

POL 420: UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

Spring 2020
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)
- Stephen Walt (2018), *The Hell of Good Intentions: America's Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of US Primacy* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux)
- Michael Mandelbaum (2019), *The Rise and Fall of Peace on Earth* (Oxford 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 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
25%	Book Review
15%	Attendance and Participation
10%	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>
	2	= 7%
	3	= 6%
	4	= 5%
	5	= 4%
	6	= 3%
	7	= 2%
	8	= 1%
	9 or more	= 0% and the possibility of being dropped from the class

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 and the review are 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:

February 10: select a book to review

March 20: submit rough draft to be read by another student

March 25: rough draft returned

April 15: final paper turned in

Final Examination Policy

Successful completion of this class requires taking the final examination **on its scheduled day**. No requests for early examinations or alternative days will be approved.

PLNU Copyright Policy

Point Loma Nazarene University, as a non-profit educational institution, is entitled by law to use materials protected by the US Copyright Act for classroom education. Any use of those materials outside the class may violate the law.

PLNU Academic Honesty Policy

Students should demonstrate academic honesty by doing original work and by giving appropriate credit to the ideas of others. Academic dishonesty is the act of presenting information, ideas, and/or concepts as one's own when in reality they are the results of another person's creativity and effort. A faculty member who believes a situation involving academic dishonesty has been detected may assign a failing grade for that assignment or examination, or, depending on the seriousness of the offense, for the course. Faculty should follow and students may appeal using the procedure in the University Catalog. See Academic Policies for definitions of academic dishonesty and for further policy information.

PLNU Academic Accommodations Policy

If you have a diagnosed disability, please contact PLNU's Disability Resource Center (DRC) within the first two weeks of class to demonstrate need and to register for accommodation by phone at 619-849-2486 or by e-mail at DRC@pointloma.edu. See Disability Resource Center for additional information.

PLNU Attendance and Participation Policy

Regular and punctual attendance at all classes is considered essential to optimum academic achievement. If the student is absent from more than 10 percent of class meetings, the faculty member can file a written report which may result in de-enrollment. If the absences exceed 20 percent, the student may be de-enrolled without notice until the university drop date or, after that date, receive the appropriate grade for their work and participation. See Academic Policies in the Undergraduate Academic Catalog.

PLNU Mission To Teach – To Shape – To Send

Point Loma Nazarene University exists to provide higher education in a vital Christian community where minds are engaged and challenged, character is modelled and formed, and service is an expression of faith. Being of Wesleyan heritage, we strive to be a learning community where grace is foundational, truth is pursued, and holiness is a way of life.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND LECTURES

***Readings that are not from required textbooks can be found on Canvas unless otherwise noted. There will also be numerous readings not on the syllabus that are on Canvas to keep up with current events.

***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

1/14 Introduction

1/15 Case Study: Iran

- International Crisis Group (Aug 1, 2019), "Averting the Middle East's 1914 Moment," *Middle East Report* 215 <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/205-averting-the-middle-east-1914.pdf>
- (Jan 7, 2020), "Pompeo Upended Middle East by Pushing Trump to Kill Iranian General," *New York Times*
- Charlie Kirk (Jan 12, 2020), "Trump's MAGA Doctrine Triumphs Over Iran and Foreign Policy Elite," *Newsweek* <https://www.newsweek.com/charlie-kirk-trumps-maga-doctrine-triumphs-over-iran-foreign-policy-elite-opinion-1481735>

1/17 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

1/20 MLK Jr. Day – No class

1/22 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*

1/24 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*

1/27 Making Foreign Policy

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

1/29 The Rational Actor Model

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

1/31 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*

2/3 Does Personality Matter?

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

2/5 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

2/7 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*

2/10 Putting All of This Together

PART II: US FOREIGN POLICY HISTORY

2/12 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*

2/14 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"

2/17 Early 20th Century US Grand Strategy

2/19 The US that Emerged from WWII

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

2/21 Truman: Origins of the Cold War

- Cohen, ch. 2 (pp. 22-57)

2/24 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

2/26 Eisenhower: How to Be at War without Being at War

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

2/28 Kennedy: Great Strategy or Dumb Luck?

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

3/2 Exam

3/4 Nixon and LBJ: A Land War in Asia

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

3/6 Ford and Carter: Foreign Policy after Watergate

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

3/9 - 3/13 SPRING BREAK (No Class)

3/16 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

3/18 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)

3/20 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

3/23 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

3/25 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)

3/27 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

3/30 Obama: Counterterrorism under the Democrats

4/1 Obama: Was there an "Obama Doctrine?"

PART IV: US FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

- 4/3 How Should We Begin to Understand Trump Foreign Policy?**
- 4/6 ????**
- 4/8 Counterterrorism Today: ISIS and Others**
- 4/15 China: Compete, Cooperate, or Concede?**
- 4/17 What Would Conflict with China Look Like?**
- 4/20 Does New Technology Change the Traditional Foreign Policy Rules?**
- 4/22 Does Globalization Change the Traditional Foreign Policy Rules?**
- 4/24 Economics and US Foreign Policy**
- 4/27 The Environment and US Foreign Policy**
- 4/29 Climate Change: Are We All Doomed?**
- 5/1 What Does All of This Mean?**

FINAL EXAM: WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 10:30-1:00

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

3. THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

- a. A NEW BRAND OF COUNTERTERRORISM?
- b. IS THERE AN OBAMA DOCTRINE?

D. US FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

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

Some Options for the Book Review Project (2017-20)

Michael Mazarr, *Leap of Faith: Hubris, Negligence, and America's Greatest Foreign Policy Tragedy*
Timothy Sayle, et al, eds., *The Last Card: Inside George W Bush's Decision to Surge in Iraq*
Hal Brands and Charles Edel, *The Lessons of Tragedy: Statecraft and World Order*
Frederick Barton, *Peace Works: America's Unifying Role in a Turbulent World*
William J Burns, *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal*
Paul Volcker, *Keeping At It: The Quest for Sound Money and Good Government*
Michael Cohen, *Clear and Present Safety: The World Has Never Been Better*
Heather Gregg, *Building the Nation: Missed Opportunities in Iraq and Afghanistan*
Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*
Thomas Nisley, *The Peace Corps and Latin America: In the Last Mile of US Foreign Policy*
Robert Jervis, ed., *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics*
Amy Kaplan, *Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance*
Michael Beckley, *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*
Ronan Farrow, *War on Peace: The End of Diplomacy and the Decline of American Influence*
Bruce Riedel, *Kings and Presidents: Saudi Arabia and the United States since FDR*
Stewart Patrick, *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America with the World*
Elliott Abrams, *Realism and Democracy: American Foreign Policy after the Arab Spring*
Richard McGregor, *Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan and the Fate of US Power in the Pacific Century*
Melvyn Leffler, *Safeguarding Democratic Capitalism: US Foreign Policy and National Security, 1920-2015*
Trita Parsi, *Losing an Enemy: Obama, Iran, and the Triumph of Diplomacy*
Robert Kaplan, *Earning the Rockies: How Geography Shapes America's Role in the World*
Anne-Marie Slaughter, *The Chessboard and the Web: Strategies of Connection in a Networked World*
Paul Miller, *American Power and Liberal Order: A Conservative Internationalist Grand Strategy*
Larry Diamond, *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage and American Complacency*
Timothy Sayle, *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order*
Simon Reid-Henry, *Empire of Democracy: The Remaking of the West since the Cold War, 1971-2017*
Kimberly Clausing, *Open: The Progressive Case for Free Trade, Immigration, and Global Capital*
Carles Boix, *Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads: Technological Change and the Future of Politics*
Louise Shelley, *Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy is Threatening Our Future*
Christian Reus-Smit, *On Cultural Diversity: International Theory in a World of Difference*
William Walker, *The Rise and Decline of the American Century*
John Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*
Kurt Campbell, *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia*
Michael Green, *By More than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific*
Michael Auslin, *The End of the Asian Century: War, Stagnation, and the Risks to the Region*
Joseph Nye, *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*
Samantha Power, *The Education of an Idealist: A Memoir*
Susan Rice, *Tough Love: My Story of the Things Worth Fighting For*
Andrew Bacevich, *The Age of Illusions: How America Squandered its Cold War Victory*
Robert Vitalis, *Oilcraft: The Myths of Scarcity and Security that Haunt US Energy Policy*
Robert Pastor, *Exiting the Whirlpool: US Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean*
Robert Sutter, *The United States and Asia: Regional Dynamics and Twenty-First Century Relations*
Peter Bergen, *Trump and His Generals: The Cost of Chaos*
Timothy Lynch, *In the Shadow of the Cold War: American Foreign Policy from George Bush Sr to Trump*
Jeffrey Taliaferro, *Defending Frenemies: Alliances, Politics, and Nuclear Nonproliferation in US Foreign Policy*
Jessica Darden, *Aiding and Abetting: US Foreign Assistance and State Violence*
Edward Curtis IV, *Muslim American Politics and the Future of US Democracy*