

US Foreign Policy
Political Science 146
Fall 2008
Tuesday and Thursday, 11:10am-12:25pm
1776 G Street, 143

Professor Elizabeth Saunders
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Office Hours: Thursday, 2-4pm, or by appointment

Course Goals and Description:

The goal of this course is to familiarize students with the process, goals, and issues of US foreign policy. At the end of the course, you should be able to analyze the sources and purpose of past, present, and potential future US actions on a variety of foreign policy-related topics. In the first part of the course, we will discuss the intellectual and historical roots of US foreign policy, as well as the actors who make foreign policy. In the second and third parts of the course, we will turn to a discussion of historical case studies and contemporary issues. Although we will talk about historical cases, the course is not a chronological history of US foreign policy, nor does it cover every issue related to US foreign policy. Instead, it focuses on analytical approaches that help make sense of complex foreign policy issues and events.

Since the 2008 presidential election will occur in the middle of the course, we will pause to examine what the election will mean for US foreign policy. I will announce readings for this session closer to Election Day. I encourage you to follow the coverage of foreign policy issues in the campaign, in the media, and in the debates.

Prerequisite:

PSC 003 or IAFF 005

General Policies:

Please respect the following policies, which are intended to ensure that everyone in this class has an interesting and enjoyable learning experience:

- ***Cell Phones and related devices:*** Before you enter the classroom, turn off all cell phones, pagers, blackberries, and other devices.
- ***Laptops:*** You are welcome to bring a laptop to class, but the volume must be set to “mute.”
- ***Email:*** If you have lengthy questions or comments about the course, I encourage you to come talk to me in person. In addition to regular office hours, I am happy to set up appointments to meet with you. Please keep email communications brief.

- **Attendance and Preparation:** Your attendance in class is important. I will expect you to come to class prepared, meaning that you have done the reading before lecture. Some lectures will involve discussion, and participation will account for 10% of your grade.

Course Requirements:

- **Test:** A test on Part I of the course will be held in class on **Thursday, September 25**.
- **Paper:** A paper of 5-7 pages is required. Topics will be distributed in class and will focus on Part II of the course. Papers will be graded on analytical clarity as well as written expression. Papers must include full and proper citations to all sources. The paper is due on **Tuesday, November 18 in class, at the beginning of lecture**.
- **Final Exam:** A regular final examination will be held in the assigned exam slot for this course.

Key Dates:

- **Thursday: September 25:** Test on Part I.
- **Tuesday, November 18:** Paper due.
- **December (date TBA):** Final exam.

Grading:

Grading will be based on the following:

- Participation: 10%
- Test on Part I: 20%
- Paper: 30%
- Final Exam: 40%

Grading Policies:

- I will grade on the following scale:
A (93-100); A- (90-92); B+ (87-89); B (83-86); B- (80-82); C+ (77-79); C (73-76); C- (70-72); D (60-69); F (0-59).
- The course will not be graded on a curve.
- I encourage you to come talk to me about any questions you may have about your grade on an assignment. I am happy to talk about the material and suggest ways to help you do better.
- If you would like me to re-grade an assignment, you must submit a *written* request, explaining why you believe you did not receive the proper grade. If I re-grade an assignment, I reserve the right to raise *or* lower your grade. I will not raise a grade for the sole purpose of changing a letter grade.
- Late assignments will not be tolerated. Your grade will be lowered one-half of a letter grade for each day it is late. If you do not complete the assignment, you will receive a 0.

- For the paper assignment, emailed copies will not be accepted. Papers not turned in at the beginning of lecture will be considered late.
- There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a doctor's note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with me *before the assignment is due* (i.e., emailing me on the morning the assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me *before* the assignment is due.
- If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with me about holidays in advance of the original due date.
- There will not be opportunities to do extra-credit work to improve your grade, or to re-do assignments.

Academic Integrity:

By taking this course, you are agreeing to abide by the University's Code of Academic Integrity. Please read the code at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>. Violations of the Code will be subject to the disciplinary penalties described in the Code.

If you are unsure about any aspect of this policy, or about how to properly cite or attribute work, please ask – I am happy to help. The Writing Center (<http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/>) can also provide assistance on citation or other aspects of writing papers. Claiming ignorance about how or when to cite sources is not an excuse for academic dishonesty.

Course Materials:

There are 6 required books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online. All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.

1. Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation* (Knopf, 2006).
2. John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Oxford, 2005).
3. Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Norton, 2002).
4. George Packer, *The Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).
5. James H. Lebovic, *Deterring International Terrorism and Rogue States: US National Security Policy after 9/11* (Routledge, 2007).
6. Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, *America Between the Wars: 11/9 to 9/11* (Public Affairs, 2008).

This course has a lot of reading. Some weeks are heavier, some weeks are lighter. You may wish to get started on some of the longer readings early. The readings are intended to make the class more interesting and enjoyable. They will be covered on the test and final exam. I may adjust the readings as necessary – you are responsible for any changes to the readings.

Blackboard:

This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see “Electronic Reserves”). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

Course Schedule:

PART ONE: THE SOURCES OF US FOREIGN POLICY

Week 1: Introduction to US Foreign Policy

September 2: Course Introduction

September 4: US Foreign Policy Traditions

- Washington’s Farewell Address, 1796, available online at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm>
- Joseph Ellis, *Founding Brothers*, chapter 4, “The Farewell” (Blackboard)

Week 2: Intellectual Traditions; Foreign Policy Actors (I)

September 9: Intellectual Traditions

- President Woodrow Wilson’s War Message of April 2, 1917 at: <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/1917/wilswarm.html>
- Hans Morgenthau, “Another Great Debate: The National Interest of the United States,” *American Political Science Review* 46 (December 1952), pp. 961-988 (Blackboard)
- Walter Russell Mead, “The Jacksonian Tradition and American Foreign Policy,” *The National Interest* (Winter 1999/2000), pp. 5-29 (Blackboard)

September 11: The Presidency

- The United States Constitution. Available at: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/usconst.htm> (concentrate on Articles 1&2)
- Testimony of John Yoo and Louis Fisher before Senate Judiciary Committee, April 17, 2002:
 - Yoo: http://judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/testimony.cfm?id=225&wit_id=437
 - Fisher: http://judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/testimony.cfm?id=225&wit_id=432

Week 3: Foreign Policy Actors (II); Historical Roots of US Foreign Policy (I)

September 16: Congress and the Bureaucracy

- James M. Lindsay, “Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters,” *Political Science Quarterly* 107 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 607-628 (Blackboard)
- Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin, “Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications,” *World Politics* 24 (Spring 1972), pp. 40-79 (Blackboard)

September 18: Historical Roots I

- Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation*, chapters 1-6.

Week 4 : Historical Roots (II)

September 23: Historical Roots II

- Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation*, chapters 7-12.

September 25: TEST ON PART ONE

PART TWO: US FOREIGN POLICY, 1945-PRESENT

Week 5: The Origins and Evolution of the Cold War

September 30 & October 2: The Origins and Evolution of Containment

- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*

Week 6: Managing the Nuclear Stalemate

October 7 & 9: The Cuban Missile Crisis

- Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes*

Week 7: Vietnam

October 14: The Vietnam War, I

- James C. Thomson, "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1968, <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/68apr/vietnam.htm>
- Fredrik Logevall, "Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (March 2004), pp. 100-112 (Blackboard)
- Leslie Gelb, "Vietnam: The System Worked," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1971), pp. 140-167 (Blackboard)
- Review Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, Chapter 8 ("Implementing Flexible Response: Vietnam as a Test Case")

October 16: The Vietnam War, II

- David Kaiser, "Vietnam: Was the System the Solution?" *International Security* 4 (Summer 1980), pp. 199-218 (Blackboard)

- Andrew Z. Katz, “Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Nixon Administration and the Pursuit of Peace With Honor in Vietnam,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Summer 1997), pp. 496-513 (Blackboard)

Week 8: From the End of the Cold War to September 11, 2001

October 21 & 23: After the Cold War

- Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, *America Between the Wars*

Week 9: Responding to September 11; the Iraq War

October 28 & 30: The US Response to the September 11 Attacks and the Iraq War

- George W. Bush, National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>
- George Packer, *The Assassin’s Gate* (concentrate on Chapters 1-7, Chapter 9, and the epilogue and afterword).

PART THREE: ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

Week 10: Election 2008; Future Challenges

November 4: Election Day

- Re-familiarize yourself with the transcript of the first debate: <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/09/26/debate.mississippi.transcript/>
- John McCain, “An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom: Securing America’s Future,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007 (Blackboard)
- Barack Obama, “Renewing American Leadership,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2007 (Blackboard)
- Nicholas Lemann, “Worlds Apart,” *The New Yorker*, October 13, 2008, available at http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/10/13/081013fa_fact_lemann?currentPage=all
- David E. Sanger, “Rivals Split on U.S. Power, but Ideas Defy Easy Labels,” *New York Times*, October 22, 2008, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/23/us/politics/23policy.html>

November 6: Nuclear Proliferation and “Rogue States”

- James Lebovic, *Deterring International Terrorism and Rogue States*, chapters 1-4.

Week 11: Globalization: Trade and Climate Change

November 11: US Trade Policy

- Daniel W. Drezner, “U.S. Trade Strategy: Free Versus Fair” (Council on Foreign Relations, 2006), available at <http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/CPCTrade.pdf> (concentrate on the “Memorandum to the President”)

November 13: Climate Change and Energy

- Thomas Friedman, “The Power of Green,” *New York Times Magazine*, April 15, 2007, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/15/magazine/15green.t.html>
- Ruth Greenspan Bell, “What to Do About Climate Change,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006 (Blackboard)
- David G. Victor, Joshua C. House, and Sarah Joy, “A Madisonian Approach to Climate Policy,” *Science*, September 16, 2005, available at <http://www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/full/309/5742/1820>

Week 12: Humanitarian Crises

November 18: The Interventions of the 1990s – PAPER DUE AT BEGINNING OF CLASS

- Jon Western, “Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia,” *International Security* 26 (Spring 2002), pp. 112-142 (Blackboard)
- Richard Betts, “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994 (Blackboard)

November 20: Genocide: The Non-intervention in Rwanda and the Challenge of Darfur

- Samantha Power, “Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen,” *Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200109/power-genocide>
- Council on Foreign Relations Darfur Crisis Guide, available at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/13129/>

Week 13: The End of American Primacy?

November 25: The End of Unipolarity? Europe

- Robert Kagan, “Power and Weakness,” *Policy Review* 113 (June & July 2002), available at <http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3460246.html>
- Mark Leonard, “The Project for a New European Century,” *The Globalist*, May 27, 2005, available at <http://www.theglobalist.com/StoryId.aspx?StoryId=4464>
- James P. Rubin, “Building a New Atlantic Alliance: Restoring America’s Partnership With Europe,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008 (Blackboard)

November 27: No Class (Thanksgiving)

Week 14: Challenges to American Primacy; Looking Toward the Future

December 2: The End of Unipolarity? Rising and Resurgent Powers

- Fareed Zakaria, “The Post-American World,” *Newsweek*, May 12, 2008, available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/135380/page/1>
- Naazneen Barma and Ely Ratner, “China’s Illiberal Challenge,” *Democracy* (Fall 2006), available at <http://www.democracyjournal.org/article.php?ID=6485>
- Stephen Sestanovich, “What Has Moscow Done? Rebuilding U.S.-Russian Relations,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008 (Blackboard)
- Charles King, “The Five-Day War: Managing Moscow After the Georgia Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008 (Blackboard)

December 4: Wrap-Up: The Future of US Foreign Policy