahead and start working on it early.

c. **Essay #3 is due by start of class on Wednesday, May 1.** Assignment: Make an argument challenging the prescription you made in Essay #2. This assignment requires you to draw on class material about the sources of policy and the policymaking process as well as on theoretical and empirical material that challenges the theories, logic, and facts of the argument you made in paper #2. Approach this assignment as though you are a policy analyst critiquing the work of a colleague.

2. **The in-class midterm is Monday, March 25.** It will consist of short-answer questions. I will distribute a study guide ahead of time.

3. **Active participation** in class discussions, including questions, comments, and analysis, but no opinions, based on the course reading, is critical to doing well in the course. I will call on you at random at the beginning of each class to brief everyone on what you consider the most important points in the day's readings; come prepared. Comments and questions should be based on familiarity with the class material, focused on the topic at hand, and civil and constructive. There are a variety of ways to approach

the readings. What is the author's argument? What is its scope? What is his/her evidence? How does the author try to persuade you? What is something you don't understand in the reading? What is something in the material that you never thought of before? Something you agree with? Any logical inconsistencies? How does the argument and evidence compare to other readings? See the grading rubric on participation at the end of the syllabus. I will tell you what preliminary, informal participation grade you have earned so far about midway through the term.

We will discuss how to read scholarly work, research and write essays, and prepare for exams. I encourage you to discuss your thoughts, assignments, and class material with others, but you will be graded solely on your own work.

Course outline

I. International politics and social science: Tools for understanding the world

- Paradigms
- Theories
- Social science

II. Elements of policymaking

- The problem of dirty hands
- The national interest
- Interests and biases
- The contemporary context
- Intelligence

III. Policy ways

- Uses of force: defend, deter, compel; the role of credibility
- Limits of influence
- Cooperation
- International organizations: NATO
- Soft power, smart power

IV. Policy means

- Sanctions
- Aid
- Humanitarian intervention
- Peacekeeping
- Cyber

Class Schedule

I may update this schedule and the readings pending developments. We will start each class with student summaries of the assigned material. Be ready!

I. International politics and social science: Tools for understanding the world

- Paradigms

Theories
Social science

Wednesday, January 16

Paradigms
Theories
Social science

Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring, 1998), pp. 29-32+34-46

Francis J. Gavin, "International Affairs of the Heart," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 7:2 (September 2012), pp. 1-8. <http://yalejournal.org/2012/09/international-affairs-of-the-heart/>

Stephen M. Walt, "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2005, 8, pp. 23-48

II. Elements of policymaking

The problem of dirty hands
The national interest
Interests and biases
The contemporary context
Intelligence

Friday, January 18

The problem of dirty hands
The national interest

Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2:2 (Winter, 1973), pp. 160-180

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21:3 (Winter, 1996-1997), pp. 5-53

Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy For America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapter 2, available on Google Books

Additional reading:

Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Lean Forward: In Defense of American Engagement," *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 2013)

Barry Posen, "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 2013)

U.S. Department of Defense, "Sustaining Global U.S. Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense," January 2012
http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf

The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, May 2010, link available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/05/27/a-blueprint-pursuing-world-we-seek>

Monday, January 21 NO CLASS Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

Wednesday, January 23
Interests and biases

Jack S. Levy, "Review essays: Learning and foreign policy: sweeping a conceptual minefield," *International Organization* 48 (March 1994), pp. 279-312

David A. Welch, "The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect," *International Security* 17:2 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 112-146

Michael D. Cohen, James G. March, and Johan P. Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17:1 (March 1972), pp. 1-25

Friday, January 25
The contemporary context

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, any edition), Chapter 25, The Future of Diplomacy

The National Intelligence Council, "Global Trends 2030," available for download at <http://www.dni.gov/index.php/about/organization/national-intelligence-council-global-trends>

Monday, January 28
Intelligence

Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), Chapters 1-3

Wednesday, January 30
Intelligence

Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*, Chapter 4

Friday, February 1
Intelligence

Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*,
Chapter 8

III. Policy ways

Uses of force: defend, deter, compel; the role of credibility

Approaching limits

Cooperation

International organizations: NATO

Soft power, smart power

Monday, February 4

The uses of force

Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power," *International Security* 4 (Spring 1980),
pp. 4-35.

Wednesday, February 6 ESSAY #1 DUE BY START OF CLASS

The uses of force: logic

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 1

Friday, February 8

The uses of force: logic

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 4

Monday, February 11

The uses of force: logic

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 4

Wednesday, February 13

The uses of force and contemporary issues

Richard Betts, *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security*,
Chapters 1 and 2

Friday, February 15 NO CLASS, but I expect you to do the reading

The uses of force and contemporary issues

Richard Betts, *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security*,
Chapters 4, 5, and 8

Monday, February 18

The uses of force and contemporary issues

Richard Betts, *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security*, Chapter 10

Wednesday, February 20
Approaching limits

Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, Preface, Chapters 1-2

Friday, February 22
Approaching limits

Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, Chapter 6

Monday, February 25
Approaching limits

Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, Chapter 7

Wednesday, February 27
Coercive diplomacy

Robert J. Art and Patrick Cronin, *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2003), chapters 1 and 9, introduction and conclusion

Robert Jervis, "Getting to Yes With Iran: The Challenges of Coercive Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 2013)

Additional reading:

Bruce Jentleson and Christopher Whytock, "Who 'Won' Libya? The Force-Diplomacy Debate and Implications for Theory and Policy," *International Security* (Winter 2005-06)

Friday, March 1
Deterrence

T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, James Wirtz, editors, *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age*, Chapter 6

Monday, March 4
Deterrence

T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, James Wirtz, editors, *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age*, Chapter 5

Wednesday, March 6

Deterrence

T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, James Wirtz, editors, *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age*, Chapter 8

Friday, March 8 **Defense**

Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation*, Introduction and Chapter 1

Monday, March 11-Friday, March 15 NO CLASSES, Spring break

Monday, March 18 **Defense**

Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation*, Chapters 6 and 10

Wednesday, March 20 **Credibility**

Daryl Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*, Chapter 1

Friday, March 22 **Credibility**

Daryl Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*, Chapter 2 + pp. 160-161 on policy implications

Monday, March 25 MIDTERM

Wednesday, March 27 **Counterterrorism as defense and deterrence**

Jenna Jordan, "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation," *Security Studies* 18 (2009), pp. 719–755

Ambassador Daniel Benjamin, coordinator for counterterrorism, "Counterterrorism Cooperation with Europe and Asia," testimony, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Europe and Asia, May 5, 2011
foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/ben050511.pdf

Friday, March 29 **War**

Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq*, Chapters 10-13 + 23, 24, and as much more as you can. Start early. It's a good, easy read.

Monday, April 1
Cooperation

John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*, Chapter 7

Wednesday, April 3 NO CLASS, but I expect you to do the reading
International organizations: NATO

Wilton Park, "Conference report: Re-engineering the transatlantic security and defense relationship," September 2011 www.atlantic-community.org/app/webroot/files/articlepdf/NATO.pdf

Friday, April 5, NO CLASS, but I expect you to do the reading
Soft power, smart power

Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011 reprint), Chapter 4

Monday, April 8
Soft power, smart power

Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011 reprint), Chapter 7

POLICY MEANS

Wednesday, April 10 ESSAY #2 DUE BY START OF CLASS
Sanctions

Jonathan Kirshner, "Review Essay: Economic Sanctions: The State of the Art," *Security Studies* 11:4 (2002), pp. 160-179

Friday, April 12
Aid

Jeffrey Sachs and George B.N. Ayittey, "Can Foreign Aid Reduce Poverty?" Focus on the two essays, not the introductory material. Download at <http://ebookbrowse.com/does-ngo-aid-reduce-poverty-vert-pdf-d29155594>

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull, "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa," *International Security* 32:4 (Spring 2008), pp. 106-139.

Monday, April 15

State building

Marina Ottoway, "Think Again: Nation Building," *Foreign Policy* (September-October 2002), pp. 16-24
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2002/09/01/think_again_nation_building?page=full

Jason Brownlee, "Can America Nation-build?" *World Politics* 59:2 (January 2007), pp. 314-340.

Wednesday, April 17 **State building**

David M. Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29:1 (2004), pp. 49-91.

Friday, April 19 **Public diplomacy**

G. John Ikenberry, "Strategic Reactions to American Preeminence: Great Power Politics in the Age of Unipolarity," National Intelligence Council, CIA,
www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cia/nic2020/strategic_reactions.pdf

Robert Tucker and David Hendrickson, "The Sources of American Legitimacy," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2004), pp. 18-33.

Monday, April 22 **Public diplomacy**

Shibley Telhami, "America in Arab Eyes," *Survival* 49:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 107-122

Task Force on U.S. Standing in World Affairs, chaired by Peter Katzenstein and Jeffrey Legro, "U.S. Standing in The World: Causes, Consequences, and the Future," (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 2009)
http://www.apsanet.org/media/PDFs/APSA_TF_USStanding_Long_Report.pdf

Skim: Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, Department of State, 2005 <http://www.state.gov/pdcommission/reports/174094.htm>

Skim: Pew Research Center, Pew Global Attitudes Project, "Muslim-Western Tensions Persist," July 21, 2011. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/07/21/muslim-western-tensions-persist/>

Wednesday, April 24 **Public diplomacy**

Marc Lynch, "Beyond 'Violent Extremism': Strategic Communication In The Obama Era," in *American Foreign Policy: Regional Perspectives*, edited by Richmond Lloyd (Newport, RI: Naval War College, 2009).

Mitchell B. Reiss, "Restoring America's Image: What the Next President Can Do," *Survival*, October/November 2008, pp. 99-115.

Friday, April 26

Humanitarian intervention

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs* 18:6 (Nov. - Dec., 2002), pp. 99-110

Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov.-Dec. 2011)

-Additional reading:

Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73:6 (Nov.-Dec. 1994)

Alan Kuperman, "Suicidal Rebellions and the Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethnopolitics* 4:2 (June 2005), pp. 149-173

Monday, April 29

Peacekeeping

Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48:2 (June 2004), pp. 269-92.

Adam Roberts and Dominik Zaum, "Wars and Crises since 1945: The Overall Record," *The Adelphi Papers* 47:395 (2008), pp. 31-46 [click link to download:] Chapter Two: Wars and Crises since 1945: The Overall Record

Wednesday, May 1 ESSAY #3 DUE BY START OF CLASS

Cyber

"Cyberwar: War in the Fifth Domain," *The Economist*, July 3-9, 2010, pp. 25-29.

Joseph Nye, "Cyber Power," available at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School, Harvard University at http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/20162/cyber_power.html.

Thomas Rid, "Cyber War Will Not Take Place," *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2011), pp. 1-28

Class participation grading rubric

<i>grade</i>	<i>criteria</i>
A	Comes to class prepared, raises hand to answer questions without prompting, makes useful and thoughtful remarks, shows interest in others' views, participates in groups, comes to office hours
B	Comes to class prepared and makes comments when called upon, somewhat interested in others' views
C	Mostly prepared for class, makes comments when called upon, somewhat distracted in class
D	Sometimes unprepared for class, talks too much or does not respond when called upon, but mostly attentive, occasionally absent from class
D-	Often unprepared, distracted but not disruptive, attentive but not interested in contributing, does not come to office hours
F	Often absent from class, may be disruptive or disrespectful, does not provide responses when called upon