

POLS H248 Fall 2019: American Foreign Policy

Instructor: Chris Chiego

Class Location: Woodside Cabin

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Class Time: Tues-Thurs, 2:30-4 PM

Instructor Office: 202 Roberts

Office Hours: W 3-5 PM + TR 1-2 PM + Appt

Email is the best way to contact me. Please include "248" in the email subject line to ensure that it is sorted appropriately. I will make every effort to respond to emailed inquiries within 1 business day (i.e. within 24 hours, Monday-Friday).

This syllabus is subject to change (particularly in light of breaking news); any changes or additions will be announced in class and posted on Moodle.

What's this course about?

How has the way the United States of America interacted with the rest of the world changed or remained the same over time? Who actually makes American Foreign Policy and what are they trying to achieve? What are the current challenges the United States faces around the world and what will the future hold for American primacy?

This course will follow three strands of work to answer those questions. First, we will examine the historical and institutional roots of American Foreign Policy from the founding of the United States through the Cold War and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Much of what has happened more recently in American Foreign Policy has roots and echoes in the past (compare, for instance, American interventions in Libya in 1805 and 2011). As we cover pieces of history, we will add in theories of American Foreign Policy that attempt to explain how and why the United States adopted various different types of foreign policies over time. These theories will serve as useful tools to analyze foreign policy problems into the present day. The final strand will cover current issues in American Foreign policy. This strand will include not only topical areas like international law, trade, and security concerns, but also a survey of geographic areas around the world. We will interweave current events into this class by bringing in current events involving American foreign policy into every class, offering opportunities to relate theories and previous events to the present day. Throughout the course, we will critically examine the arguments offered by various authors in their attempts to explain American Foreign Policy and develop argumentative skills.

This course will also include a simulation of a National Security Council response to a recent major crisis in American Foreign Policy. The preparation will require you to write a background paper on the (recent) historical figure that you will be playing throughout the simulation. We will discuss the particular rules and choose the scenario in class.

What will I get from taking this course?

This course is unique in that it is a blend of political science theory, historical knowledge, and practical policy detail. The readings will be a mix of informed opinion, policy arguments, and academic studies. You will be exposed to a variety of viewpoints on the role of America in the world. More specifically, you will emerge from this course with the following:

Knowledge of:

- 1) The history of American Foreign Policy from the founding to the present day; this will likely complement any previous U.S. History courses that you have taken and will provide a “toolbox” of cases and historical shifts that can help illuminate current American Foreign Policy
- 2) How American Foreign Policy is made today and how interactions between institutions and individuals help shape what the United States chooses on the global stage
- 3) Key theories of Foreign Policy decision-making that academics have developed to help explain the past and, to a (somewhat surprisingly) lesser extent, predict the future
[Take-Home Short Answer Midterm]

Skill Development:

- Analyze historical cases to both better understand the causes and consequences of past events and applying the lessons of those cases to current events [Paper #1]
- Apply theories of Foreign Policy to recent events to understand what drives the actions of the United States around the world [Paper #2]
- Understand the complex strategic environment that faces the United States today and the trade-offs inherent in any choice that the United States makes [Simulation]

Required Books (2):

McDougall, Walter A. *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*
Kennan, George. *American Diplomacy* [Sixtieth-Anniversary Expanded Edition is ideal]

Both of these books should be available at very affordable prices both new and used online. PDF copies of the remainder of the readings will be made available on Moodle; you should also be able to find them by using the Haverford or Bryn Mawr library’s website and/or Google Scholar.

Haverford College Statement on Accommodations:

Haverford College is committed to providing equal access to students with a disability. If you have (or think you have) a learning difference or disability – including mental health, medical, or physical impairment - please contact the Office of Access and Disability Services (ADS) at hc-ads@haverford.edu. The Coordinator will confidentially discuss the process to establish reasonable accommodations.

Students who have already been approved to receive academic accommodations and want to use their accommodations in this course should share their verification letter with me and also make arrangements to meet with me as soon as possible to discuss their specific accommodations. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and require advance notice to implement.

It is a state law in Pennsylvania that individuals must be given advance notice if they are to be recorded. Therefore, any student who has a disability-related need to audio record this class must first be approved for this accommodation from the Coordinator of Access and Disability Services and then must speak with me. Other class members will need to be aware that this class may be recorded.

Electronics Policy

You may bring your laptops to class and use them to look up relevant materials and take notes. Any other non-relevant use, however, particularly use that distracts other classmates, is not allowed.

Daily Course Outline

9/3: Introductions and readings preview

Goals: Meet fellow classmates and review the course syllabus. Use initial in-class activity to examine a typical *Foreign Affairs* article and discuss reading strategies.

9/5: Defining the “national interest” of the United States

Goals: Understand the contrasting definitions and visions of the “national interest” of the United States of America. Also review relevant resources for this course.

*Read: Huntington, Samuel P. (1997) “The Erosion of National Interest” *Foreign Affairs* (pp. 28–50)*

*Read: Nye, Joseph S. (1999) "Redefining the national interest." *Foreign Affairs* (pp. 22-35)*

*Read: Rice, Condoleezza. (2000) "Promoting the national interest." *Foreign Affairs* (pp. 45-62) [skim for main idea]*

9/10: American Foreign Policy in the Beginning

Goals: Discuss of the early McDougall readings on the origins of “exceptionalism” in American Foreign Policy and to what extent America was (or is) exceptional; examine the structure of American government for how the Constitution affects U.S. Foreign Policy.

Read: McDougall, Introduction and Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-56) [NOTE: a scanned version of this will be posted on Moodle temporarily to allow time for students to obtain the books]

Read: George Washington’s Farewell Address [especially the discussion of “foreign interests”]

https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp

Read: The American Constitution [focus on parts pertaining to foreign affairs and the military]

<https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>

9/12: American Expansionism and Theories of Foreign Policy

Goals: Understand American Foreign Policy in the 19th Century and main concepts like the Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny, and Imperialism. Discuss what a theory is and to what extent Zakaria's theory helps us understand US Foreign Policy towards the end of the 19th century.

Read: McDougall, Chapters 3-4 (pp. 57-100)

Read: Zakaria, Fared. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. 1998 [excerpt; read the introduction (pp. 3-12) carefully for the "state power" theory; skim the rest]

Theory: Zakaria's State Power

9/17: The Spanish American War and Theories of Gender in Foreign Policy

Goal: Examine the causes of the Spanish-American War based on the evidence and arguments of multiple authors. Continued discussion of what makes a theory of foreign policy.

Read: McDougall, Chapter 5 (and re-read the Introduction)

Read: Hoganson, Kristin. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. Yale University Press 2000 [excerpt; read the introduction (pp. 1-14) carefully, skim the rest]

Read: Kennan, Chapter 1 (pp. 3-21)

****First Paper Assigned****

Theory: Hoganson's Gender Politics

Theory (?): McDougall's "Traditions"

9/19: Wilsonian Internationalism

Goals: Understand why the United States intervened in World War I and how this related to the ideology and beliefs of President Woodrow Wilson.

Read: McDougall, Chapter 6 (pp. 122-146)

Read: Kennan, Chapter 4 (pp. 59-78)

Read: Wilson's War Address to Congress in 1917

https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress

Theory: Wilson's Interventionism

9/24: World War II and Containment

Goals: Explain why America became involved in World War II and how the decisions made in the aftermath of World War II affected later American involvement with the world. Understand the principles that underlie the realist conception of international politics.

Read: Kennan, Chapters 5-6 (pp. 79-109) and "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" (pp. 113-134)

Read: Morgenthau, Hans. "Six Principles of Political Realism" (1948), available at:

<https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/morg6.htm>

Theory: Morgenthau's Political Realism

9/26: The Cold War and Nuclear Weapons

Goals: Understand the course of the Cold War, assess the relative merits of Containment as a strategy, and read Allison's theories explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Read: **McDougall**, Chapter 7 (pp. 147-171)

Read: **Allison**, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review*. Nov. 1969 (pp. 689-718)

Theory(ies?): Allison's Model II (Organizational Processes) and Model III (Bureaucratic Politics)

10/1: Allison vs. Krasner in the Battle of Bureaucracies; Brief Discussion of Ukraine

Goals: Continue critical evaluation and discussion of Allison's 3 Models. Compare Allison's explanation to Krasner's critique.

Read: **Krasner**, Stephen. "Are Bureaucracies Important? Or, Allison Wonderland" *Foreign Policy*, 1972. (pp. 159-178)

Ukraine Discussion [Mid-Course Insert]

Read:

****Intro to Simulation****

10/3: Vietnam, Leaders, and Public Opinion

Goals: Begin discussion of the Vietnam War and consider the role of individual leaders and public opinion in U.S. Foreign Policy.

Read: **Khong**, Y. F. (1987). "Seduction by analogy in Vietnam: The Malaya and Korea analogies." *Institutions and Leadership: Prospects for the Future* (pp. 501-510)

Read: **Holsti**, Ole. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus" *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4. Dec., 1992, (pp. 439-466)

Theory: Khong's Leaders and Analogies

Theory: Holsti's Public Opinion

10/8: The Media and American Interventions

Read: **Hallin**. "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," *Journal of Politics*, v. 46 no.1 (February, 1984), pp. 2-24.

Read: **Strobel**, Warren. "The Media and U.S. Policies Towards Intervention: A Closer Look at the 'CNN Effect'"

Theory: Media Effects

****First Paper Due****

10/10: Human Rights, Interventionism, and American Foreign Policy

Goals: Discuss the role of human rights promotion in U.S. foreign policy and attempt to understand why the important the U.S. places on human rights promotion varies throughout time.

Read: **McDougall**, Chapter 8 (pp. 172-198)

Read: Jimmy **Carter** Speech on Human Rights at Notre Dame

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7552>

Read: Barack **Obama** Nobel Prize Address

<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2009/obama/26183-nobel-lecture-2009/>

****Fall Break****

10/22: A New Millennium of American Interventionism?

Goals: Understand how the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 attacks brought about major changes (or a continuation of ongoing ones?) in American Foreign Policy, particularly the Bush Doctrine

Read: **Power**, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide." *The Atlantic*, Sept. 2001.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/09/bystanders-to-genocide/304571/>

Read: Madeline **Albright** interview, "The Indispensible Nation"

<https://1997-2001.state.gov/statements/1998/980219a.html>

Read: George W. **Bush** West Point Speech in 2002

<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html>

Read: **Krauthammer**, Charles. "The Unipolar Moment Revisited." *The National Interest* (pp. 5-18)

Read: **Mueller**, John. "Harbinger or aberration? A 9/11 provocation." *The National Interest* (pp. 45-50)

10/24: Quagmires in Iraq and Afghanistan; Intro to Domestic Politics

Goals: Understand why the United States has had difficulty exiting both Iraq and Afghanistan after the initial invasions in the 2000s.

Read: **Tierney**, Dominic. "Why Has America Stopped Winning Wars?" *The Atlantic*. June 2nd, 2015.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/06/america-win-loss-iraq-afghanistan/394559/>

Read: **Bacevich**, Andrew. "Let's End America's Hopeless War for the Middle East." April 2016

<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/middle-east-foreign-policy-afghanistan-unwinable-213778>

****Take-Home Midterm Assigned at 2:30 PM Sunday, 10/27; Must be Submitted to Moodle by 2:30 PM Tuesday, 10/29 ****

10/29: Simulation Overview and Preparations The End of History?

Goals:

Read: Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?"

10/31: Domestic Politics, Congress, and Foreign Policy; Review of Simulation Procedures

Goals: Understand how Congress interacts with the Presidency to shape American Foreign Policy and how domestic politics affects foreign policy decision-making

Read: **Newhouse**, John. "Diplomacy, Inc.: The influence of lobbies on US foreign policy." *Foreign Affairs* (2009): 73-92

Read: **Chicago Council** on Global Affairs. "The Foreign Policy Establishment or Donald Trump: Which Better Reflects American Opinion?"

https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/foreign-policy-establishment-or-donald-trump-which-better-reflects-american-opinion?utm_source=hp&utm_campaign=rpt17&utm_medium=topbanner&utm_term=elite-opinion&utm_content=report

Read: **Goldberg**, Jeffrey. "The Obama Doctrine." *The Atlantic*. April 2016.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>

****Simulation Background Paper Turned in and Posted by 11/5 at 2:30 PM****

11/5 SIMULATION

11/7 SIMULATION

11/12: Simulation Wrap-up and Debriefing; Engagement vs. Pull Back Debate

Read: **Posen**, Barry. (2013). "Pull back: The case for a less activist foreign policy." *Foreign Affairs*

Read: **Brooks**, S. G., **Ikenberry**, G. J., & **Wohlforth**, W. C. (2013). "Don't come home, America: The case against retrenchment." *International Security*, (pp. 7-51)

****2nd Paper Assigned****

11/14: Int'l Trade and Global Businesses in American Foreign Policy

Read: **Noland**, Marcus. US Trade Policy in the Trump Administration. *Asian Economic Policy Review* (2018)

Read: **Drezner**, Dan. "Economic Statecraft in the Age of Trump." *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2019

Read: "Trade War: US-China Battle in Charts." BBC News. :

<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-48196495> Trade War: US-China Battle in Charts

11/19: Int'l Law and Institutions and America

Goals: Understand how the United States engages the world through international institutions and debate the extent to which the United States should or should not follow international laws

Read: **Bellinger**, John. "The United States and International Law." Remarks at the Hague, June 6, 2007. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/1/rls/86123.htm>

Read: **Kyl, Feith, and Fonte**. "The War of Law: How New International Law Undermines Democratic Sovereignty" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (JULY/AUGUST 2013), pp. 115-125

Read: **Koh**, Harold and **Doyle**, Michael. "The Case for International Law: A Response to 'The War of Law'" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 92, No. 6 (NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2013), pp. 162-165

11/21: Cyberwarfare and Climate Change

Goals: Discuss cyberwarfare and climate change and assess the extent to which these emerging issues threaten America's national security?

Read: **Lindsay**, Jon. "Stuxnet and the Limits of Cyber Warfare." *Security Studies*, 2013. Read at: http://erikgartzke.com/assets/lindsay2013_stuxnet.pdf

Read: **Slayton**, Rebecca. "Why Cyber Operations Do Not Always Favor the Offense" Belfer Center Brief, February 2017.

<https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/Cyber%20Ops%20Offense%20-%20final.pdf> (Also see the longer article in *International Security* if interested)

Read: **Deese**, B. (2017). "Paris Isn't Burning: Why the Climate Agreement Will Survive Trump." *Foreign Affairs*

Read: **Department of Defense** (DoD) Report to Congress on Arctic Strategy, June 2019.

<https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jun/06/2002141657/-1/-1/1/2019-DOD-ARCTIC-STRATEGY.PDF>

11/26: US Policy in the Middle East: The Iraq War and Beyond

Goal: Understand recent American actions in the Middle East through different theories of conflict as well as the future under the Trump administration.

Read: **Lake**: "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War" *International Security*. Volume 35, Issue 3. Winter 2010/11 p.7-52

Read: **Butt**, Ahsan. Why did the United States Invade Iraq in 2003? *Security Studies*, Vol. 28, 2019.

Read: **Lynch**, M. (2016). "Belligerent Minimalism: The Trump Administration and the Middle East." *The Washington Quarterly*, (pp. 127-144).

12/3: Rise of China and East/South Asian Politics

Read: **Cha**, Victor. (2016) "The Unfinished Legacy of Obama's Pivot to Asia," *Foreign Policy* <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/06/the-unfinished-legacy-of-obamas-pivot-to-asia/>

Read: **Allison**, Graham. "The Thucydides Trap." *Foreign Policy*, June 9th, 2017. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/09/the-thucydides-trap/>

Read: **Tankel**, Stephen. "Is the United States Cutting Pakistan Off? The Politics of Military Aid." <https://warontherocks.com/2015/08/is-the-united-states-cutting-pakistan-off-the-politics-of-military-aid/>

12/5: Africa and Latin America: Engagement with the Past and Future
Readings TBA

12/10: Europe and Russia; Old Friends and Enemies
Readings TBA

12/12: The Future of USFP: The Liberal Order?

Read: Mead, Walter Russell. "The Jacksonian Revolt: American Populism and the Liberal Order." *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2017.

Read: Yarhi-Milo, Keren. After Credibility: American Foreign Policy in the Trump Era. Foreign Affairs 2018.

Read: Galvin, Francis J. "Wonder and Worry in an Age of Distraction." War on the Rocks.
<https://warontherocks.com/2017/07/wonder-and-worry-in-an-age-of-distraction-notes-on-american-exceptionalism-for-my-young-friends/>

Paper #2 due in lieu of Final Exam

Course Assessment

(25%) Paper #1 [Historical Case and Theory]: 8-10 pages

(30%) Paper #2 [Current Case and Theory]: 12-15 pages

These two papers require students to engage with the themes of the course and to sharpen their argumentative writing skills at the border of policy and academia. Though you will be allowed significant freedom to select cases within (and potentially outside of) the course, each paper will have specific guidelines that will be included with the paper assignment to keep them focused. For each paper, I will require that you turn in a prospectus that will serve to help lay out your plan for the paper and provide an opportunity for feedback. On the first paper, we will arrange individual meetings to discuss the prospectus (including sources, etc.). The second will include peer review.

(15%) Take-Home Midterm. This take-home midterm is designed to test recall of key terms and concepts as well as demonstrating the ability to explain how these fit within the larger context of American Foreign Policy (that is, don't just repeat a definition, but connect it to other concepts/ideas/figures to situate its importance). All terms and concepts that could potentially appear on this midterm will be highlighted on weekly handouts; this is designed to be straightforward.

(10%) Simulation Position Paper (4-6 pages) and Reaction Memo (2 pages). What are your official's area of expertise and point of view.? How might they be relevant to the other officials in this situation? Use the theories of American Foreign Policy that we've discussed throughout this class to illuminate your official's mindset and likely response to this situation (note that there is not

necessarily a “right” answer here for all officials; rather, the key here is to make a plausible argument that incorporates both real-world facts about your official and content from this course). This will be used as a resource for yourself and for other participants to also learn from as they seek common cause with (or attempt to stymie) your character during the simulation.

(20%) Course Engagement

A classroom works better when we have a variety of views and contributions. There are many options to contribute to this grade; some students may feel more comfortable contributing more thoughtful YourTakes (explained in class), sharing additional and/or commenting on relevant Current Events articles on Moodle, taking an active and reflective part in the class simulation and post-simulation discussion, and being an active participant in other in-class activities. One requirement of this component of the grade will be at least two brief (approximately 1-2 paragraph) posts and presentations. Full details on the Current Events will be distributed in class and posted.

I thank the various authors of syllabi that I have read and drawn inspiration from in preparing this syllabus, including but not limited to: Dominic Tierney (Swarthmore), Michael Horowitz (Penn), Maryann Gallagher (Georgia), Christina Whitlark (Georgia Tech), and Jennifer Wallace (Maryland).