

Syllabus

U.S. Foreign Policy SPRING 2024

POLS 30201

DeBartolo 209

TR 11:00 AM-12:15 AM

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 12:30-14:00 and Thursdays, 14:00-15:30, and by appointment. Ping me if you'd like to meet via zoom.

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What can be done to limit nuclear proliferation and reduce the chance of a nuclear detonation on U.S. territory? Would you send U.S. soldiers into war? If so, into which wars and for what reasons? How much is the global environment degrading and what can we do about it? Does trade help or hurt the U.S. economy and its citizens? Will there be a World War III? What can the U.S. do to prevent it?

This course is designed to help you answer these questions (and others) about the major problems facing U.S. policy-makers and citizens. To make wise decisions about problems, you have to: 1. know yourself; 2. know the problem; and 3. know your adversary (and others with influence on the problem).

Accordingly, we will study:

1. Several theories about foreign policy. In social science, theories are rough guides that help us identify patterns in history. This allows us to (roughly) diagnose problems, predict the future, and propose solutions.
2. The U.S. foreign policy process, including the President, Congress, the bureaucracy, the media, and public opinion. Theories and process constitute Part I of this syllabus.
3. The history of U.S. foreign policy, from Washington's farewell address through the World Wars and the Cold War to the Gulf War. This is Part II.
4. Several major issue areas, including weapons of mass destruction, trade and economics, and the environment. This is Part III. Forecasts and strategies for the future is Part IV.

Why take this course?

1. War, pollution, and starvation are perverse, shameful, and/or tragic. Thus, they are worthy of study and even fun to study.
2. It will help you be a better citizen by understanding more fully our major problems. Many of you will be leaders in your various fields and will assume positions of responsibility. The more you are aware and knowledgeable about our major problems, the more you may be able to save some lives, reduce pollution, or increase general prosperity.
3. It will help you professionally by teaching you to write, think, and speak more clearly and persuasively. Politics, bargaining, debate, and writing are part of any job and they are the heart of USFP's subject matter and assignments.

Requirements

This course requires a five page paper, a ten page paper, a midterm, and a final. One page, lightly graded papers may be assigned and pop quizzes given at the Professor's discretion. In sequential order:

Midterm; worth 20%;

Five page paper; worth 20%;

Ten page paper; worth 25%;

Final exam; worth 35%.

(score influenced by talk attendance; see next para)

Due Dates and assignment handouts will be announced and distributed according to our progress through the materials.

In addition, you must attend three USFP-related lectures/talks sponsored by one of the institutes or programs on campus. The speaker may be an outside scholar or practitioner or a local scholar or practitioner. GRADING: You must write a ½ - ⅔ page (150 words or so) response paper for this talk and hand it in. A response paper gives your reactions to the talk, addresses issues raised, and so forth. For each talk not attended, you will lose 1 point on your final GPA for your assignments in the course.

Borderline course grades may be adjusted upward at the end of the semester for meritorious participation, delivery of a mini-lecture, and so forth. If you've done something wonderful and USFP related and you want to talk to the class about it, please let me know. Grades are never adjusted downward.

There are several books to read and many readings on online reserves, although the books should be on reserve at the library. There are about 75 pages of reading per class meeting. (roughly 2100+ total pages assigned/28 class meetings – last I checked). The readings vary in amount and complexity by week. Be prepared for heavy reading during some sections. Heavy can mean sheer length and/or lots of small but conceptually distinct items. Learn to read efficiently. **WHATEVER YOU DO, DO NOT GET CAUGHT IN THE MENTAL TRAP OF “IF I CAN NOT DO ALL OF THE READING, I WILL NOT DO ANY.”** Always do as much as you can. Some hints on reading efficiently are on the how to read handout. If after reviewing this syllabus, you wish to drop the course, please do so. Sooner is better than later. On the other hand, many of you reviewed the syllabus before choosing the course. Welcome!

The **Online Readings** are available via the library via the “Course Reserves” under “Research” at <https://library.nd.edu/> or try this straight: <https://library.nd.edu/courses>

Some of these readings have their own direct websites as well.

The books are available at the Hammes bookstore and they are:

Allison, Graham, and Zelikow, Philip, *Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2 ed., (New York, NY: Addison-Wesley, 1999) **NOTE: For Spring 2023**, this book is on Hesburgh Library online reserves along with many of the articles. I will also see if I can put it out as a class-accessible Drive file. It is free to you, as it is just out of print and the author has given us the rights to use it for this course. Tara Kenjockey at the Library scanned the whole book for us! What a hero! Anybody who wants a hard copy of this classic can find a few copies at the book store and other locations, some new, some used. You will be tested on 2nd ed. on the exams. I think the hard copy is a better and easier learning experience - and I still have my first edition from college!

Merrill, Dennis, J. and Thomas G. Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy Volume II: Since 1914*, 7 ed. (Wadsworth, 2010) (or later).

Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, Shane J. Maddock, Deborah Kisatsky, and Kenneth J. Hagan, *American Foreign Relations, A History Since 1895*, Vol. 2, 7th ed. (Wadsworth, 2010)(or later).

In addition to the regular course readings, you are required to keep up with major USFP-related current events by regular reading of the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times* (see web sites below - many more fun ones on my

website). Discussion of current events will be part of class and optional section meetings. Tests will ask current events questions.

Grading

There is no curve. All excellent work will receive an A. All good and competent work will receive a B. Work with some significant flaws will receive a C. Work with very significant flaws will receive a D along with recommendations or requirements to speak with the TA, the Professor, any special counseling and advising services, etc. as appropriate. Incompetent, negligent, or non-existent work will receive an F.

The TAs (if any) and I want you to do excellent work. We will try hard to explain assignments clearly ahead of time and otherwise do everything we can to help you do your best. For example, when the TAs grade papers they will pay particular attention to helping you write better and thus do better on your next assignment. TA review sessions are designed in large part to review class materials and to answer your questions about anything to do with the class.

Extensions: These may be granted for legitimate reasons, including illness of the student or in the student's family. Other reasons should be discussed well in advance with me or a TA. Flexibility may be possible ahead of time; very little is possible after the fact. Schedule and assignment pressures require planning by the student much more than they require flexibility from us. Most students have lots of work and commitments. We must be fair to those who do not ask for extensions and face similar or worse time pressures. *Fait accomplis* (turning something in late without permission) beat the alternative of not handing anything in, but they reflect poorly on the student and are insulting to us. Grades on *fait accomplis* and other avoidable late assignments will be adjusted accordingly.

Important Note: You can not pass the course unless you complete the two major writing assignments (the five and ten page papers) and take the midterm and final exams (if given). While the percentages indicate the weighting of each assignment, they assume completion of all major assignments. You can not pass if (for example) you have A's on all your assignments and then skip the final or fail to write an assigned paper. **Failure to complete all the assignments is grounds for failure in the course, regardless of the percentages.**

Cheating

Do not cheat. Your work must be your own. In writing for political science courses, cheating is most likely to take the form of plagiarism. Plagiarism is when writers use other people's words or ideas and do not give them credit. Use footnotes or endnotes to give credit for direct quotes, paraphrased quotes, or borrowed ideas. I will explain how to use footnotes and endnotes in class, in section, and in handouts. If you don't know what footnotes or endnotes are...Ask! Do not copy other people's old papers. Do not use your own old papers or use work done for another course. Do not copy or buy papers or sections of papers from the web or other sources. Do not quote or paraphrase without giving credit in footnotes or endnotes. This is true regardless of source from Wikipedia to online articles to books and other print sources. Do NOT use chat GPT! Faculty and TAs are receiving training in identifying GPT written materials. DO NOT fail this course due to cheating.

Your ideas, your arguments, and the vast majority of your text must be your own. Everything which is not your own must be noted. Penalties for cheating range include redoing work, lowered grades, course failure, letters on your permanent record, and expulsion. Every year, a number of students are not allowed to graduate because they cheated. That is a ~\$30,000 mistake. I will be furious and feel personally betrayed if anyone cheats in my class. As you may know, the University acquired an institutional license for Turnitin.com, the leading plagiarism detection service on the internet. If papers are suspected of having been plagiarized, I will use Turnitin.com as per the guidance provided by the University Honor Code Committee. For more information on cheating and its consequences, please consult the University Honor Code. Let me repeat: if you have any questions about how to use citations or about plagiarism, please ask!

You **MUST** use foot/endnotes when:

- you use other people's words or ideas in any way from direct quotes to paraphrasing to borrowed ideas.
- you include a fact that is not commonly known. Anything you had to look up must be cited.

There are several links that explain citations and how to use them, via this link, under Writing:
<http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/handoutlinks.html>

Cheating during tests.

All tests are closed book except as noted. You may not receive any form of information during **any** test from **any** electronic communications device/s, including but not limited to cell phones, smart phones, Ipods, computers, and so forth. All such devices must be turned off for the duration of any test. This is a courtesy to others as well as a preventive step. Please be forewarned that any appearance of violation of this policy will be presumed to be a violation of this policy.

Despite all this tough talk, which is most sincere, there are three other reasons not to cheat. First, it may alter grading curves and injure others by lowering the grades of students who did not cheat. While I do not have curves, that is nonetheless a possibility. Second, as student scholars, you are aspiring to learn how to be scholars. Scholars in the social sciences and far beyond use citations so that others can see how and how well they built their arguments and discovered new thought. Do not shortchange yourself. My writing assignments require you - believe it or not (!!) - to do independent research. If you view this as an invitation, you will flourish. And this is a serious business, so please use citations. Finally, you are paying a lot of money to learn critical reading, writing, and above all thinking and argumentational skills. Do you really want to short-change yourself? Do you not want to learn what original thinking is? To come up with ideas that are your own, and develop arguments and deploy evidence to support them? I've worked hard to provide assignments that improve writing and allow you to explore your interests. If you are here to learn, do not cheat.

Unprofessional Behavior

Arriving late without good reason or making distracting noise in class (whispering, beepers, cell phones, etc.) is unprofessional and selfish. Such behavior bothers others who have paid money to concentrate and learn something in class.

Please do not play computer games, surf the web, check email, or do anything other than take notes with your computers and other electronic devices. If you must do these rude and distracting activities, please sit in the back row so as not to disturb the more serious consumers. If you are observed using electronic devices for purposes other than taking notes, I will be made grumpy by the sign of disrespect, I will wonder why you bothered to show up for class, and you will have to worry for the rest of the semester about unspecified retribution (read Arthur Clarke's *Childhood's End*; that's a threat that brought down governments). Note that papers and tests are graded without regard to personal histories, favorable or unfavorable. Fairness first and above all.

If you use the words 'like' and 'you know' (or other language ticks) excessively and when they add no meaning to what you are saying, you should know that many people consider those ticks unprofessional, casual, and sloppy. Take this opportunity to think about what you are saying and to refrain from excess use of such language.

I encourage you to be fairly formal in your interactions with me and the TAs. Unfortunately, I once had a hard time writing a stellar letter of recommendation for an otherwise good student because he/she was in the habit of starting his/her emails with "Hey Prof!" I had to mention this in the letter as a reservation because of the risk of sending this student before an interview board and having him/her come across as informal and flip. I take this business seriously and will reserve my maximum respect for those who share that sense of purpose (regardless of your feelings for me or the course).

¹ Stanley Fish, "The Ontology of Plagiarism: Part Two," *The New York Times*, August 16, 2010 at <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/08/16/the-ontology-of-plagiarism-part-two/?hp>

Nature of Classes and Assignments

Lectures: Among other things, these are designed to cover points not mentioned in the readings, to sew together disparate points in the readings, to provide background history to help you understand the readings, and to offer contending points of view about topics for your consideration. Sometimes I review the readings, sometimes I cover other things I think are important. The former is especially true for the more theoretical readings. I expect debate and discussion in class.

Attendance: By some definition, you are a paying customer and you can do what you wish with the product. Attendance is not required, but poor attendance and poor performance frequently go hand in hand. You will miss much content (I hope) and cues as to what I think is important in the world and for class. You may miss pop quizzes. Students with good attendance in class and sections frequently do better. By one way of counting (tuition/fees/etc. divided by minutes in class assuming five classes – 65,000 /2; /5 ; /28; /75), you are paying \$3.10 per minute of class time (now more too). In my view, not attending class is a waste. If you do not plan on coming much, why not drop and spare us all?

Sections and review sessions: These are weekly optional meetings that may be held by the TAs to review course materials and to answer your questions about anything to do with the class. I view TAs and sections as resources to help you learn the most and do the best you can in USFP. I do not anticipate section in F 10, but the TA and I will have plenty of office hours, and are more than willing to make appointments as well.

Written Assignments: The five page paper asks you to explain a historical or current USFP event with reference to the theories presented in class and in the readings. The ten page paper will be a policy memo. You can select a USFP problem from a list to be handed out or a problem of your choice (with approval of Professor or your TA). You will propose a solution to the problem. The solution must take into account historical factors, must assess the technical/factual and political nature of the problem, and must grapple with such barriers to your solution as adversaries' policies, and difficulties (and opportunities) suggested by the theories we covered. The allies, friends, and theories may also suggest reasons why your solution would work. More on the written assignments will be handed out when appropriate.

Midterm and Final: these will have a number of quiz-type define and explain items for which you identify and explain the significance of terms/concepts/events/persons/etc. You will be given five minutes per item to write answers in an exam blue book. The Final Exam will also have several longer essay questions, and possible essay questions will be handed out before the final. Some of these questions will appear on the final. You may take notes on the list's pages and bring them to the final. No other pages or materials can be open or consulted during the final. In studying for the final, you are encouraged to form study groups so long as the end product reflects each student's original contribution. Indeed, students are encouraged to study together and to discuss the course all semester. However, all work, from written assignments to the final, must reflect each student's own individual effort and ideas.

All above assignments will be described in greater detail when the time comes.

Email

I expect you to routinely check emails for listservs related to the course. I send out everything from newspaper stories, talk announcements, and campus events to information about assignments and exams to revisions to the syllabus. While I also cover much of this in class, missing an email is not an excuse for missing the information sent.

Useful Web Sites

To keep up with IR-related current events (as required for POLS 30201), you can read the US' top two newspapers on the web: the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. These are known as "newspapers of record." Some clicking around may be necessary to find all the relevant international, national, and sometimes business/economic news on tap at each site. See: <http://www.nytimes.com/> and <http://www.washingtonpost.com/> Other helpful current events sites are

along the top of my home page, and especially good sources are the CFC roundup, the BBC, and the *Economist*.

I have designed my main website <http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/> to make current events and international relations research fairly easy. Near the top of the page are links to various newspapers, journals, branches of government, international organizations, and various think tanks and non-governmental organizations. You may wish to bookmark the page for the duration of the course. I use it to click around and get my daily fix on news and views. You can reach the POLS 30201 website from my home page, and here you will find the syllabus, the assignments,, and the lecture outlines will be posted there before tests. Many useful (!) handouts are also available via my home page (under HANDOUTS and ADVICE)

I welcome ideas for additions, corrections on dead links, etc.

Class Outline

Class Number & Date	Subject	DUE
Class 1	Introduction	
Class 2	More Introduction	
Class 3	Theoretical Concepts	
Class 4	Theoretical Concepts	
Class 5	Theoretical Concepts	
Class 6	Theoretical Concepts	
Class 7	The Policy Process and the Cuban Missile Crisis	
Class 8	The Policy Process and the Cuban Missile Crisis	
Class 9	The Policy Process and the Cuban Missile Crisis	
Class 10	The Policy Process and the Cuban Missile Crisis	
Class 11	Catch up class	
Class 12	USFP History to World War I (WWI) (drop date 2/23)	
Class 13	World War I and World War II	
Class 14	World War I and World War II	
Class 15	Cold War	
Class 16	Cold War	
Class 17	Vietnam War	
Class 18	Gulf War with emphasis on the role of the media	
Class 19	Gulf War with emphasis on the role of the media	
Class 20	WMD, Terrorism, Proliferation, and Arms Control (ISA)	
Class 21	WMD, Terrorism, Proliferation, and Arms Control	
Class 22	WMD, Terrorism, Proliferation, and Arms Control	
Class 23	Economics: Trade, Aid, Development, Globalization	
Class 24	Economics: Trade, Aid, Development, Globalization	
Class 25	Ethnic Conflict, Humanitarian Intervention, and Peacekeeping	
Class 26	Ethnic Conflict, Humanitarian Intervention, and Peacekeeping	
Class 27	Resources and the Environment	
Class 28	The Future and What We Should Do About It	
Class 29	The Future and What We Should Do About It	
Final Exam TBD	Grades Due, 5/13 3:45	

Part I: Introduction; Theoretical Concepts and Policy Process

Class 1: Introduction

Welcome to USFP! Introduce Professor and TAs. Review syllabus. Overview of themes of course. Start overview of USFP.

Class 2: Overview of USFP

What is a foreign policy? Does the U.S. have a foreign policy? What is important in the world? How can the U.S. promote its interests and/or improve the quality of life for its citizens and other people?

Readings

- President Biden recently published his full National Security Strategy. Please read this from Oct. 2022:
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>

If you are deep into it, compare it to Trump's which he published in 2017:
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf> This is the master strategy for U.S. foreign policy. It appears that we do have a foreign policy. What do you think? If you were spying on the U.S., what would you be able to tell your bosses after reading this document?
- "New World Coming: American Security in the 21st Century: Major Themes and Implications" U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century. [9, in online reserves or here:
<https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=2087>] Note the first conclusion. These folks have received good press for being so prescient. Many of these sorts of reports were ignored until 9/11/01. Why? Human Nature? Bureaucratic politics? Wishful thinking? Any reasons that can be fixed? More reports by this Blue Ribbon commission at:
<http://www.fas.org/man/docs/nwc/>
- National Intelligence Council, CIA, *Global Trends 2040: Paradox of Progress*. March 2021 NIC 2021-02339. Executive Summary/Introduction, pp. V-14. [via the website below or just google it] An amazingly comprehensive survey of future problems ranging from economic to environmental to security. file:///C:/DanWk/POLS%2030201%20SP%2022/GlobalTrends_2040_for_web1.pdf or <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/gt2040-home/gt2040-media-and-downloads>

Classes 3-7+: Theoretical Concepts

Here we review some theories which help us analyze USFP. We will also discuss methodology in the social sciences. How do we know what we know? How can we make arguments when the data are not always clear?

Some of these articles and arguments should be familiar from your intro IR Classes...

We cover some systemic influences on foreign policy such as the security dilemma and balance of threat theory; some cognitive and decision-making theories, as well as collective action problems, two-level games, culture, and racism.

Readings (214 pages)

- Robert Jervis, "Offense, Defense, and the Security Dilemma," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, *International Politics*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1992), pp. 146-169. [24, in online reserves] Why do states fear each other? How do arms races arise? What can be done to temper the corrosive effects of anarchy?
- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. [27, in online reserves] Carrots and Sticks are the two main policy

instruments. When should a state use carrots to despiral or sticks to deter? A bad choice can be disastrous. This reading about spirals suggests some conditions under which it is wise to pick carrots, and others when it is wise to pick sticks. Are carrots and sticks mutually exclusive? (carrots may also be used to induce and sticks used to coerce).

- Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 17-49; 274-285. [45, in online reserves] A central question facing policy makers is: Why do states make or end up with certain friends and enemies? Walt's writings offer many candidate explanations, all of which hold some water. But he prefers balance of threat theory. His conclusion offers some interesting insights about U.S. Cold War policy. How would you write the conclusion for today's post-Cold War world?
- Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, and Co. 1989), pp. 461-482. [22, in online reserves] Plus: Meg Greenfield, "They Won't...They Can't..." *Newsweek*, June 1 1997, p. 78; and Tim Weiner, "Naivete at the CIA: Every Nation's Just Another U.S." *New York Times*, June 7, 1998. [2, in online reserves] The above Jervis readings suggest that some policies may have unintended consequences. This Jervis piece suggests that policy makers may be inherently prone to misperception. Uh Oh. Jervis outlines fourteen hypotheses here; if you boil them down to their essence, how many remain? The Greenfield and Weiner articles dramatically illustrate the relevance of the Jervis piece. Jervis should be required reading at the CIA. Students: do the country a favor -- read the Jervis piece and get a job in Washington.
- Irving Janis, "Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could It Happen?" in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, 3 ed. (New York, NY: Addison-Wesley, 1999), pp. 533-560 [27, in online reserves] Welcome to Groupthink. As with many other theories, be aware of this one in your professional and personal lives.
- Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-7 [7, in online reserves] A short but important reading that is particularly relevant to environmental and alliance issues.
- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," in Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 431-468 [30, in online reserves]
- Joseph Bafumi and Joseph M. Parent, "International polarity and America's polarization," *International Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 01.01.2012, p. 1-35
- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring, 2001), pp. 107-146
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092135>
- Essays in Merrill, Dennis, J. and Thomas G. Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy Volume II: Since 1914*, 7 ed. (Wadsworth 2010), pp. 1-29 [30] (hereafter Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*). These cover a host of FP influences from culture to racism.
- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin Chapter Title: Remnants of Empire: Civilization, Torture, and Racism in the War on Terrorism, in Michael Patrick Cullinane and David Ryan, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Other*, Berghahn Books. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qct9n.14>

- Hurlburt, Heather, “Arms Control Needs the Modernizing Lens That Gender Offers” *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 47, No. 10 (December 2017), pp. 6-11. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/90016016> READ ALL. What do you make of the photos on pp. 7 and 9? Let’s discuss.
- Bensahel, Nora, et al, “Battlefields and Boardrooms: Women’s Leadership in the Military and the Private Sector, Center for a New American Security, January 2015. <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/battlefields-and-boardrooms-womens-leadership-in-the-military-and-the-private-sector> READ the Executive Summary, pp. 5-7, and the text box, pp. 30-31.
- Kidder, Katherine, et al., “From College to Cabinet: Women in National Security,” Center for a New American Security, February 2017 <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/from-college-to-cabinet> Get the PDF to see graphics - crucial. READ ALL.
- Cohn Carol, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,” *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Within and Without: Women, Gender, and Theory (Summer,1987), pp. 687-718. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3174209> A glimpse into the world of MIT’s Defense and Arms Control Studies program (now Security Studies Program). Read first 3 paragraphs and p. 694 starting with “Air Force.”

Classes 8-11: The Policy Process and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Here, I will review the policy process in the first day or two of lecture while you plunge ahead into the readings. I will sketch out who the various actors (President, Congress, etc.) are, what their legal rights and powers are, and what their powers are in reality. Think about Allison's models as I discuss the actors. Who or what sets the policy agenda? How are decisions made? And once decisions are made, how well are they executed? Can you apply insights from this segment of the course to jobs you have had (or will have)?

Readings [482 pages]

- Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, Shane J. Maddock, Deborah Kisatsky, and Kenneth J. Hagan, *American Foreign Relations, A History Since 1895*, Vol. 2, 7 ed. (Wadsworth 2010), pp. 338-342 [4] (Hereafter: Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*) on the Cuban Missile Crisis. Start with this for a big-picture summary history that will help you understand the details in Allison.
- Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*, chapter on the Cuban Missile Crisis, pp. 360-404 [55]
- Allison, Graham, and Zelikow, Philip, *Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2 ed., (New York, NY: Addison-Wesley, 1999), 3 segments: pp. 1-142, pp. 143-254, pp. 255-407. The book is the best extant illustration of how theories work as lenses. Imagine each theory to be a lens and note how different facts come into focus with each theory. Don't worry about the minutiae of each model as you first read it; just grasp the big picture (lecture will help with this, because minutiae will be helpful for you for the midterm, etc.). The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the U.S. and Soviet Union came to nuclear war.
- Robert Kaiser and Steven Mufson, “‘Blue Team’ Draws a Hard Line on Beijing,” *Washington Post*, February 22, 2000 [6, in online reserves]. An inside look at some of the forces shaping foreign policy. Is this sinister and conspiratorial? Or just the way a democracy works? What other causes receive

similar support? Are there lines which should not be crossed? If so, where and how would you draw it?

- FP Roundtable “The War over Israel’s Influence” *Foreign Policy*, No 155 (July/August 2006) pp. 57-66 [10, in online reserves]

Part II: History of USFP

Class 12: USFP History to World War I (WWI)

Here we begin to look at the history of USFP in the hopes that knowing our past will help us analyze the present and predict the future. As I said above: "Know Yourself."

Readings [80+ pages]

- Washington's Farewell Address, 1796; The Monroe Doctrine: President Monroe's Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1823; and The Open Door Note, 1899 and Circular Note to the Great Powers, 1900, in Thomas G. Paterson, ed., *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy, Documents and Essays*, Volume I: To 1914 (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co, 1978), pp. 85-89, 167-168, 296-299 [11, in online reserves] Three fun-to-read actual historical documents about some of the major policies of the first 100 years of USFP.
- Merrill, Dennis, J. and Thomas G. Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy Volume I: To 1920*, 5 ed. (Houghton Mifflin, 2000), Chapter 11, pp. 346-375 [30, in online reserves]. The Spanish-American war helped launch the U.S. onto the world stage. ***Read all about it!*** (and find out why in this context that phrase is a sick joke).
- Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*, read Chapter 1, skim chapter 2 (but read sections "The Constable..." and "Japan, China...") pp. 1-32 [33+]. Standard background on the material being covered.

Classes 13, 14: World War I and World War II

Perhaps no issue is more worrisome than the prospect of a Third World War. While we discuss this in the last few sessions of class, it is instructive to learn why the U.S. entered the first two world wars. We did not have to. We made choices. What choices did we make? What influenced our policy? Are these same influences present today? Will future threats resemble the threats that cost us such large amounts of blood and treasure in the past?

Readings

WWI

- Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*, chapters 3 and 4. [72]
- John G. Coogan, "Wilson's Unneutrality and Its Costs," in Thomas G. Paterson, ed., *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy, Documents and Essays*, Volume II: Since 1914, 3 ed. (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co, 1989), pp. 63-71. [9, in online reserves].
- Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*, World War I chapter (2), pp 28-69 [41]

WWII

- Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*, chapters 4 and 6.
- Jonathan G. Utley, "Roosevelt's Failure of Leadership, Bureaucracy, and War with Japan," in Thomas G. Paterson, ed., *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy, Documents and Essays*, Volume II: Since 1914, 3 ed. (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co, 1989), pp. 226-229. [3, in online reserves]
- Jonathan G. Utley, *Going to War With Japan 1937-1941* (Knoxville, KY: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156 [5, in online reserves]
- Waldo Heinrichs, *The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 141-142, 177-79, 246-247 (note 68) [6, in online reserves]. "Was the crucial American decision to cut off oil exports to Japan taken by a bureaucracy out of control? Utley and Heinrichs disagree. How can this mystery be unraveled?" Credit to Prof. Van Evera, MIT, for Utley vs Heinrichs and this quote from his CoW syllabus (<http://web.mit.edu/17.423/www/Archive98/Syllabus.html>)
- Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*, U.S. Entry into WWII chapter (4), pp. 111-152 [41]

Classes 15, 16: Cold War

The United States and the Soviet Union were locked in a global struggle and threatened to destroy each other with nuclear weapons for almost forty years. It seems strange, even absurd, in retrospect. How did we get into such a potentially disastrous situation? How did we manage to survive? Are we really in the clear now? Note: we will also touch on some of the Cold War's strategic nuclear issues when we cover Weapons of Mass Destruction in future classes.

Readings (141+pages)

- Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*, chapters 7, and 8 pp. 225-318.
- Kennan, George F., *American Diplomacy*, expanded ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Perhaps the most well-known and influential analysis of US grand strategy. What would he write today? Is such clarity possible?
- George F. Kennan's Long Telegram, Winston S. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" Speech, 1946; The Truman Doctrine, 1947; The Marshall Plan (Economic Cooperation Act of 1948); and National Security Council Paper No. 68 (NSC-68), 1950 in Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*, all within the Origins of the Cold War chapter 6, within pp. 186-235. These are some of the documents that marked the start of the Cold War and helped set it in motion. One thing to note in these documents is their clarity of purpose. How does current "National Security Strategy" document compare? Consult optionally the rest of chap. 6 and chaps 7 and 8.

Class 17: Vietnam War

The Vietnam War was a scarring experience for the U.S. that continues to affect policy to this day. How did an initially small involvement turn into such a heart-wrenching, soul-searching debacle? What lessons were learned, or should have been learned? Could it happen again?

Readings (86 pages)

- Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*, chapter 9 (skip Cuban Missile Crisis).
- Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*, Vietnam War, chapter 11.

Class 18, 19: Gulf War with emphasis on the role of the media

To date, this is the major war of the post-Cold War period. The Persian Gulf has long been declared an area vital to U.S. national interests. A vital interest is one for which the U.S. is willing to spend blood to protect. Why did we fight the Gulf War? Would you have sent troops to push Iraq out of Kuwait? Why? Why was the Congressional vote for the war so close, especially in the Senate (see "Authorization..." below)? The readings provide a number of varied and passionate viewpoints that address these questions.

We are spending two days on the Gulf War, not just because of its intrinsic importance and because it is a recent case study of the policy process in action, but also because we will use the event to analyze the role of the media in influencing policy and to explore the ethical issues raised by decisions to go to war.

Readings (94 pages). All but the first reading and the Merrill and Paterson item under President Bush are in the online reserves

- Paterson, Clifford, Maddock, Kisatsky, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations*, pp. 459-463 Again, an overview that will help you integrate and understand the rest of the readings.
- Elizabeth Drew, "Washington Prepares for War," excerpts from "Letter from Washington," *New Yorker*, February 4, 1991 in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 180-193. [14, in online reserves] A glimpse at what was going on in Washington. Who was making what decisions, and what considerations were most important?
- Thomas L. Friedman, "Washington's 'Vital Interests'" originally published as "Confrontation in the Gulf: U.S. Gulf Policy - Vague 'Vital Interest,'" *New York Times* August 12, 1990 and reprinted in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 203-206. [4, in online reserves] A critique of the war-for-oil argument. Good to see some facts in some of these arguments...
- Representative Stephen J. Solarz, "The Case for Intervention," originally published as "The Stakes in the Gulf," in *The New Republic*, January 7/14, 1991 and reprinted in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 269-274; 282-283. [8, in online reserves] A summary of many of the standard justifications for going to war. Which do you dis/agree with?
- Patrick Buchanan, "Have the Neocons Thought This Through?" originally published as a nationwide syndicated column, "How the Gulf Crisis is Rupturing the Right" on August 25, 1990 and reprinted in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 213-215. [3, in online reserves] Generally, Republican conservatives were more in favor of the war than Democrats. But here is a critique of the movement toward war from inside the conservative camp. Note his assumptions about what the war would look like once underway.
- "Authorization for Use of Military Force," Joint Congressional Resolution of January 12, 1991, reprinted in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York,

NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 287-289. [3, in online reserves] Note the close vote. This is how these resolutions are written.

- President George Bush, "The Liberation of Kuwait has Begun," Speech of January 16, 1991, reprinted in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 311-314. Bush's justifications for war. A motivational call to arms by the one responsible. Also Merrill and Paterson, *Major Problems*, p. 550-551. [4, in online reserves]
- Saddam Hussein, "The Mother of All Battles," Speech of January 20, 1991 reprinted in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York, NY: Times Books/Random House, 1991), pp. 315-316. [2, in online reserves] In a sense, this is Hussein's response to Bush.
- Janice Gross Stein, "Threat-Based Strategies of Conflict Management: Why Did They Fail in the Gulf?" in Stanley A. Renshon, ed., *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), pp. 121-144. [23, in online reserves] (but endnotes should be part of online reserves, adding 10pp) This reading returns us to the role of policy analyst and assesses the questions raised in the theory section above: when do carrots or sticks work and under what conditions? Was it possible to coerce Hussein? What mistakes were made and could we do better in the future?

**The following readings shift our attention to the role of the media and public opinion in the foreign policy process. We are a democracy. Do leaders follow public opinion? Should they? Or do leaders shape public opinion? And how does the media filter, distort, transmit, or otherwise help and hinder communications between leaders and the public?

- John E. Reilly, ed., "American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy 1995" (Chicago, IL: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1995), pp. 6-12. [6, in online reserves] An overview of U.S. public opinion on various USFP-related issues.
- Everette E. Dennis, et. al., "Censorship. The Military and the Media: The Gulf Conflict in Historical Perspective," in *The Media at War: The Press and the Persian Gulf Conflict* (New York, NY: Gannett Foundation Media Center, Columbia University, June 1991), pp. 8-20. [12, in online reserves] How does media coverage during the Gulf War compare to coverage during past wars? What has changed? There are certainly good arguments on all sides of the issue. What do you think the rules for the media should be?
- Marvin Kalb, "A View from the Press," and Lt. General Thomas W. Kelly (ret.) "A View from the Military," in W. Lance Bennett and David L Paletz, eds., *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 3-8. [5, in online reserves] Contending views on the role of the media during the Gulf War.
- David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," *Propaganda Review* (Spring 1989), pp. 6-11 [5, in online reserves] A grim picture. Based on the above readings and your own experience, do you agree?
- Barbara Crossette, "The FP Memo: How to Defuse the Bolton Bomb" *Foreign Policy*, No. 155 (July-August 2006) pp. 68-72 [5, in online reserves]

Part III: ISSUES AND DEBATES

Classes 20, 21, 22: Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), Terrorism, Proliferation, and Arms Control

As weapons and delivery know-how, technology, and materials spread, the likelihood increases of cities being blown up by Nuclear weapons or gassed by Biological or Chemical weapons (NBC weapons are the three WMD). What is the extent of the problem? And what can be done about it? Arms control sounds good, but how well has it worked in the past?

The stakes with WMD are huge. What kind of world will you inherit and what kind of world will you leave behind?

Readings (258 pages +/-)

- U. S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, *The Effects of Nuclear War* (Washington, DC: OTA, 1979), pp. 1-12 [12, in online reserves] Skim. Nuclear weapons are destructive.
- Falkenrath, Richard A. Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, *America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998). [7, in online reserves]. Various pages; note facts about the NEST on p. 42, the effects of attacks, and the recommendations in the conclusion, including the chart on pp. 270-71)
- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The Rise of U.S. Nuclear Primacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No 2 (March/April 2006) pp. 42-54 [13, in online reserves]

Classes 23, 24: Economics: Trade, Aid, Development, Globalization

Here we survey some of the major economic issues facing US foreign policy makers.

Readings (162 pages). All are in the online reserves

- John W. Wright, ed., *The New York Times Almanac*, 1998 (New York, NY: New York Times, 1997), pp. 508-518. [11] Again, we start with the basic facts. Who is trading with who, etc. Keep your eye on the big picture, although stats fans (like me) are always trying to find unexpected facts and odd relationships.
- Steven Radelet, "A Primer on Foreign Aid," (Center for Global Development, July 2006) pp. 1-23 (+5pgs) [28, in online reserves]
- U.S. Department of State, *FY 20XX Budget in Brief*
- Eric J. Labs, "The Role of Foreign Aid in Development," (Washington, DC: Congressional Budget Office, May 1997), pp. 7-10. [4, in online reserves] A survey of U.S. foreign aid by fellow MIT grad, Dr. Labs. Focus on arguments and graphs
- Robert J. Samuelson, "Revisiting the Great Depression" *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-), Vol. 36, No. 1 (WINTER 2012), pp. 36-43

15, 2006) pp. 69 [3, in online reserves] More articles casting a critical eye on the extent of globalization.

- Richard N. Haass, "Sanctioning Madness," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6 (November/December 1997), pp. 74-85. [12, in online reserves] From Serbia and Iraq to India and Pakistan, the U.S.

government loves sanctions. Haass doesn't. Many counter-arguments to Haass exist. What do you think they are?

- National Intelligence Council, CIA, *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future with Nongovernmental Experts*, NIC-2000-02, December 2000, pp. 34-38. [4] To read the black and white graphs, the order of the lines in the box is the order of the lines in the graph on the *right* side of the Y axis. This is the last reading in the online reserves. For the full color version, check out: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/globaltrends2015/globaltrends2015.pdf>
- The Fund for Peace and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "The Failed States Index," *Foreign Policy*, No. 154 (May/June 2006) pp. 50-58 [8, in online reserves]

Classes 25, 26: Ethnic Conflict, Humanitarian Intervention, and Peacekeeping

Many people have died or will die in conflicts in places like Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Cambodia, and the Sudan. Should we care? Why? If we decide we care, what should we do about it? The readings run through a number of arguments including summarizing U.S. interests in the developing world, the role of human rights in foreign policy, the extent and nature of ethnic conflict, and a case study of what happened in the former Yugoslavia to help tie these various arguments and themes together.

Readings (126 pages)

- Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6 (November/December 1994), pp. 20-33. [14, in online reserves] According to Betts, military interventions in civil wars involve numerous pitfalls.
- Chapter 12, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy," in Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 229-249. [21, in online reserves]
- The United Nations, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," (December 10, 1948) <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html> [7, also in online reserves]
- Michael E. Brown, excerpts from "Introduction," in Michael E. Brown, ed. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-12. [12, in online reserves]
- Ivo Daalder, "Fear and Loathing in the Former Yugoslavia," in Michael E. Brown, ed. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 35-67. [33, in online reserves]

Class 27: Resources and the Environment

How much should we worry about the environment? Can environmental problems lead to war? The U.S. depends on imported resources for its well-being -- or does it? Under what conditions should we go to war for resources?

Readings (80 pages, of which 18 are to skim). All are in the online reserves

- Introduction and Chapter 10, "Should We Conserve Resources for Others' Sakes? What Kinds of Resources Need Conservation?" in Julian L. Simon, *The Ultimate Resource* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 3-8 and 144-155. [18 - skim; focus on *Economist* article below] A

provocative set of arguments that suggest we needn't worry about resources. Note that many of those who take an economic view about resources and the environment are often more optimistic than those who start with political, moral, or other assumptions. Why is this so?

- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcity and Mass Violence," in Gearoid O Tuathail, Simon Dalby, and Paul Routledge, eds., *The Geopolitics Reader* (London, UK: Routledge, 1998), pp. 204-211 (reprint from *Current History* 1996). [8, in online reserves] Is this a warning about the future? If scarcity is on the rise, what problems will we face?
- National Intelligence Council, CIA, *Global Trends*, <https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/nic/GT-Full-Report.pdf> relevant sections TBD
- Thomas L. Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," *Foreign Policy*, No 154 (May/June 2006) pp. 28-26 [9, in online reserves]
- Michael T. Klare, "Climate Change, Water Scarcity, and the Potential for Interstate Conflict in South Asia," *Journal of Strategic Security*, 2020, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 109-122
- David Victor et al, "Op-Ed: Why the wiring of our brains makes it hard to stop climate change" LA Times, Sept 17, 2017 <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-victor-amaya-obradovich-why-our-brains-make-it-hard-t-o-stop-global-warming-20170917-story.html>
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Part IV: Forecasts and Strategies for the Future

Classes 28-29: The Future and What We Should Do About It

Will there be another World War? Why? Is the U.S. a declining power? Who, if anyone should we be afraid of? What should be the future U.S. grand strategy? We opened with a look at current U.S. grand strategy and we close with various arguments about the future of U.S. grand strategy.

Readings (145 pages)

This section's readings suggest different U.S. grand strategies. Posen and Ross review a number of grand strategies and go up the middle: we should be involved in some places, some of the time, when it's important. Gholz, Press, and Sapolsky seductively apply the Yellowstone natural fire policy to USFP and argue that we should butt-out (ie.: let it burn and that's good for us). Howard argues for pre-emption, while Walt highlights some possible dangers – though focusing on grand strategy more generally. Optional: For my views on the war on terrorism, beginning with the point that it is not a war but a campaign involving more than military force, see:

http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/ocpapers/op_22_1.PDF

- Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/97). pp. 5-48 [43, in online reserves]
- Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-53 [48, in online reserves].

- “A giant stirs, a region bridles,” *The Economist*, Vol. 379, No.8477 (May 13th, 2006) pp. 25-27 [3, in online reserves]

- National Intelligence Council, CIA, *Global Trends 2040: Paradox of Progress*. March 2021 NIC 2021-02339.. [via the website below or just google it] An amazingly comprehensive survey of future problems ranging from economic to environmental to security.
file:///C:/DanWk/POLS%2030201%20SP%2022/GlobalTrends_2040_for_web1.pdf or
<https://www.dni.gov/index.php/gt2040-home/gt2040-media-and-downloads> Pages TBD