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## **Political Science 3450: US Foreign Policy**

Georgia State University, Fall 2009  
ALC 2, TR 2:30 – 3:45 pm

Instructor: Dr. Charles Hankla  
Office: General Classroom Building 1024  
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### ***Course Content***

In both economic and security affairs, the United States remains the world's most powerful country. It is one of the most important architects of modern international relations, and continues to exert tremendous influence on countries around the world. Consequently, an understanding of US foreign policy is vital both for American citizens and for those affected by America's choices. The end of the Cold War, the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, and Iraq only make careful study of the continuities and discontinuities in US foreign policy more pressing.

Our analysis of US foreign policy will proceed in three sections. First, we will cover American diplomatic history since independence, seeking to understand the present through the lessons of the past. Next, we will examine a variety of explanations for how US foreign policy is made. We will look at international, institutional, social, and psychological factors in an effort to understand why US decision-makers take the actions that they do. Finally, we will examine a series of challenges confronting the United States, and will analyze how American policy-makers have responded to these challenges. By the end of the course, students should have a strong understanding of the history, process, and challenges of American foreign policy, as well as an improved ability to analyze and articulate positions about policy choices. The course will primarily use the lecture format, with frequent structured and unstructured opportunities for discussion.

### ***Requirements***

Grades in the course will be based on the following items:

Midterm – 25%  
Debate – 10%  
Paper – 25%  
Attendance and Participation – 10%  
Final – 30%



### Exams

Both the midterm and final will be based on lecture content and readings. Anything I say in class is fair game for the exams, along with anything in the assigned readings. While there will often be overlap between the lectures and readings for reinforcement, I will not be lecturing primarily from the readings. To provide focus, I will post on ULearn a series of review questions for each week's topic. If you are able to answer each of these questions thoroughly, you should do well on the exams.

### Attendance and Participation

I will take role in every class. The regularity of your attendance, along with the quality of your participation, will count for 10% of your final grade. You may miss two class sessions without excuse before your grade is penalized, but you must submit a note from the university or from a doctor for further absences to be excused.

You are responsible for managing your enrollment. Except under extreme circumstances, I will not take the initiative to drop or withdraw students from the class.

I will take frequent pauses during class to discuss the material, and I strongly encourage you to participate. You will also have the opportunity to speak during our daily discussion of the news and during the structured debates. I will take your viewpoints seriously, and I want all of us to learn from one another over the course of the semester. To facilitate this goal, I expect students to treat each other with respect, listen to conflicting opinions, and seek to discredit arguments rather than people.

### Newspaper

You are required to follow the international coverage of US foreign policy in a major world newspaper. Some newspapers in English or English translation that you could follow are:

**The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, the Guardian (UK), the Times of London (UK), the Independent (UK), Gazeta (Russia), the Indian Express (India), the Hindustan Times (India), the Tehran Times (Iran), Haaretz (Israel), Al-Ahram (Egypt), Le Monde Diplomatique (France), Al Jazeera (Middle East), allafrika.com (Africa), Mail and Guardian (South Africa), China Daily (China), Yomiuri (Japan), and the Guadalajara Reporter (Mexico).**

These newspapers can be found online through a google search. Also, you may want to check <http://www.world-newspapers.com>, which provides links to these English-language news sources and many more around the world. If you are able, I encourage you to follow a major newspaper in a foreign language.

Once a week, we will devote about 10 minutes to a discussion of the stories that you have read in these newspapers. I will help to provide context, and will elicit your views on world events.

Your participation in this portion of the class will contribute to your participation grade, and I will incorporate current events into some exam questions.

### Paper

You will be required to write an 8-10 page analytical paper. A detailed description of the topics, my expectations, and my grading procedures is attached to the syllabus. Citation guidelines are also attached to the syllabus.

### Debates

There will be a series of four planned debates during the course of the semester. Each of you will participate in one debate, and I will split you into pro or con teams in the coming weeks. So individual performance can be evaluated, each member of the team must speak and make novel arguments. Debaters must back their own arguments with facts, listen to their opponent's arguments, and refrain from making personal attacks. Details about the debate format are attached to the syllabus.

### *Course Policies*

*Grading Scales:* The newly introduced plus/minus grading system will be in use for this class. Grades will be assigned on the following basis:

A+	97-100		
A	93-96	C+	77-79
A-	90-92	C	73-76
B+	87-89	C-	70-72
B	83-86	D	60-69
B-	80-82	F	0-59

*ULearn:* There will be a course page on ULearn, and everyone should check it regularly. I will post on it a copy of the syllabus, review questions for each topic, readings, and any important announcements. You can also use the course page as a tool to communicate with each other and with me.

*Grading:* When I return your quizzes, papers, and exams, you may ask me questions about why I graded them the way I did. Any requests to change your grade, however, must be made in writing and must give specific reasons. Once a request is made, I will give it consideration, but I reserve the right to lower your grade as well if I think that I originally gave you too many points. In other words, requests for grade changes will result in the paper being completed re-graded.

*Missed or Late Assignments:* Any excuse for a missed exam or quiz or a late paper must be compelling and substantiated by a letter from a doctor, the university, or another appropriate source. Written excuses must be presented as quickly as possible after a missed assignment or

exam, and the work must be made up within one week. Late papers will be penalized a half-letter grade for each late day.

*Disabilities:* Those of you with disabilities should visit the GSU Disability Services Office and inform me at the beginning of the semester about any special needs that you might have.

*Academic Honesty and Decorum:* University policies on academic dishonesty and disruptive behavior are in effect for this course. Students who plagiarize or otherwise cheat will receive an "F" on their assignment and, depending on the severity of the infraction and the importance of the assignment, may be reported to the university and receive an "F" in the course. Students who disrupt class may be asked to leave for the day, may have their Attendance / Participation grades penalized, and, under certain circumstances, may have to withdraw from the class.

*Changes to the Syllabus:* The course syllabus provides a general plan for the course; deviations may be necessary.

### ***Readings***

There are two required texts for the class, which are available at the GSU Bookstore:

McDougall, Walter A. *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

Wittkopf, Eugene R. and James M. McCormick, eds. *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence, Fifth Edition*. Lanham: Rowen and Littlefield, 2008.

A number of additional, equally important readings are required and can be found online at the library reserve desk and through a link on the course ULearn page. If you have any trouble locating these readings, please feel free to e-mail me.

### ***Course Outline***

#### ***Part 1: Historical Roots***

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| Week 1 | A Small Country in a Dangerous World: The Origins of US Foreign Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• McDougall, pp. 1-56.</li></ul>  |
| Week 2 | The Young Upstart: Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• McDougall, pp. 57-100.</li></ul> <p>America Flexes its Muscles: Empire and Internationalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• McDougall, pp. 101-146</li></ul> |

Week 3

At the Pinnacle of Power: World War and Cold War

- McDougall, pp. 147-198.

**Part 2: Explanations**

The case study for the “explanations” section of the course will be the decision to go to war in Iraq. Please read:

Lantis, Jeffrey S. and Eric Moskowitz. “The Return of the Imperial Presidency? The Bush Doctrine and U.S Intervention in Iraq,” in *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy*. Edited by Ralph G. Carter. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005.

Week 4

American Power and the International System

- Jentleson, Bruce W. “Chapter 1: The Strategic Context,” *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2004, pp. 2-29.
- Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 1. (Joseph Nye, “Soft Power and American Foreign Policy”).
- Gelb, Leslie. 2009. Necessity, Choice, and Common Sense. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (3).

Week 5

Public Opinion, Interest Groups, and Elections

- Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 7. (John Mueller, “The Iraq Syndrome”).
- Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 8. (Miroslav Nincic, “External Affairs and the Electoral Connection”).
- Nathan, James A. and James K. Oliver. 1994. *Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 197-235.

Sep 17 (Th)

**FIRST DEBATE: The election of President Obama is likely to produce major changes in US foreign policy.**

Week 6

Psychology: The Case of Vietnam

- Janis, Irving L. 1972. Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could it Happen? in *Victims of Groupthink: A psychological study of foreign-policy decisions and fiascoes*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

- Week 7 Congress and the Presidency
- Bennett, Andrew. "Who Rules the Roost?" In Robert J. Lieber, ed. *Eagle Rules?: Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002, PP. 47-69.
  - Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 12. (James M. Lindsay, "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy").
  - Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 10. (Louis Fisher, "Costly Presidential Wars").
- Oct. 1 (Th) **SECOND DEBATE: The promotion of democracy should be a core foreign policy goal of the United States.**
- Week 8 Executive Branch Departments: Roles, Tensions, and Reform
- Hook, Stephen W. "Chapter 6: The Foreign-Policy Bureaucracy," in *U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005, pp. 153-186.
  - Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 11. (Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, "How National Security Advisors See Their Roles").
  - Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 15. (Paul Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy, and the Iraq War").
  - Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 19. (Steve Smith, "Policy Preferences and Bureaucratic Position").
- Oct 8 (Th) **MIDTERM**
- Part 3: Issues and Implementation***
- Week 9 Globalization, the World Economy, and Foreign Aid
- Moon, Bruce E. 2006. "The United States and Globalization: Struggles with Hegemony," in *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*. Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
  - Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 17. (Orin Kirshner, "Triumph of Globalism: American Trade Politics")
  - Sachs, Jeffrey D. The Strategic Significance of Global Inequality. *The Washington Quarterly* 24:3, Summer 2001, pp. 187-198.
  - Mattoo, Aaditya and Arvind Subramanian. 2009. From Doha to Bretton Woods: A New Multilateral Trade Agenda. *Foreign Affairs* 88(1):25-36.

Week 10	<p>Weapons Proliferation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nacht, Michael. "Weapons Proliferation and Missile Defense." In Robert J. Lieber, ed. <i>Eagle Rules?: Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century</i>. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002, PP. 281-298.</li> <li>• Feinstein, Lee and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "A Duty to Prevent," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 83:1, Jan/Feb 2004, pp. 136-151.</li> </ul>
Oct 22 (Th)	<b>THIRD DEBATE: The current financial crisis will permanently undermine the international economic influence of the United States.</b>
Week 11	<p>Terrorism, Weak States, and the Afghan Conflict</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Obama, Barack. Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. March 27, 2009. Available from: <a href="http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/">http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/</a></li> <li>• Raja, C. Mohan. 2009. How Obama Can Get South Asia Right. <i>Washington Quarterly</i> 32 (2): 173-189.</li> <li>• Eizenstat, Stuart, John Edward Porter, and Jeremy Weinstein. "Rebuilding Weak States," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 84:1, Jan/Feb 2005, pp. 134-146.</li> </ul>
Week 12	<p>Humanitarian Intervention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jentleson, Bruce W. "Use of Force Dilemmas." In Robert J. Lieber, ed. <i>Eagle Rules?: Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century</i>. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002, PP. 266-281.</li> <li>• Wittkopf and McCormick, Chapter 22. (Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention").</li> <li>• Strauss, Scott. "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 84:1, Jan/Feb 2005, pp. 123-133.</li> </ul>
Week 13	<p>China: Strategic Partner or Strategic Competitor?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lampton, David M. "The Faces of Chinese Power," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 86:1, Jan/Feb 2007.</li> </ul>
Nov 12 (Th)	<b>FOURTH DEBATE: The United States should commit troops to stop the violence in Darfur.</b>
Weeks 14 &15	Catch Up and Review
Dec 1 (Tu)	<b>PAPER DUE</b>

### The Debates

There will be four in-class debates this semester, and the topics and dates of each can be found in your syllabus. For each debate, there will be one team arguing the “pro” position (e.g. that the US should join the ICC) and another team arguing the “con” position (e.g. that it should not). You will be assigned to a team, and should cooperate with your team members in developing evidence for your position and a strategy for presenting your arguments. You should carefully prepare your own evidence, and also anticipate the arguments of your opponents and consider ways to rebut them. Further, you should prepare yourselves for potential criticisms from the other team and from the audience. Each debate will proceed according to the following schedule:

Opening statement by the “pro” team	5 minutes
Opening statement by the “con” team	5 minutes
Rebuttal by the “pro” team	5 minutes
Rebuttal by the “con” team	5 minutes
Open exchange	10 minutes
Question and answer session from audience	20-30 minutes
Closing statement by the “pro” team	5 minutes
Closing statement by the “con” team	5 minutes

You may divide up responsibilities among your team members as you see fit, but each member must participate in the debate. I recognize that some students enjoy public speaking while others have more difficulty, and it is not necessary for all team members to speak for exactly the same amount of time. Nevertheless, each member should demonstrate careful thought and participation, and should show that they have contributed to the team effort. Please notify me prior to the debate if any team member is not shouldering a fair share of responsibility.

Information and evidence for your position may be drawn from class material and lectures, but you should also consult outside sources. For ideas, examine your assigned reading for references and citations, search the library catalogue and databases such as Lexis-Nexis, and consider sources such as the *New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the *Economist*.

About a week before the debate, each team should send a delegation of 2-3 members to meet with me and discuss your evidence and approach. For the meeting to be useful, you should have begun your research and largely developed your ideas prior to speaking with me. I will use the meeting to suggest additional sources and arguments, and will also think about how I can build on your ideas in the lectures. This meeting is a requirement, and your grades will be penalized if you do not speak with me.

Your grades will be based both on the general performance of your team, and on your individual performance. I will pay careful attention during the debate, and, to ensure fairness for those who work most effectively “behind the scenes,” team members will evaluate one another. Within two days after each debate, participants should email me a confidential evaluation of their teammates’ performances in two areas: degree of participation (whether the team member participated in meetings and shouldered a fair share of the burden) and quality of participation (the quality of the team member’s ideas and contributions). The evaluations should be on a scale of 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest); specific comments are not required. For fairness, only consistent feedback from your

teammates will be considered, and even this feedback will be compared to my observations during the debate.

Finally, I want to emphasize that the debate should remain civil. Sarcasm and forceful criticism are certainly acceptable, but they should be directed at your opponents' arguments and not at your opponents themselves. Allow others to finish speaking before you speak, and keep your statements brief and to the point. If you bear these guidelines in mind, the debates should be a fun and interesting experience.

## **The Paper**

For your paper, due on Dec. 1, please write on the following topic:

Over the course of the semester, we have discussed six factors commonly used to explain United States foreign policy behavior – the international system (including power and security, international institutions, and ideas), political culture, public opinion and elections, psychology, congressional-executive relations, and executive branch politics (including bureaucratic politics and organizational process). Choose any three of these factors and apply them to a US foreign policy decision of your choice. How well are the three explanations able to shed light on the decision you are analyzing? Are all of them useful in explaining the decision, or are some of them more useful than others? Why?

You may choose to analyze any US foreign policy decision from independence to the present, with the exception of the decision to fight in the current Iraq War. Be sure to select a genuine decision rather than a broad event. For example, consider the decision to escalate ground troops in Vietnam or the decision to bomb Cambodia rather than the Vietnam War as a whole. In addition, you will probably want to select a foreign policy decision that has received reasonable attention from scholars. Some possible topics include the decisions to:

- Wage war on Great Britain in 1812.
- Wage war on Mexico in 1846.
- Wage war on Spain in 1898.
- Occupy the Philippines.
- Enter World War I.
- Reject the Versailles Treaty.
- Hike up tariffs in 1930.
- Delegate trade authority to the President in 1934.
- Send support to Greece and Turkey under the Truman Doctrine.
- Participate in creating the IMF, World Bank, UN, NATO, or another IO.
- Send troops to Korea.
- Withdraw from the Vietnam War.
- End the Bretton Woods dollar standard.
- Attempt a rescue of the American hostages in Iran.
- Negotiate the START treaty.
- Fight the first Gulf War.
- Intervene in Somalia or Bosnia.
- Not intervene in Rwanda.
- Invade Afghanistan.

In the course of writing this paper, you should make use of at least 5 sources not assigned in class, all of which should be published. Books and articles from the library are acceptable sources, as are journal or newspaper articles found on the internet as long as they have appeared in printed form. Official government sources will also be accepted. Readings assigned in class

and sources appearing solely online do not count, but can of course be used in addition to the required five. If you have any questions about a source, feel free to contact me.

Remember to make a clear and cogent statement of your argument in your introductory paragraph. I will assess your grade according to the quality of your argument, the clarity and structure of your presentation, and correctness of your grammar and spelling.

Be sure to cite all of your sources appropriately, both in the text of your paper and in a bibliography. For help, check the citation guide that follows.

The paper should be eight to ten pages long, and should be presented typed, double-spaced, and in a standard font with one-inch margins. Please bring the paper to class or leave it in my box in the political science departmental office (General Classroom Building 10<sup>th</sup> floor) by 5pm, Dec. 1. Late papers will be penalized one-half letter grade per day.

## Citation Guide

Please use the following guide to help you reference the works correctly:

1. If an idea is yours, or if you are stating a well-known fact, you do not need to provide a citation.

Examples:

I argue that the presence of nuclear weapons would have prevented war.

The First World War began in 1914.

2. If you borrow an idea from a source but put it in your own words, you should cite the source after you use it. There is no need to use quotation marks. However, changing a couple of words from a source is not enough to "put it in your own words." Rather, you should incorporate the idea into the context of your argument in a more complete way.

In your citation, put the author's name in parentheses along with the date of publication. If you are citing a chapter from an edited volume, be sure to use the name of the chapter author rather than the name of the editor.

Example:

With the withdrawal of American forces from Europe after the Cold War, the chances for another European war increased (Mearsheimer 1990).

3. If you take a quotation word for word from a source, you should put it in quotation marks and cite the author, publication date, and page number. While a well placed quote can strengthen a paper, however, you should avoid relying too much on the statements of others.

Example:

"Moral arguments move and constrain people" (Nye 2005, p. 20).

In addition to citing your sources in the body of your paper, you should include a "Works Cited" page at the end. On this page, you should provide full citations for all of the sources that you used. The following is a guide to proper citation format:

For books:

Goldstein, Joshua S. *International Relations, Sixth Edition*. New York: Longman, 2005.

For articles:

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *The American Political Science Review* 63:3. September 1969, 689-712.

For chapters in edited volumes:

Wheeler, Nicholas J. and Ken Booth. "The Security Dilemma" in *Dilemmas of World Politics*, John Baylis and N. J. Regger, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 29-43.

For internet websites:

World Bank. Trends in Average Tariff Rates for Developing and Developed Countries, 1980-99 (Unweighted in %). Available from [www1.worldbank.org/wbiep/trade/data/TR\\_Data.html](http://www1.worldbank.org/wbiep/trade/data/TR_Data.html). Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2003.

In relying on websites for material, you should also take care that your source is reputable.

### **Paper Grading Scale**

- A: Clearly stated thesis backed in each paragraph by relevant evidence and correctly applied arguments;  
Original thinking as well as careful and correct application of course material; Clear organization of ideas;  
Excellent writing with correct grammar and spelling.
- B: Clearly stated thesis backed in each paragraph by evidence that is generally relevant to the argument, with some exceptions;  
Careful and correct application of the course material, but little truly original thinking;  
Reasonably clear organization of ideas;  
Good writing and only rare grammatical and spelling errors.
- C: A vague thesis connected to some relevant evidence;  
Reasonably correct application of the course material, with some errors and little original thinking;  
Some organization of ideas, but not extremely clear;  
Decent writing with some grammatical and spelling errors.
- D: No clear thesis, but some evidence relevant to the topic;  
Some application of the course material, but frequently incorrect with no original thinking;  
Broadly disorganized but still possible to follow;  
Poor writing with frequent grammatical and spelling errors;
- F: No thesis and little information relevant to the topic;  
Very little application of the course material;  
Confused organization;  
Poor writing with pervasive grammatical and spelling errors.