

**POL 346**  
**American Foreign Policy**  
**Davidson College**

Spring 2006

MWF 9:30-10:20  
Chambers 2130

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And by appointment

*God and men have linked nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other.*  
William McKinley, 1901

*The purpose of foreign policy is not to provide an outlet for our own sentiments of hope or indignation; it is to shape real events in a real world.*  
President John F. Kennedy, 1964

*Course Description:*

This course will introduce students to the major theoretical approaches used by scholars to make sense of foreign policy and will explore the conduct and content of American national security and economic policy in the past half-century. The first part of the course focuses on the forces and factors that have shaped American foreign policy since 1945. The second part of the course examines a number of policy and theoretical debates that have dominated discussions of U.S. foreign policy since the end of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. It will examine, for example, how the United States has and should exercise its unprecedented power in the international system to respond to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, to maintain its traditional alliances with members of NATO, promote stability in East Asia, contain the threat from international terrorism, promote democracy, provide relief in humanitarian crises, and combat the challenge posed by rogue states.

*Required Reading:*

You may purchase the following books from the Davidson College bookstore or try to find less expensive copies on the internet.

\* Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism* (New York: Penguin, 1997).

\* Ralph G. Carter, ed., *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2005).

\* G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (Boston: Longman, 2005).

\* Gideon Rose, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Cases and Choices* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

\* A number of readings on the syllabus are available on electronic reserve. Occasionally, I will place additional readings on reserve, in particular articles about current events that relate to topics we will address in class. I will notify you both in class and on email when I make such additions.

I also encourage you to bring relevant and interesting articles, political cartoons, and editorials to my attention, and I will put them on reserve for the class to read and discuss.

\* You are also expected to be well informed about current international events and, therefore, are required to read *The New York Times*. You can subscribe to *The New York Times* at the Davidson College bookstore at a reduced price or read it online at [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com) (for free). Note that if you choose to read it online, you must be diligent; you will be required to purchase stories older than four or five days. While all students are expected to read *The New York Times* on a daily basis, you are also encouraged to read other news sources, such as *The Economist*, *The National Interest*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The New Republic*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, etc.

*Course Requirements:*

You are expected to attend class regularly, complete the readings before the class for which they were assigned, and participate in class discussions. Graded assignments include: three reviews and a 15 page research paper. The reviews will include a take-home essay and an in-class exam and will test your ability to think creatively and critically about course material. Study guides for the in-class exams and the take-home essay question will be distributed one week before each review. The take-home essays will be due at the start of the class during which the in-class portion of the review will be given.

*Grading:*

Your participation in class discussions and performance on the reviews and research paper will determine your final grade. They are weighted as follows:

Participation: 10%  
Review #1: 20%  
Review #2: 20%  
Review #3: 20%  
Research paper: 30% (proposal: 1%; annotated bibliography: 4%; paper: 25%)

Numeric grades translate into letter grades in the following manner:

100-94: A  
93-90: A-  
89-87: B+  
86-84: B  
83-80: B-, etc.

*Late Assignments:*

You are expected to take the reviews at the times indicated. Failure to take a review at the scheduled time will result in a zero for that review. If you have a legitimate reason to miss a review, you must notify me in advance so that arrangements can be made for a make-up review. Late papers will be penalized 1/3 of a letter grade for each day they are late (i.e., the grade for a paper that is one day late will be lowered, for example, from an A- to a B+). *The research paper is due at 5:00 p.m. on May 3.*

*Academic Honesty:*

You are expected to adhere to the tenets of the Honor Code when completing course assignments; they will be strictly enforced. Accordingly, you are asked to pledge *all* work, including the reviews and the research paper. If you are uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism (e.g., the rules for properly attributing cited material or how to paraphrase), please ask for clarification from me before handing in your paper.

## Course Schedule

### Part I: Theoretical and Conceptual Tools

**January 9:** Introduction

**January 11:** Levels of Analysis and the Study of American Foreign Policy

- Reading:
- \* G. John Ikenberry, "Introduction," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.
  - \* Ole Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

**January 13:** The International Environment

- Reading:
- \* Kenneth Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

- Further Interest:
- \* Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), chapter 2.
  - \* Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425.
  - \* Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," in David Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

**January 16: Martin Luther King Day, No Class**

**January 18:** Theories of International Politics and Foreign Policy

- Reading:
- \* Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998). Electronic reserve.
  - \* Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy* (November/December 2004). Electronic reserve.

**January 20 and 23:** Traditions in American Foreign Policy

- Reading:
- \* Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (New York: Knopf, 2002), chapters 1-3. Electronic reserve.
  - \* John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), chapters 2-3. Electronic reserve.
  - \* Samuel Huntington, "American Ideals Versus American Institutions," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

- Further Interest:
- \* Alexis de Toqueville, "How American Democracy Conducts External Affairs of the State," in *Democracy and America* (New York: Anchor Books), pp. 226-230.
  - \* George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1951).
  - \* John Ruggie, *Winning the Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), chapters 1-2.

**January 25:** The Rise of American Power

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapters 1-3.  
\* Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), excerpts. Electronic reserve.

Further Interest: \* G. John Ikenberry, "Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

**Part II: American Foreign Policy Since 1945**

Classes	Administration	Historical Themes	Theory
1/27/06-1/30/06	FDR, Truman, Eisenhower	WWII, containment	Theories of international politics
2/1/06-2/3/06	Kennedy	Cuba, Vietnam	Organizational and bureaucratic politics
2/6/06-2/8/06	Johnson, Nixon, Ford	Vietnam, détente	Psychological theories of decision-making
2/10/06	Carter	Human rights	The role of ideas
2/13/06	Reagan	Cold War escalation	Congress and the presidency
2/15/06-2/17/06	Reagan, Bush	The end of the Cold War	Power, personality, or ideas?
2/20/06-2/22/06	Clinton	Democracy promotion	Democratic peace

**January 27 and 30:** Containment and the Origins of the Cold War

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapters 4-9.  
\* X, "Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* (1947). Electronic reserve.  
\* Melvyn Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginning of the Cold War, 1945-1948," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

Further Interest: \* Ann Deighton, "The Cold War in Europe, 1945-1947: Three Approaches" in Ngaire Woods, ed., *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).  
\* John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chapters 1-2.

**February 1 and 3:** Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkey, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 10.  
\* Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

\* Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

Further Interest: \* Robert Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968).  
\* Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, eds., *The Kennedy Tapes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

#### **February 6 and 8: America in Vietnam**

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapters 11-13.  
\* Yuen Foon Khong, "Seduction by Analogy in Vietnam: The Malaya and Korea Analogies," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.  
\* Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.  
\* Irving Janis, "The Groupthink Syndrome," in Hays, et al, *American Defense Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1997).

#### **February 10: Morality and Foreign Policy: the Carter Administration**

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapters 14.  
\* Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993), chapters 1 and 6. Electronic reserve.

#### **February 13: Reagan and the Escalation of the Cold War**

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 15.  
\* Thomas Mann, "Making Foreign Policy: President and Congress," in Mann, ed., *A Question of Balance* (Brookings Institution, 1990). Electronic reserve.

#### **February 15 and 17: The End of the Cold War**

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapters 16-17.  
\* David Winter, et al, "The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.  
\* William Wohlforth and Randall Schweller, "Power Test: Evaluating Realism in Response to the End of the Cold War," *Security Studies* (Spring 2000), pp. 60-107.

Further Interest: \* Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen, eds., *International Relations and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

#### **February 20: Review #1 (in class); Take-home essay due**

#### **February 22 and 24: Clinton and the Promotion of Democracy**

Reading: \* Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 18.  
\* Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1995), pp. 79-97. Electronic reserve.  
\* Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1997), pp. 22-43. Electronic reserve.

Further Interest: \* Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97 (November 2003), pp. 585-602.

- \* Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19 (Autumn 1994), pp. 5-49.
- \* Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).
- \* John M. Owen, "Give Democratic Peace a Chance? How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19 (Autumn 1994), pp. 87-125.

**February 25 - March 5: Spring Break (no classes)**

### **Part III: Contemporary Issues in American Foreign Policy**

**March 6:** The Existence and Persistence of Unipolarity

- Reading:
- \* Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* (July/ August 2002). Electronic reserve.
  - \* Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security* 17 (Spring 1993), pp. 5-51. Electronic Reserve.

**March 8 and 10:** US Grand Strategy in the Post-Cold War Era (**Proposal Due-3/10**)

- Reading:
- \* Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21 (Winter 1996/1997), pp. 5-53. Electronic reserve.
  - \* Michael Mastanduno, "Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and US Grand Strategy after the Cold War," *International Security* 21 (Spring 1997), pp. 49-88. Electronic reserve.
  - \* G. John Ikenberry, "America's Liberal Grand Strategy" in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

- Further Interest:
- \* Stephen Walt, "Keeping the World 'Off Balance': Self-Restraint and U.S. Foreign Policy, in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 121-154.
  - \* Zalmay Khalilzad, "Losing the Moment? The United States and the World after the Cold War," *Washington Quarterly* 18 (Spring 1995).
  - \* Josef Joffe, "'Bismarck' or 'Britain'?: Toward an American Grand Strategy after Bipolarity," *International Security* 19 (Spring 1995), pp. 94-117.

**March 13 and 15:** The Transatlantic Alliance After the Cold War

- Reading:
- \* Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* (June/ July 2002). Electronic reserve.
  - \* Stephen Walt, "The Ties that Fray: Why Europe and America are Drifting Apart," *National Interest* (Winter 1998/99). Electronic reserve.
  - \* Philip Gordon, "Reforging the Atlantic Alliance," *National Interest* (Fall 2002). Electronic reserve.

- Further Interest:
- \* Michael E. Brown, "The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion," *Survival* 37 (Spring 1995), pp. 34-52.
  - \* Madeleine Albright, "NATO Enlargement: Why Bigger is Better," *The Economist* 15 (February 1997), pp. 21-23.
  - \* "NATO at Fifty," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1999).

**March 17 and 20:** The US and the Security Challenges of East Asia

- Reading:
- \* Gerald Segal, "Does China Matter?" in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.
  - \* "China Rising: How the Asian Colossus is Changing Our World," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2005). Electronic reserve.
  - \* Thomas Christensen, "Posing Problems without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security," *International Security* 25 (Spring 2001). Electronic reserve.

- Further Interest:
- \* David Shambaugh, "Containment or Engagement of China," *International Security* (Fall 1996).
  - \* Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search For Security* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).
  - \* Aaron Friedburg, "The Struggle for Mastery in Asia," *Commentary* (November 2000), pp. 17-26.
  - \* George Gilboy and Eric Heginbothan, "Getting Realism: U.S. Asia (and China) Policy Reconceived," *The National Interest* (Fall 2002), pp. 99-109.

#### **March 22:** Dealing with Rogue States: The Case of North Korea

- Reading:
- \* James Laney and Jason Shaplen, "How to Deal with Korea," *AFP: Cases and Choices*.
  - \* Victor Cha, "Korea's Place in the Axis," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.
  - \* Patrick James and Ozgur Ozdamar, "The United States and North Korea: Avoiding a Worst-Case Scenario," in *Contemporary Cases*.

- Further Interest:
- \* Selig S. Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2005).

#### **March 24: No class**

#### **March 27:** The Bush Doctrine and the War in Iraq

- Reading:
- \* President George Bush, West Point Commencement Speech. Electronic reserve.
  - \* William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.
  - \* Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

- Further Interest:
- \* Andrew Moravcsik, "Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.
  - \* Walter Russell Mead, *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk* (New York: Knopf, 2004).
  - \* John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2005).

#### **March 29 and 31:** US Responses to the Threat of International Terrorism (**Bibliography Due 3/31**)

- Reading:
- \* Stephen Flynn, "America the Vulnerable," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002). Electronic reserve.
  - \* John Mueller, "Harbinger or Aberration," *National Interest* (2002). Electronic reserve.
  - \* Ryan Hendrickson, "The United States vs. Terrorism: Clinton, Bush, and Osama Bin Laden," in *Contemporary Cases*.

- Further Interest: \* Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).  
\* Alan B. Krueger and David D. Laitin, "'Misunderestimating' Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2004).  
\* Michael Howard, "What's in a Name: How to Fight Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* (January/ February 2002).

**April 3: Review #2 (in class); Take-home essay due**

**April 5 and 7: The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction**

- Reading: \* Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), excerpts. Electronic reserve.
- Further Interest: \* Michael Mandelbaum "Lessons of the Next World War," *Foreign Affairs* (March/ April 1995).  
\* Robert D. Newman and Bradley A. Thayer, *America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).

**April 10 and 12: International Intervention in Internal Conflicts**

- Reading: \* Bruce Jentleson and Rebecca Britton, "Still Pretty Prudent: Post-Cold War Public Opinion on the Use of Force," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (August 1998). Electronic reserve.  
\* Lawrence Jacobs and Benjamin Page, "Business Versus Public Influence in US Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy* (New York: Longman, 2005). Electronic reserve.  
\* Douglas Foyle, "Public Opinion and Bosnia: Anticipating Disaster," in *Contemporary Cases*.
- Further Interest: \* Ivo Daalder, "The United States and Military Intervention in Internal Conflict," Michael Brown, ed., *International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).  
\* Alan Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Alison K. Des Forges and Alan Kuperman, "Response: Shame: Rationalizing Western Apathy on Rwanda," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly* (September 2001), pp. 84-108.  
\* Jeffrey Herbst, "Responding to State Failure in Africa," *International Security* 21 (Winter 1996/1997), pp. 120-44.

**April 14: The US and Multilateralism, Part I**

- Readings: \* W. Michael Reisman, "The United States and International Institutions," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.  
\* Michael Glennon, "What Role Should the United Nations Play? Why the Security Council Failed," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Michael Glennon, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Ian Hurd, "Response: Staying Alive," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Donald Jackson and Ralph Carter, "The International Criminal Court: Present at the Creation," in *Contemporary Cases*.

- Further Interest: \* John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19 (Winter 1994/1995), pp. 5-49.  
\* G. John Ikenberry, "Democracy, Institutions, and American Restraint, in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 213-238.  
\* Terry Deibel, "The Death of a Treaty," *Foreign Affairs* (September/ October 2002).

**April 15-18: Easter Break, No Class**

**April 19: The US and Multilateralism, Part II**

**April 21: Economic Statecraft**

- Reading: \* Richard N. Haas, "Sanctioning Madness," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Jesse Helms, "What Sanctions Epidemic?" in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Patrick Haney and Walt Vanderbush, "The Helms-Burton Act: Congress and Cuba Policy," in *Contemporary Cases*.

- Further Interest: \* Robert A. Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security* 22 (Fall 1997).  
\* Kimberly Ann Elliot, "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty?" and Robert Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," *International Security* 23 (Summer 1998).  
\* John Mueller and Karl Mueller, "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* (May/ June 1999).

**April 24: US Trade Policy**

- Reading: \* C. Fred Bergstrom, "A Renaissance for US Trade Policy?" in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Robert Blecker, "US Steel Import Tariffs: The Politics of Global Markets," in *Contemporary Cases*.  
\* Bernard Gordon, "A High-Risk Trade Policy," in *AFP: Cases and Choices*.  
\* Steven Hook, "Sino-American Trade Relations: Privatizing Foreign Policy," in *Contemporary Cases*.

- Further Interest: \* Lawrence Kaplan, "Trade Barriers: Why Trade Won't Bring Democracy to China," *The New Republic* (July 2001).  
\* Robert Ross, "China," in Richard Haass, ed., *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998).

**April 26: An American Empire?**

- Reading: \* Eliot Cohen, "History and the Hyperpower," *Foreign Affairs* (July/ August 2004). Electronic reserve.  
\* Dimitri Simes, "America's Imperial Dilemma," *Foreign Affairs* (November/ December 2003). Electronic reserve.  
\* G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

- Further Interest: \* Jack Snyder, "Imperial Temptations," *National Interest* (Spring 2003).  
\* Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment Revisited," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.

- \* Samuel P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," in *AFP: Theoretical Essays*.
- \* Andrew Bacevich, *An American Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- \* Charles Kupchan, *The End of the American Era: US Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Knopf, 2002), chapters 1-2.
- \* Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), chapter 10.
- \* Robert Kagan, "The Benevolent Empire," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1998).

**April 28 - May 3: Optional classes (if needed)**

- \* *Paper Due at 5:00 p.m. on May 3*

**May 4: Reading Day**

**May 5-10: Final Exam Week**

- \* *Take-home essay due by the end of exams.*