

POL 420: UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

Fall 2015
MWF 1:30-2:35
Dr. Rosco Williamson

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Course Reading – Required Texts

- Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, Jr. (2010), *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Cambridge University Press)
- Warren I Cohen (2013), *The New Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Volume IV: Challenges to American Primacy, 1945 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press)
- Patrick Porter (2015), *The Global Village Myth: Distance, War, and the Limits of Power* (Georgetown University Press)

Course Objectives

The United States is clearly the most powerful country in the world militarily, economically, culturally, and in just about every other measurement. If it chooses to pursue a particular objective or policy, the rest of the world often must either go along or grumble quietly. But, the US is not omnipotent. There are many constraints on its ability to act in the world.

Understanding and explaining US foreign policy requires an examination of both its actions, the policy-making environment, and the purposes for which it acts. Policy is a *tool* that is useful (or “good”) only to the extent that it achieves some *goal*. Before we can ask what US foreign policy should be, we must ask what goals the US seeks to achieve. The study of public policy, and foreign policy more particularly, is a constant struggle to figure out why the policy that *should* be implemented differs so often from the policy that *is* ultimately enacted. Thus, there are four very general questions this course must ask: (1) what *should* US foreign policy be and (2) why, and (3) what *is* US foreign policy and (4) why.

We will attempt to answer these questions with three different methodologies. First, we will look at foreign policy theory in general and provide a framework for examining the US case specifically. This will involve looking at the multicausality of foreign policy outputs and their applicability to the US. Second, we will do a historical survey of US foreign policy from the mid-20th century to today. This allows us to vary some of the key causal factors (i.e. leadership, global context, etc.) and arrive at a better understanding of which causes matter most and when. Finally, we will examine a series of cases facing the current and upcoming administrations and seek to apply the hypotheses we have accumulated in the first two parts of the course.

Course Outcomes

- Students will understand ways in which theory, practice, and institutional structures combine to inform United States foreign policy making and implementation.
- Students will apply lessons and patterns from the history of United States foreign policy to better explain and critique current policies and propose more effective policies.
- Students will assess the role and impact of the United States in the world.

Course Grading

The following is the breakdown of how the final grade will be determined:

25%	Exam #1
25%	Final Exam
20%	Book Review
15%	Attendance and Participation
15%	Assignments

Make-ups

NO MAKE-UP EXAMS WILL BE ALLOWED WITHOUT A UNIVERSITY-APPROVED EXCUSED ABSENCE OR DOCTOR'S WRITTEN PERMISSION. Any student receiving a university-approved excused absence should contact the professor BEFORE the absence to arrange a time to make-up the missed exam.

Attendance and Participation

Participation will be 7% of your total grade. There aren't a lot of people in class, so no one can hide in the crowd. Participation is not measured in quantity but in quality. The student who talks all the time, but doesn't add very much to the discussion, will fare no better than the student who says nothing. Good participation means being prepared for class, demonstrating it, *and* joining in on class discussions. If at any time during the semester I believe students are not keeping up with the readings, I may assign summaries of the assigned readings to be turned in which will count toward the participation grade.

Attendance will be 8% of your total grade. Of the 45 total class sessions:

<i>If you miss</i>	<i>0-1 classes</i>	<i>= you get the full 8%</i>
	<i>2</i>	<i>= 7%</i>
	<i>3</i>	<i>= 6%</i>
	<i>4</i>	<i>= 5%</i>
	<i>5</i>	<i>= 4%</i>
	<i>6</i>	<i>= 3%</i>
	<i>7</i>	<i>= 2%</i>
	<i>8</i>	<i>= 1%</i>
	<i>9 or more</i>	<i>= 0% and the possibility of being dropped from the class</i>

In terms of tardiness: if you are repeatedly tardy my passive aggressiveness eventually wears off and every tardy after it will count as an absence.

Finally, setting aside the punishments and threats associated with attendance and tardiness, the course is for your benefit. Absences not only can hurt your final grade, but they obstruct your education. One of the amazing things about education is you never know when some new idea is going to strike you and change the way you think about the world. So, take advantage of every opportunity that you have and immerse yourself in learning – even when you'd rather be asleep in your bed.

Book Review

Each student will select a book from the attached list to read and review. This is **not** a summary of the book, but a review. The goal of the review is to develop and present your own ideas about an overarching US foreign policy strategy by interacting with and responding to the arguments and strategies presented in the book you are reviewing. Thus, the book is a springboard to discussing your own ideas of what the US foreign policy strategy should be.

The amount of reading for this review should be between 250 and 350 pages. If the book you choose is shorter than this amount, you will need to read additional books or articles to make up the difference (if you need help finding additional reading that is relevant to the book/topic you have chosen, ask me). This additional reading should be brought into the review as well. If the book you choose is longer, feel free to reduce the amount you read (for example, don't read the four chapters that interest you the least). If you want to review a book(s) that is not on the attached list, clear it with the professor first.

The review will be 6-8 pages, double-spaced. You will be graded on the clarity and content of your argument, the interaction with the book being reviewed, and grammar. A rough draft will be turned in a few weeks before the final paper is submitted and exchanged with another student who will read and provide feedback on the paper.

Key dates:

September 16: select a book to review

November 2: submit rough draft to be read by another student

November 6: rough draft returned

November 16: final paper turned in

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND LECTURES

***Readings that are not from required textbooks can be found on Canvas unless otherwise noted.

***Since the last three weeks we will be discussing current foreign policy issues, those readings will be determined later in the semester.

PART I: FOREIGN POLICY THEORY

9/1 Introduction

9/2 Countering ISIS

- Michele Flournoy and Richard Fontaine (Aug 2015), *An Intensified Approach to Combatting the Islamic State* (Center for a New American Security)

9/4 Foreign Policy Theory and Grand Strategy

- Jack Snyder (2004), "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*
- Lawrence Freedman (2001), "Grand Strategy in the Twenty-First Century," *Defense Studies* 1(1): 11-20
- Eugene Wittkopf, Charles W Kegley, Jr., and James M Scott (2003), *American Foreign Policy*, 6th ed.: 14-21
- Heather Gregg (2010), "Crafting a Better US Grand Strategy in the Post-September 11 World: Lessons from the Early Years of the Cold War," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6(3): 238-40

9/7 Labor Day - No class

9/9 Systemic Explanations

- Nicolo Machiavelli (1532), *The Prince* [excerpts]
- Kenneth N Waltz (2000), "Globalization and American Power," *National Interest* 59: 46-56
- G John Ikenberry and Stephen M Walt (2007), "Offshore Balancing or International Institutions? The Way Forward for US Foreign Policy," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 14(1): 13-23
- Ross Douthat (Feb 7, 2010), "The Dream of Zero," *New York Times*

9/11 Domestic Explanations

- G John Ikenberry (2008), "Liberal Order Building," in Melvyn Leffler and Jeffrey W Legro, eds., *To Lead the World: American Strategy after the Bush Doctrine*: 85-108
- Dan Reiter and Allan C Stam (2006), "Democracy, Peace, and War," in BA Weingast and DA Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on Political Economy*: 869-80
- Thomas L Friedman (May 25, 2010), "As Ugly as It Gets," *New York Times*

9/14 Making Foreign Policy

- Mintz and DeRouen, chs. 1-2 (pp. 3-37)

9/16 The Rational Actor Model

- Mintz and DeRouen, chs. 3-4 (pp. 38-67)

9/18 Not-Very-Rational Actor Models

- Mintz and DeRouen, ch. 5 (pp. 68-93)
- Dana Priest and William M Arkin (Jul 19, 2010), "A Hidden World, Growing Beyond Control," *Washington Post*

9/21 Does Personality Matter?

- Mintz and DeRouen, ch. 6 (pp. 97-120)
- Listen: NPR Interview with Jacob Weisberg

9/23 What Other Factors Might Matter?

- Mintz and DeRouen, ch. 7 (pp. 121-47)
- John J Mearsheimer and Stephen M Walt (May/Jun 2006), "Unrestricted Access," *Foreign Policy* 155: 57-58
- Dennis Ross (May/Jun 2006), "The Mind-Set Matters," *Foreign Policy* 155: 60-61

9/25 Public Opinion and the Media

- Mintz and DeRouen, chs. 8-9 (pp.149-78)
- Michael R Beschloss (Apr 11, 1999), "Foreign Policy's Big Moment," *New York Times*
- Eason Jordan (Apr 11, 2003), "The News We Kept to Ourselves," *New York Times*

9/28 Putting All of This Together

PART II: US FOREIGN POLICY HISTORY

9/30 American Exceptionalism

- Daniel Deudney and Jeffrey Meiser (2008), "American Exceptionalism," in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes, eds., *US Foreign Policy*: 25-34
- Andrew J Bacevich (2008), *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*: 1-13
- Greg Jaffe (Jun 3, 2015), "Obama's New Patriotism: How Obama Has Used His Presidency to Redefine 'American Exceptionalism,'" *Washington Post*
- Dick Cheney and Liz Cheney (Aug 28, 2015), "Restoring American Exceptionalism," *Wall Street Journal Op-ed*

10/2 US Grand Strategy before It Was "Grand"

- Bradford Perkins (1993), *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. I: The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865*: 6-31, 46-53
- George Washington (1796), "Farewell Address"
- Monroe Doctrine (1823)
- John L O'Sullivan (1839), "Manifest Destiny"

10/5 Early 20th Century US Grand Strategy

10/7 The US that Emerged from WWII

- Cohen, ch. 1 (pp. 3-21)
- Henry R Luce (1939), "The American Century"
- Porter, ch. 2 (pp. 59-76)

10/9 Truman: Origins of the Cold War

- Cohen, ch. 2 (pp. 22-57)
- Porter, ch. 2 (pp. 76-88)

10/12 How the Cold War Affected US Foreign Policy and Vice Versa

- Cohen, ch. 3 (pp. 58-78) [get the gist; skip the details]
- Steven Casey (2005), "Selling NSC-68: The Truman Administration, Public Opinion, and the Politics of Mobilization, 1950-51," *Diplomatic History* 29(4): 655-90

10/14 Eisenhower: How to Be at War without Being at War

- Cohen, ch. 4 (pp. 79-115)

10/16 Kennedy: Great Strategy or Dumb Luck?

- Cohen, ch. 5 (pp. 116-40)

10/19 Exam

10/21 Nixon and LBJ: A Land War in Asia

- Cohen, ch. 6 (pp. 141-73)

10/23 Fall Break – No Class

10/26 Ford and Carter: Foreign Policy after Watergate

- Cohen, ch. 7 (pp. 174-208)
- Jimmy Carter (1977), "Human Rights and Foreign Policy"

10/28 Reagan: The Evil Empire

- Cohen, ch. 8 (pp. 209-34)
- Ronald Reagan (1983), "The 'Evil Empire' Speech"

PART III: US FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE COLD WAR

10/30 Bush, Sr.: Shifting to a Post-Cold-War Strategy

- Cohen, ch. 9 (pp. 253-65)
- George HW Bush and Brent Scowcroft (1998), *A World Transformed*: 145-53, 180-81, 206-11, 536-47, 563-66
- Barry R Posen and Andrew L Ross (1996/97), "Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21(3)

11/2 Clinton: Putting Out the Remaining Brush Fires

- Cohen, ch. 9 (pp. 265-80)
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History"
- Leon V Sigal (2000), "Rogue Concepts," *Harvard International Review* 22(2): 62-66
- Michael Mandelbaum (1996), "Foreign Policy as Social Work," *Foreign Affairs* 75(1): 16-32
- Richard Falk (1999), "Reflections on the War," *The Nation* 268(24): 11-15
- Elliott Abrams (1999), "Just War, Just Means?" *National Review* 51(12): 16-18
- Adam Wolfson (2000), "How to Think About Humanitarian War," *Commentary* 110(1): 44-48

11/4 Clinton: Democratization

- Cohen, ch. 9 (pp. 280-301)
- David Hendrickson (1994/95), "The Democratist Crusade: Intervention, Economic Sanctions, and Engagement," *World Policy Journal* 11: 18-30
- Andrew J Bacevich (2001), "Different Drummers, Same Drum," *National Interest* 64: 67-77
- Dmitri K Simes (2004), "Rethinking the Strategy," *National Interest* 76: 11-14

11/6 W: Neoconservatism

- Cohen, ch. 10 (pp. 302-24)
- William Kristol and Robert Kagan (2004 [2000]), "National Interest and Global Responsibility," in Irwin Stelzer, ed., *The Neocon Reader*: 55-78
- Max Boot (2004), "Myths about Neoconservatism," in Irwin Stelzer, ed., *The Neocon Reader*: 45-52
- Frederick W Kagan (2008), "Two Decades Late," *National Review*: 36-40
- Philip H Gordon (2006), "The End of the Bush Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 85(4)

11/9 W: 9/11 and Counterterrorism

- Cohen, ch. 10 (pp. 324-41)
- *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2002)
- David E Sanger (Jun 17, 2002), "Bush to Formalize a Defense Policy of Hitting First," *New York Times*
- Melvyn Leffler (2005), "9/11 and American Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* 29(3): 395-413
- Victor Davis Hanson (2008), "Plan for a Century," *National Review*: 50-52
- Petra Bartosiewicz (2008), "Experts in Terror," *The Nation*: 18-22

11/11 Al Qaeda and Netwar

- Porter, ch. 3 (pp. 107-47)

PART IV: US FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

11/13 Counterterrorism Today: ISIS and Others

11/16 Transnational Crime

11/18 China: Compete, Cooperate, or Concede?

11/20 What Would Conflict with China Look Like?

- Porter, ch. 4 (pp. 148-93)

11/23 Does New Technology Change the Rules?

- Porter, ch. 5 (pp. 194-215)

11/25 Thanksgiving Break – No Class

11/27 Thanksgiving Break – No Class

11/30 Does Globalization Change the Rules?

- Porter, ch. 1 and Conclusion (pp. 1-17, 216-27)

12/2 Economics and US Foreign Policy

12/4 The Environment and US Foreign Policy

12/7 Climate Change: Are We All Doomed?

12/9 Current Topic

12/11 What Does All of This Mean?

OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE

A. FOREIGN POLICY THEORY

1. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES

- a. INTRODUCTION
- b. FOREIGN POLICY THEORY AND GRAND STRATEGY
- c. SYSTEMIC EXPLANATIONS
- d. DOMESTIC EXPLANATIONS

2. FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING

- a. MAKING FOREIGN POLICY
- b. RATIONAL-ACTOR MODELS
- c. NOT-VERY-RATIONAL-ACTOR MODELS
- d. INTERNAL INFLUENCES: DOES PERSONALITY MATTER?
- e. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES
- f. PUBLIC OPINION AND THE MEDIA

B. UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY HISTORY

1. FROM THE FOUNDING TO WWII

- a. AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM
- b. US GRAND STRATEGY BEFORE IT WAS 'GRAND'
- c. EARLY 20TH CENTURY US GRAND STRATEGY

2. THE COLD WAR, 1945-1989

- a. THE US THE EMERGED FROM WWII
- b. HARRY S TRUMAN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR
- c. HOW THE COLD AFFECTED US FOREIGN POLICY AND VICE VERSA
- d. DWIGHT D EISENHOWER
- e. JOHN F KENNEDY
- f. LYNDON B JOHNSON AND RICHARD M NIXON
- g. GERALD FORD AND JIMMY CARTER
- h. RONALD REAGAN

C. US FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE END OF THE COLD WAR

1. THE POST-COLD WAR, 1989-2000

- a. SHIFTING TO A POST-COLD-WAR STRATEGY
- b. BILL CLINTON: CLEANING UP THE REMAINING MESSSES
- c. DEMOCRATIZATION

2. THE FIRST DECADE AFTER 9/11

- a. NEOCONSERVATISM
- b. 9/11 AND COUNTERTERRORISM
- c. AL QAEDA AND NETWAR

D. US FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

1. COUNTERTERRORISM TODAY: ISIS AND OTHERS
2. TRANSNATIONAL CRIME
3. CHINA: COMPETE, COOPERATE, OR CONCEDE?
4. WHAT WOULD CONFLICT WITH CHINA LOOK LIKE?
5. DOES NEW TECHNOLOGY CHANGE THE RULES?
6. DOES GLOBALIZATION CHANGE THE RULES?
7. ECONOMICS AND US FOREIGN POLICY
8. THE ENVIRONMENT AND US FOREIGN POLICY
9. CLIMATE CHANGE: ARE WE ALL DOOMED?

Some Options for the Book Review Project (2012-15)

James Piereson, *Shattered Consensus: The Rise and Decline of America's Postwar Political Order*
John Van Overtveldt, *A Giant Reborn: Why the US Will Dominate the 21st Century*
Valerie M Hudson and Patricia Leidl, *The Hilary Doctrine: Sex and American Foreign Policy*
Ryan Hendrickson, *Obama at War: Congress and the Imperial Presidency*
Colin Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today*
Matthew A Baum and Philip BK Potter, *War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy*
James D Boys, *Clinton's Grand Strategy: US Foreign Policy in a Post-Cold War World*
Ian Bremmer, *Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World*
Joseph S Nye, Jr., *Is the American Century Over?*
Bret Stephens, *America in Retreat: The New Isolationism and the Coming Global Disorder*
Thomas J Christensen, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*
Lyle J Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway: How to Diffuse the Emerging US-China Rivalry*
Barry R Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for US Grand Strategy*
Christopher Coker, *The Improbable War: China, the United States and the Logic of Great Power Conflict*
Daniel M Kliman, *Fateful Transitions: How Democracies Manage Rising Powers*
Peter Zeihan, *The Accidental Superpower: The Next Generation of American Preeminence and the Coming Global Disorder*
James E Cronin, *Global Rules: America, Britain, and a Disordered World*
David Rothkopf, *National Insecurity: American Leadership in an Age of Fear*
Amitav Acharya, *The End of American World Order*
James K Galbraith, *The End of Normal: The Great Crisis and the Future of Growth*
Leon Panetta, *Worthy Fights: A Memoir of Leadership in War and Peace*
Michael Pillsbury, *The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower*
Robert Haddick, *Fire on the Water: China, America and the Future of the Pacific*
Simon Reich and Richard Ned Lebow, *Good-Bye Hegemony! Power and Influence in the Global System*
Hilary Clinton, *Hard Choices*
Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft*
Rose J Spalding, *Contesting Trade in Central America: Market Reform and Resistance*
Peter Andreas, *Smuggler Nation: How Illicit Trade Made America*
Charles Kenny, *The Upside of Down: Why the Rise of the Rest Is Good for the West*
Randall Schweller, *Maxwell's Demon and the Golden Apple: Global Discord in the New Millennium*
William Krist, *Globalization and America's Trade Agreements*
Stephan Sestanovich, *Maximalist: America in the World from Truman to Obama*
Elaine Scarry, *Thermonuclear Monarchy: Crossing Between Democracy and Doom*
Robert M Gates, *Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War*
Peter Baker, *Days of Fire: Bush and Cheney in the White House*
Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century*
Joel S Migdal, *Shifting Sands: The United States in the Middle East*
Henry R Nau, *Conservative Internationalism: Armed Diplomacy under Jefferson, Polk, Truman, and Reagan*
Josef Joffe, *The Myth of America's Decline: Politics, Economics, and a Half Century of False Prophecies*
Kenneth Pollack, *Unthinkable: Iran, the Bomb, and American Strategy*
Emilie M Hafner-Brown, *Making Human Rights a Reality*
Mark R Amstutz, *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*
David Rohde, *Beyond War: Reimagining American Influence in a New Middle East*
Richard Rosecrance, *The Resurgence of the West: How a Transatlantic Union Can Prevent War and Restore the United States and Europe*
Lawrence Edwards and Robert Z Lawrence, *Rising Tide: Is Growth in Emerging Economies Good for the United States?*
Richard N Haass, *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order*
Vali Nasr, *The Dispensable Nation: American Foreign Policy in Retreat*
Shannon K O'Neil, *Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead*
Daniel C Kurtzer, et al, *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011*
Bruce O Riedel, *Avoiding Armageddon: America, India, and Pakistan to the Brink and Back*
Ian Goldin, *Divided Nations: Why Global Governance Is Failing, and What We Can Do About It*
Ronald I McKinnon, *The Unloved Dollar Standard: From Bretton Woods to the Rise of China*
Kishore Mahbubani, *The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of One World*
Amitai Etzioni, *Hot Spots: American Foreign Policy in a Post-Human-Rights World*
Mlada Bukovansky, *Special Responsibilities: Global Problems and American Power*
Rashid Khalidi, *Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East*