



AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(POLITICAL SCIENCE 3574)

Class Time and Room: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11:35 – 12:55pm, Mona Campbell 1108

Instructor: **Prof. Brian Bow** brian.bow@dal.ca

Instructor's Office: Henry Hicks Academic Administration Building, Room 355

Office Hours: Mondays, 10:00 – 12:00am, or by appointment

Assistant: TBA

Introduction

This course is a general introduction to American foreign policy. It has four main parts: i. a brief survey of the most prominent theoretical perspectives on what drives American foreign policy choices; ii. a basic outline of the history of American foreign policy since 1776, with the emphasis on the post-1945 period, and particular attention post-Cold War events and developments; iii. a review of some of the essential themes and debates over the sources and purposes of American foreign policy; and iv. some discussion of debates surrounding some of the main challenges facing the United States in the post-Cold War, post-9/11 world.

Assignments / assessment

Movie Homework	15%	Thursday, October 23
Simulation Participation, Report	15%	Tuesday, November 27
Term Paper	40%	Thursday, December 6
Final Exam	30%	Exam period (see below)

Movie Homework

The first assignment of the semester will be to watch a movie, and answer some questions about its interpretation of US foreign policy-making. The film this year is "**Thirteen Days**" (2000, directed by Roger Donaldson), the film adaptation of Robert Kennedy's memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The assignment is to watch the movie carefully, and answer six questions about its interpretation of the Kennedy administration's decision-making during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Read the questions carefully in advance, and take notes while the movie is playing. Your answers should be brief and to-the-point (i.e., one and a half single-spaced pages for the whole assignment).

The film will be shown on **October 16**, in the room where lecture is normally held, from 11:30 until 2:30pm. The movie is about three hours long, so you will have to check to make sure that this viewing time does not conflict with your class schedule. If you have another class right after the regular class time on October 16, you are welcome to rent the movie and watch it whenever you can fit it into your schedule. The assignment (i.e., answers to the six questions) is **due October 23**.

This is an **on-line assignment**, to be administered through the OWL/BbLearn system. The homework questions are available through the OWL/BbLearn system as of September 6, and the system can accept completed assignments on-line any time after that. Assignments submitted electronically after October 23 will be marked as late, and will incur a penalty of one point (out of 15) per day. OWL/BbLearn will not accept assignments submitted after October 27.

Foreign Policy Decision-Making Simulation

The simulation is a role-playing exercise in which students will argue over the content and presentation of a broad statement of American foreign policy priorities after 2012. Some students will represent foreign policy advisors to a new president, and some will represent various think-tanks trying to influence the terms of the debate.

Roles will be assigned and posted on OWL/BbLearn on November 1. Once the roles have been assigned, students will be free to communicate with other members of their assigned group, by email and/or in face-to-face meetings. The simulation itself will take place, in class, on **November 20 and November 22**. Based on their discussions with the various think-tank groups, the presidential advisors will put together the text of the new government's policy **statement**, which must be submitted to me, by email, at or before 4pm **the next day** (November 23); it will then be posted to OWL/BbLearn.

Over the next few days, all participants will write a brief **report** (750 words), reflecting on what was in the statement, what was left out, etc. In your report, you should be thinking about what you think the statement means, why it turned out the way it did, and how that "fits" with the perceptions and priorities of the group you were supposed to represent. Try to find a balance between thinking about your situation within the simulation and the "bigger picture" (i.e., what happened with the statement itself, and with other groups). Reports are to be **submitted electronically, through the OWL/BbLearn site**, on **November 27** (at or before 4:00pm). Late reports will be penalized 2 points per day (out of 15).

Term Paper

The term paper will be due on **December 6** (nine days after the simulation reports are due...). Each student's paper must be submitted in two formats: a digital copy, submitted on the course website (see below), and a hard copy, submitted in my mailbox in the Political Science department office. Both versions should be submitted by 4:00pm (when the department office closes for the day). Papers can only be submitted by email by special permission, and that permission will only be given in exceptional circumstances (e.g., course website crashed, Hicks building destroyed by meteor, etc.).

The focus and format of the term paper is going to be different this year than in previous years. Each student will **choose one of the following three clusters of questions**, and use it as the basis for a short research paper:

Option #1: In US presidential elections, challengers almost always campaign on promises to correct their predecessors' mistakes, on both domestic and foreign policy. During the 2008 campaign and in the early years of his presidency, what "lessons" did Obama claim to have learned from George W. Bush's foreign policy errors, and how did he promise to apply those lessons to his own foreign policy choices? Looking back on Obama's actual foreign policy choices, has he lived up to those promises? Would it be best to say that he learned the lessons taught by Bush's errors, failed to learn them, or "over-learned" them (i.e., made foreign policy mistakes because he was too determined to do things differently)? For whichever answer you provide to this last question, why do you think this was so?

- Option #2: The United States has had a strange relationship with China over the last twenty years. On one hand, US policy-makers see China as a potential strategic rival, and a possible military threat to US allies in the Asia-Pacific region (esp. Taiwan, but also Japan, South Korea, and most of Southeast Asia). Many therefore maintain that the US is pursuing a policy of “containment” against China, similar to that against the USSR during the Cold War. On the other hand, China is one of the United States’ most important commercial partners, in terms of trade, investment, currency holdings, and debt. Others therefore maintain that the US has been pursuing a policy of “engagement” with China. How do we explain this complicated and perhaps contradictory strategy? How does it fit with the expectations of Realism and Liberalism as theories of foreign policy? Thinking about future US-China relations, what difference (if any) do you think it will make whether Obama or Romney wins the upcoming presidential election?
- Option #3: The United States is often the most “indispensable” partner in any multilateral initiative, in the sense that its support or opposition can make or break a potential agreement. Particularly after the end of the Cold War, the US has often found itself taking the lead in pushing for a new global agreement, but then pulling back or even strongly opposing that agreement. Using a historical example (i.e., a specific treaty negotiation) from either the human rights or environmental issue-areas, describe the way that US policy has been contradictory and/or changeable during the course of the negotiations, and—with reference to some of the theories and concepts outlined in this course—try to explain why you think the US approach to this issue has played out as it did. Be especially attentive to whether these contradictory/changeable tendencies are better explained by the United States’ international situation or by its domestic politics.

Whichever option you choose, be sure to be absolutely clear about: a. which one you are doing; b. how you are answering each question; and c. where and how your answers connect up to the general theories discussed in lectures and required readings. Your papers should give an overview of what others have said about the answers to your questions (i.e., literature review), but they should also advance a clear argument (i.e., your own answers to these questions). While I do want you to answer all of the questions for your option, I don’t want a series of disconnected short-answer responses; I want you to try to put them together so that they form one coherent essay.

Your essay should be **between 2500 and 3000 words**, which generally works out to be **10-12 pages**, double-spaced, with normal fonts and margins. **Papers that go beyond 3500 words will not be accepted, except with the professor’s specific, explicit permission.**

Additional information about the format and other requirements for the term papers will be made available through the OWL/BbLearn site.

Final Exam

The final exam will be scheduled by the University Registrar. The official exam period for the Fall 2012 semester is **December 6-17**. Do not make work or travel plans until after you know the official dates and times for all of your final exams. If you will be obliged to be absent from the final exam for some compelling reason (e.g., serious illness or injury, death in your immediate family), you must elaborate that reason in a letter to the Chair of the Department, in advance of the scheduled exam; the Chair will render a decision on the matter.

For the final exam, you will be responsible for all of the ideas and issues raised in lectures and in required readings, through the entire semester. There will be some choice (e.g., answer 3 of 5 questions in this section) in all parts of the exam. Additional information will be available through the OWL/BbLearn site.

General policies concerning assignments, deadlines, and grades

The University Calendar makes plain that "[s]tudents are expected to complete class work by the prescribed deadlines. Only in special circumstances (e.g. the death of a close relative) may an instructor extend such deadlines." **Late term papers will be assessed a penalty of one mark (out of 35) per day.** If you miss the term paper deadline on account of illness, you must hand it in within one week of your return to class, with a copy of a medical certificate, per academic regulations in the Dalhousie Calendar.

Essays not submitted directly to the professor must be submitted in person to the Political Science office (if the office is open, hand the paper to the secretary, and ask to have it stamped with date and time; if the office is not open, put the paper in the after-hours drop-box). Neither the professor nor the Department can assume responsibility for papers submitted by mail, fax, or email. Do not submit any assignments to the teaching assistant.

Plagiarism (intentionally or unintentionally representing other people's ideas as your own) is a serious violation of academic ethics, and will be taken very seriously in this class. You can (and should) get information on what plagiarism is, how you can avoid it, and what the relevant university and departmental policies are, at <http://academicintegrity.dal.ca/>. Please also take note of the formal notice of university policy with respect to academic integrity posted on the course website.

The grading thresholds for this course are:

90-100 = A+	85-89.9 = A	80-84.9 = A-
77-79.9 = B+	73-76.9 = B	70-72.9 = B-
65-69.9 = C+	60-64.9 = C	55-59.9 = C-
50-54.9 = D	50 > F	

Resources

The course textbook this year is **Michael Cox & Doug Stokes, eds., *US Foreign Policy* (2nd ed., Oxford UP, 2012).**¹ It's available at the campus bookstore, and it should be reasonably easy to find/buy on-line.

The course website can be accessed through OWL/BbLearn: <https://dalhousie.blackboard.com/>. Login using the same ID and password that you use for your Dalhousie email. In addition to links to course readings, the OWL/BbLearn site also has a downloadable copy of the course syllabus and general instructions and advice for the exams and term paper. Powerpoint slides from the lectures will be posted there (usually—but not necessarily always—in advance...). The OWL/BbLearn website is a crucial resource for this course. If the professor or TA wants to send a message to the whole class (e.g., class canceled due to snow, office hours changed for a particular week, etc.), they will do so through OWL/BbLearn, and not by email. **Students are expected to check the OWL/BbLearn site for announcements and updates at least once per week.**

Disclaimer

This syllabus is intended as a general guide to the course. The instructor reserves the right to reschedule or revise assigned readings, assignments, lecture topics, etc., as necessary.

¹ The first edition of the book is similar to, but not the same as, the second edition. Most of the chapters are the same, but many of them have been updated, often in important ways, and two new chapters have been added. You can use the first edition to get your hands on a particular reading (or a few), but you should not consider it a suitable replacement for the second edition, particularly with respect to preparing for the final exam.

Lectures and readings

SECTION ONE	Introduction
Class meetings:	September 6
Topics/themes:	Overview of the course; review of syllabus
Required reading:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> skim USFP textbook (see above)

SECTION TWO	Explaining US Foreign Policy
Class meetings:	September 11, 13
Topics/themes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> External pressures vs internal pressures International Relations theories and US foreign policy Realism vs liberalism: clashes and combinations Overview of other kinds of explanations
Required reading:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Brian Schmidt, "Theories of US Foreign Policy," in USFP textbook. John J. Mearsheimer, "Liberal Talk, Realist Thinking," <i>University of Chicago Magazine</i> (August 2002). Henry R. Nau, "Why We Fight Over Foreign Policy," <i>Policy Review</i> 142 (2007).

SECTION THREE	Overview of the History of US Foreign Policy
Class meetings:	September 18, 20, 25
Topics/themes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revolutionary foundations Expansion and its dilemmas Emergence as a world power Cold War challenges The "unipolar moment" and the question of relative decline
Required reading:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Walter LaFeber, "The US Rise to World Power, 1776-1945," in USFP textbook.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Richard Saull, "US Foreign Policy during the Cold War," in USFP textbook. 3. John Dumbrell, "America in the 1990s: Searching for Purpose," in USFP textbook. 4. Christopher Layne, William Wohlforth & Stephen G. Brooks, "US Decline or Primacy? A Debate," in USFP textbook. 5. Richard Salmans, et al, "Running the World, After the Crash," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (January/February 2011).
<p>Recommended reading:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walter Russell Mead, "The American Foreign Policy Legacy," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 81 (2002). • Walter LeFeber, <i>The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898</i> (Cornell, 1998). • George Kennan, <i>American Diplomacy</i> (Expanded Ed., University of Chicago, 1985). • Ernest R. May, <i>'Lessons' of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in US Foreign Policy</i> (Oxford, 1973). • William Appleman Williams, <i>The Tragedy of American Diplomacy</i> (50th Anniversary Ed.; WW Norton, 2009). • Melvyn P. Leffler, "9/11 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy," <i>International Affairs</i> 79 (2003). • Walter Russell Mead, <i>Special Providence: US Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World</i> (Routledge, 2002). • Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Obama and Smart Power," in USFP textbook. • Robyn Eckersley, "Global Environment," in USFP textbook.

<p>SECTION FOUR</p>	<p>A Question of Balance: Institutions and Processes</p>
<p>Class meetings:</p>	<p>September 27, October 2, 4</p>
<p>Topics/themes:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive branch and Congress • Bureaucratic and civil-military • Regions, classes, sectors and groups
<p>Required reading:</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Michael Foley, "The Foreign Policy Process: Executive, Congress, Intelligence," in USFP textbook. 2. Charlie Savage articles on executive privilege: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PBS Frontline, interview with Charlie Savage, July 10 & August 7, 2007; • Charlie Savage, "Obama's War on Terror May Resemble Bush's in

	<p>Some Areas," <i>New York Times</i>, February 17, 2009;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charlie Savage, "House Panel's Vote Steps Up Partisan Fight on Gun Inquiry," <i>New York Times</i>, June 20, 2012. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Beth Fischer, "Military Power and US Foreign Policy," in USFP textbook. 4. Piers Robinson, "Media and US Foreign Policy," in USFP textbook. 5. Daniel Drezner & Henry Farrell, "Web of Influence," <i>Foreign Policy</i>, November 1, 2004. 6. David Sanger, "Charting Obama's Journey to a Shift on Afghanistan," <i>New York Times</i>, May 19, 2012.
<p>Recommended reading:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, and James M. Scott, "Presidential Leadership in Foreign Policy Making," in <i>American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process</i> (5th ed., Wadsworth, 2003). • Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, and James M. Scott, "Congress and Foreign Policy Making," in <i>American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process</i> (5th ed., Wadsworth, 2003). • Michael Mastanduno, "The United States Political System and International Leadership: 'A Decidedly Inferior' Form of Government?" in G. John Ikenberry, ed., <i>American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays</i> (4th ed., Addison-Wesley, 2002). • Richard C. Eichenberg, "Victory Has Many Friends," <i>International Security</i> 30 (2005). • Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 63 (1969). • James Fallows, "Blind Into Baghdad," <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> 293 (Jan/Feb 2004). • Peter Trubowitz, "Regional Shifts and US Foreign Policy," in USFP textbook.

<p>SECTION FIVE</p>	<p>Identity, Culture and Purpose</p>
<p>Class meetings:</p>	<p>October 9, 11</p>
<p>Topics/themes:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National identity and nationalism • American exceptionalism and national purpose • Religion and foreign policy • Ethnic lobbies
<p>Required reading:</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hans Morgenthau, "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 44 (1950). 2. Daniel Deudney & Jeffrey Meisner, "American Exceptionalism," in USFP

	<p>textbook.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Minxin Pei, "The Paradoxes of American Nationalism," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (May/June 2003). 4. John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy," <i>Middle East Policy</i> (Fall 2006). 5. Walter Russell Mead, "The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (March/April 2011).
<p>Recommended reading:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christina Rowley and Jutta Weldes, "Identities and US Foreign Policy," in USFP textbook. • Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, and James M. Scott, "American Values, Beliefs and Preferences," in <i>American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process</i> (5th ed., Wadsworth, 2003). • Samuel P. Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions," <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> 97 (1982). • Alexander L. George, "Domestic Constraints on Regime Change in US Foreign Policy: The Need for Policy Legitimacy," in Ole R. Holsti, ed., <i>Change in the International System</i> (Westview, 1980). • Walter Russell Mead, "In God's Country," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 85 (2006). • Sebastian Mallaby, "The Reluctant Imperialist," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 81 (2002). • Transcript of Obama's speech in Cairo, <i>New York Times</i>, January 4, 2009. • David Rothkopf, "Is the US Incapable of Conducting a Moral Foreign Policy," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (October 11, 2011).

OCTOBER 16: "Thirteen Days" (movie) - room TBA

<p>SECTION SIX</p>	<p>Power and/vs. Principles</p>
<p>Class meetings:</p>	<p>October 18, 23, 25</p>
<p>Topics/themes:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the bases for US engagement with the world? • How are clashes between interests and morals reconciled?
<p>Required reading:</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anthony Lake, "From Containment to Enlargement," public lecture given at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), September 21, 1993. 2. G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 81 (2002). 3. Walter Russell Mead, "The Carter Syndrome," <i>Foreign Policy</i>

	<p>(January/February 2010).</p> <p>4. Syria Debate [subject to change/updating]:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tony Badran, "Obama Can Stop the Killing in Syria," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (June 14, 2011); • James P. Rubin, "The Real Reason to Intervene in Syria," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (June 4, 2012); • Joshua Landis, "Stay Out of Syria," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (June 5, 2012).
<p>Recommended reading:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • George Washington, "Farewell Address" (1796). • Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," <i>Commentary</i> (November 1979). • Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home America," <i>International Security</i> 21 (Spring 1997). • Samuel P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 78 (1999). • Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Tradition and American Foreign Policy," <i>The National Interest</i> 58 (Winter 1999/2000). • Shashi Tharoor, "Why the US Still Needs the United Nations," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 82 (Sept/Oct 2002). • Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," <i>New York Times</i> (January 5, 2003). • Daniel Rieff, "Moral Blindness," <i>New Republic</i> (June 5, 2006). • APSA Task Force on US Standing in World Affairs, <i>US Standing in World Affairs: Causes, Consequences and the Future</i> (American Political Science Association, 2009).

<p>SECTION SEVEN</p>	<p>Global Power, Regional Challenges</p>
<p>Class meetings:</p>	<p>October 30, November 1, 6, 8, 15 NOTE: November 13 is a "study day" – no lecture</p>
<p>Topics/themes:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Western Hemisphere • Europe • Asia (esp. China) • The Middle East • Africa
<p>Required reading:</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. James Dunkerly, "US Foreign Policy in Latin America," in USFP textbook. 2. Robert A. Pastor, "Beyond the Continental Divide," <i>The American Interest</i>

	<p>(July/August 2012).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Mike Smith, "The USA and the EU," in USFP textbook. 4. Justin Vaisse, "The Sick Man of Europe is Europe," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (February 16, 2012). 5. Michael Cox, "The USA, China and Rising Asia," in USFP textbook. 6. G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (January/February, 2008). 7. Toby Dodge, "US Foreign Policy in the Middle East," in USFP textbook. 8. Robert G. Patman, "US Foreign Policy in Africa," in USFP textbook.
Recommended reading:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eric Farnsworth, "US-Latin American Relations: From Here to Where?" <i>Latin American Policy</i> 2 (2011). • Ellen Hallams & Benjamin Schreer, "Toward a Post-American Alliance? NATO Burden-Sharing after Libya," <i>International Affairs</i> 88 (2012). • Peter Rutland & Gregory Dubinsky, "US Foreign Policy in Russia," in USFP textbook. • John J. Mearsheimer, "China's Unpeaceful Rise," <i>Current History</i> (2006). • Gregory F. Gause & Ian S. Lustick, "America and the Regional Powers in a Transforming Middle East," <i>Middle East Policy</i> 19 (2012). • Stephen Ellis, "How to Rebuild Africa," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (September/October 2005).

SECTION EIGHT	Foreign Policy Simulation
Class meetings:	November 20, 22
Topics/themes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See course website
Required reading:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See course website

SECTION NINE	US Foreign Policy Faces the Future
Class meetings:	November 27, 29
Topics/themes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Another "American century" or relative decline? • 21st century challenges
Required reading:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anatol Lieven, "The Future of US Foreign Policy," in USFP textbook.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Robyn Eckersley, "Global Environment," in USFP textbook. 3. Aaron David Miller, "Barack O'Romney," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (May 23, 2012). 4. Henry Nau, "Europeans Pay Attention: Romney is Different," <i>Die Welt</i>, August 9, 2012.
Recommended reading:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Grading Obama's Foreign Policy," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (January 23, 2012). • Scott Wilson, "On Foreign Policy, Obama Focuses on Economic Issues, Not on Syrian Turmoil," <i>Washington Post</i>, June 2, 2012. • Zbigniew Brzezinski, "After America," <i>Foreign Policy</i> (January/February 2012). • P.W. Singer, "Robots at War: The New Battlefield," <i>Wilson Quarterly</i> 33 (Winter 2009): 30-48. • Joshua S. Goldstein, "Think Again: War," <i>Foreign Policy</i>, September/October 2011. • Thomas Rid, "Think Again: Cyberwar," <i>Foreign Policy</i>, March/April, 2012. • Bill McKibben, "Think Again: Climate Change," <i>Foreign Policy</i>, January 1, 2009. • Michael Levi, "Think Again: The American Energy Boom," <i>Foreign Policy</i>, July/August, 2012.

SECTION TEN	REVIEW
Class meetings:	December 4
REMINDER	TERM PAPERS DUE THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6
Topics/themes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Last-minute term paper advice • Preparing for the final exam • Course evaluations