University of Rochester
Department of Political Science
IR 230 Tools of U.S. Foreign Policy
Spring 2012
Monday, Wednesday, Friday 10 a.m. to 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 the United States and 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 available to you. Note that the Writing Center apparently requires a professor's approval to work on a class assignment, 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. Steven Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997)

2. Andrew Bennett and Alexander L. George, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005)

3. Richard Betts, *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)

4. T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, James Wirtz, editors, *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age* (Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 2009)

5. Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008 reissue)

6. Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation* (New York: Random House, 2007)

7. Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Vintage, 2007

8. Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011)

9. Daryl Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007)

10. 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 by start of class. 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 research that goes beyond class assignments. They must use a standard citation format. They must include correct spelling, grammar, syntax, and word choice. They must be formatted properly. No

fiddling with margins or font size. 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, relevance of the evidence presented, and clarity and precision of expression.

a. **Essay #1 is due by start of class on Monday, February 6.** Assignment: What are the top three core national interests of the state of your choosing, and the top three threats to those interests? This assignment requires you to make an argument about why the three interests and threats you select are of primary importance compared to others you did not select. 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 Monday, April 9**. Assignment: For the state you discussed in your first essay, what foreign policy tool should it use to meet top threat you identified? Is there any spillover from your recommended policy choice, good or bad, that affects the other key 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. It 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 Monday, May 2.** 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.

2. **The in-class midterm is Friday, March 23.** It will include 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. Students will be called on at random; so come prepared for each class. See grading rubric on final page.

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 and national ends
Individual interests and biases
Bureaucratic interests
Intelligence

III. Policy ways

Uses of force: defend, deter, compel; the role of credibility
Approaching limits
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 18

Paradigms
Theories
Social science

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

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

Steven Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*, Introduction and Chapter 1, pp. 1-48.

Andrew Bennett and Alexander L. George, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, Chapter 3.

II. Elements of policymaking

The problem of dirty hands
The national interest and national ends
Individual interests and biases
Bureaucratic interests
Intelligence

Friday, January 20

The problem of dirty hands
The national interest and national ends

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

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008), Chapters 1-3
www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_**2025**/**2025_Global_Trends**_Final_Report.pdf

Additional reading on threats:

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. [click link for PDF**:**] NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Monday, January 23

Individual interests and biases

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

Benjamin H. Friedman, "Perception and power in counterterrorism,"
in *American foreign policy and the politics of fear: threat inflation since 9/11*, eds. A. Trevor Thrall, Jane K. Cramer (New York: Routledge, 2009)

Wednesday, January 25

Bureaucratic interests

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

Friday, January 27
Intelligence

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

Monday, January 30
Intelligence

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

Wednesday, 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

Friday, February 3
The uses of force and contemporary issues

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

Monday, February 6
ESSAY #1 DUE BY START OF CLASS
The uses of force and contemporary issues

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

Wednesday, February 8
The uses of force and contemporary issues

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

Friday, February 10
Approaching limits

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

Monday, February 13
Approaching limits

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

Wednesday, February 15
Approaching limits

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

Friday, February 17
The uses of force

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

Monday, February 20
The uses of force: logic

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 1

Wednesday, February 22
The uses of force: logic

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 4

Friday, February 24
The uses of force: logic

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 4

Monday, February 27
Coercive diplomacy

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

Wednesday, February 29
Deterrence

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

Friday, March 2
Deterrence

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

Monday, March 5
Deterrence

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

Wednesday, March 7
Defense

Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation*, chapters to be assigned

Friday, March 9
Defense

Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation*, chapters to be assigned

Monday, March 19
Credibility

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

Wednesday, March 21
Credibility

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

Friday, March 23
MIDTERM

Monday, March 26
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

Wednesday, March 28
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.

Friday, March 30
Cooperation

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

Monday, April 2
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

Wednesday, April 4
Soft power, smart power

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

Friday, April 6
Soft power, smart power

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

POLICY MEANS

Monday, April 9
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

Wednesday, April 11

Aid

Jeffrey Sachs and George B.N. Ayittey, "Can Foreign Aid Reduce Poverty?" Focus on the two essays, not the introductory material. [Click on link to download:] Can Foreign Aid Reduce Poverty

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

Friday, April 13
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.

Monday, April 23
State building

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

Wednesday, April 25
Humanitarian intervention

Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent," *Foreign Affairs* 83:1 (Jan.-Feb. 2004), pp. 136-150

Friday, April 27
Humanitarian intervention

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 30
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 & Dominik Zaum, "Wars and Crises since 1945: The Overall Record," in 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 2
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

grade	*criteria*
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