

Michigan State University
James Madison College
MC 326
Fall 2005
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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THEORY, PATTERN AND PROCESS

Scope of the Course

This course is designed as an introduction to the theory, pattern and process of American foreign policy. It attempts to present as wide a variety of theoretical and historical genres and perspectives as possible. It aims to provide students with different theoretical frameworks and important historical insights in their analyses of current foreign policy issues, particularly American foreign policy toward developing countries of vastly different cultural or religious traditions, with widely shared, deep-seated resentments of colonialism, and in their essentially different stages of transition from pre-modern to modern societies.

In the post-Cold War world, a most important issue in the study of American foreign policy is how to assess more accurately those developing nations' foreign policy intentions as well as their peoples' aspirations, to formulate more productive, rather than counterproductive U.S. foreign policy. To address this highly important issue, this course will study U.S. foreign policy not only from the "inside out," but also from the "outside in." To study American foreign policy from the "inside out" is to understand American visions and aspirations, American policies and strategies entirely on their own terms. To understand American foreign policy from the "outside in" is to examine if there are any significant gaps between the American interpretations of other nations' foreign policy objectives on the one hand, and those nations' actual intentions on the other.

This course is divided into three parts: Part I will provide a survey of competing theories of American foreign policy regarding how to evaluate other nations' foreign policy intentions and other peoples' moral aspirations. In the past two decades, scholars of American foreign policy have increasingly employed major IR theories to study America's interactions with the rest of the world. However, there are significant differences between general IR theories and the theories of American foreign policy, as you will learn in this course. Part II will test these competing theories through solid historical case studies, in an attempt to discern which aspects of American foreign policy each theory explains well, or poorly, and understand why it does. Part III will offer students' opportunities to test these competing theories and reflect on those important historical lessons through their own researches and class presentations.

Course Objectives

- To learn about major competing theoretical paradigms regarding how to assess other nations' foreign policy intentions.
- To understand the complex nature of U.S. foreign policymaking process.
- To understand the unique characteristics of U.S. foreign policy deeply ingrained in American political culture.
- To learn about the multi-faceted dimensions of nation-state building and turbulent transition from pre-modern to modern societies in the developing world, and compare them with America's historical, social, and cultural experiences.
- To learn about the ongoing national debates regarding how to encounter the new threat of terrorism in the post-9/11 world, and to reflect on those opposing American strategies / approaches in the war on terrorism.

Course Requirements:

There will be a *midterm* and a *final exam* based on the materials covered in the lectures and the required readings.

In addition, each student will write *a research paper of 15 pages*, typed double-space. Students are required to use one of the primary sources specified below, to write on relations between the United States and another country in any specific period from the post-World War II era to the present:

- 1) *Foreign Relations of the United States* (in the main library).
- 2) *The Website of National Security Archive at George Washington University* <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>
- 3). A relevant six months of the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* .

It is important to note that in using primary documents in your research paper, the key is to locate the primary sources in their specific context of "time" and "space," or the indigenous cultural, political and social context at the time when the documents were written. The worst thing a researcher can do to these primary documents is to impose his/her own interpretations onto the mindsets of the authors of those documents, or to distort those primary documents in a way to fit neatly into his/her own conclusions.

On **October 19**, paper proposal due (3-5 pages), which should include the following:

- 1). A brief summary of secondary sources on your research topic: What are these authors' different arguments and approaches in the current literature?

2). In the context of the above summary, highlight what is **new** in your research paper, either in terms of your research question or in terms of your theoretical approach.

3). An annotated bibliography (at least 20 books and documents, or 30 magazine/website articles).

Finally, each student will be required to present his/her research findings to the class.

Determinants of Grades

Midterm Exam:	10%
Class Participation / Discussion	20%
Research Paper Presentation	20%
Final Exam:	25%
Research Paper	25%

Required Readings:

Charles Kegley, Jr. And Eugene Wittkopf: *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process* (Sixth edition, Thomason / Wadsworth, 2003)

Warren I. Cohen: *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*, vol. IV (Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson ed.: *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge University Press, second edition, 2004)

Michael Hunt: *Ideology and U. S. Foreign Policy* (Yale University Press, 1987)

Coursepack, available at Budget Printers.

Recommended Readings:

Niall Ferguson: *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003);

Charlmers Johnson: *Sorrows of Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004);

Robert McNamara: *In Retrospect: Tragedies and Lesson in Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 1995);

Bob Woodward: *Bush at War* (Simon & Schuster, 2004).

Honors Option:

The focus of our honors sessions will be on two opposing interpretations of the direction of U.S. foreign policy in the post-9/11 world. We will read two recent books: Niall Ferguson: *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), and Charlmers Johnson: *Sorrows of Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004);

The awarding of an "H" for this course requires that a student earn a minimum of a 3.5 in all of the normal requirements of the course, attend all honors session discussions, and write a 25-page research paper.

Instructional Model

There are two important ways I get to know you as a student and a scholar. First, I expect to speak with you individually when you are working on your papers, and I make myself available for that purpose with regular office hours, extra office hours, and appointments. Second, there will be honors seminars offered in conjunction with this course. All students are invited to join this discussion group.

Topics and Assignments

August 29 Introduction

**** PART ONE ****

Competing Theories

August 31 The Realist Tradition in American Foreign Policy (I)

Required Readings:

Hans J. Morganthau: "Six Principles of American Political Realism," *Politics among Nations*, in *coursepack*;

George Kennan: "Diplomacy in the Modern World," in *coursepack*.

September 7 The Realist Tradition in American Foreign Policy (II)

Required Readings:

George Kennan: "On American Principles," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1995, in *coursepack*;

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder: "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995, in *coursepack*;

Fareed Zakaria: "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, November / December 1997, in *coursepack*;

Henry Kissinger: "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2001, in *coursepack*;

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: chapter 4.

September 12 The Liberal Internationalist Tradition in American Foreign Policy (I)

Required Readings:

Kathryn Sikkink: “The Power of Principled Ideas: Human Rights Policies in the United States and Western Europe,” *Ideas and Foreign Policy* (Cornell University Press, 1993), in *coursepack*;

“Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples,” Algiers, 4 July 1976; in *coursepack*;

“African Charter on Human and People’s Rights (Preamble and Part I), Banjul, 26 June 1981; in *coursepack*;

William F. Felice: Richard Falk’s Foreword to *Taking Suffering Seriously: The Importance of Collective Human Rights*, in *coursepack*;

September 14 The Liberal Internationalist Tradition in American Foreign Policy (II)

Required Readings:

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: chapter 7 (“The World Political Economy in Transition: Opportunities and Constraints in an Interdependent World”);

Clare Short (the British Secretary of State for International Development) Interview: “A Third Way for the Third World?” December 10, 2000, *The Observer*, London; in *coursepack*;

September 19 The Approach of Domestic Determinants to the Study of American Foreign Policy (I)

Required Readings:

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: Part V (“Governmental Sources of American Foreign Policy”), and Part VI (“Roles as Sources of American Foreign Policy Making”);

Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson: chapter 5 (“Bureaucratic Politics”) and 8 (“Corporatism”).

September 21 The Approach of Domestic Determinants to the Study of American Foreign Policy (II)

Required Readings:

Bruce Cumings: “Recollections on Method and A Theory of American Foreign Policy,” in *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), in *coursepack*.

September 26 The Cognitive Psychological Approach to the Study of American Foreign Policy (I)

Required Readings:

Ronald Steel: "Pictures in Their Heads," *Walter Lippmann and the American Century*, an Atlantic Monthly Book, in *coursepack*;

Edward Said: "Introduction" and "Islam as News," in *Covering Islam*, in *coursepack*.

September 28 The Cognitive Psychological Approach to the Study of American Foreign Policy (II)

Required Readings:

Richard Immerman: "Psychology," in Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson ed., chapter 6, pp. 103-122;

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: Part VII ("Policymakers and Policy: Individuals as Sources of American Foreign Policy").

October 3 The Cultural Approach to the Study of American Foreign Policy (I)

Required Readings:

Michael Hunt: chapter 1 ("Coming to Terms with Ideology");

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: chapter 8 ("Americans' Values, Beliefs, and References: Political Culture and Public Opinion in American Foreign Policy"), and chapter 9 ("The Transmission of Values, Beliefs, and Preferences: Interest Groups, the Mass Media, and Presidential Elections");

Seymour Martin Lipset: "Secular and Religious Sectarianism," in *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*, in *coursepack*.

October 5 The Cultural Approach to the Study of American Foreign Policy (II)

Required Readings:

Michael Hunt: *Ideology in U.S. Foreign Policy*, chapters 2-4 ("Visions of National Greatness," "The Hierarchy of Race," and "The Perils of Revolution").

Michael Hogan and Thomas Patterson: chapters 11 (“Considering Borders”), 15 (“Culture and International History”), and 19 (“Race to Insight”).

October 10 The Clinton Doctrine

Required Readings:

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: chapter 3 (“Power and Principle: The Goals of American Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective”).

Douglas Brinkley: “Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine,” *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1997, in *coursepack*.

October 12 The Bush Doctrine

Required Readings:

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: chapter 6 (“The International Political System in Transition: Power and Principle in a New World”)

Global Intelligence Update: “Bush Doctrine reshaping U.S. strategy,” Feb. 26, 2002, in *coursepack*.

William Kristol: “The Axis of Appeasement”, *The Weekly Standard*, Aug. 26, 2002, in *coursepack*.

Richard Falk: “The New Bush Doctrine,” *The Nation*, July 15, 2002, in *coursepack*;

PBS: “Chronology: the Evolution of the Bush Doctrine, 1991 – 2002,” in *coursepack*;

PBS: “Interview with Richard Perle,” in *coursepack*;

PBS: “Interview with William Kristol,” in *coursepack*;

Paul Wolfowitz: “Excerpts from 1992 Draft ‘Defense Planning Guidance,’” in *coursepack*;

William Kristol: “The Project for a New American Century,” in *coursepack*;

Colin Powell: “A Strategy of Partnerships,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2004, in *coursepack*.

NBC Tim Russert's Interview with Condi Rice: "Condi Defends John Bolton," in *coursepack*.

October 17 ***Midterm Exam (Bluebooks are Required)***

****** PART II ******

Historical Case Studies

October 19 U.S. - Congo Relations (Africa)

Required Readings:

Warren I. Cohen, pp. 117-119, 202-205;

James Rupert: "Years of Corrupt Rule Drain Zaire's Resources," *The Washington Post*, May 24, 1997, in *coursepack*;

James C. McKinley Jr.: "Kabila Sworn in as President, Promises Transition to Democracy," *The New York Times*, May 30, 1997; in *coursepack*;

Thomas M. Callaghy: "Life and Death in the Congo," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2001, in *coursepack*.

Paper Proposal Due

October 24 U.S. – Iran Relations (I): Historical Backgrounds

Required Readings:

Warren I. Cohen, pp.105-116, 210-214, 227-228;

Rashid Khalidi: "Introduction: The Perils of Ignoring History," and "The Legacy of the Western Encounter with the Middle East," in *coursepack*;

Barry Rubin: *Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran*, "Preface" and Chapter V., in *coursepack*;

PBS Frontline: "Chronology: U.S.- Iran Relations, 1906-2002," in *coursepack*.

- October 26 U.S. – Iran Relations (II): Competing U.S. Strategies toward Iran in the post-Cold War, post-9/11 World
- Elaine Sciolino: “Guess Who’s Giving the Voters Choice,” *The New York Times*, March 22, 1997, in *coursepack*;
- Robin Wright & Shaul Bakhash: “The U.S. and Iran: An Offer They Can’t Refuse?” *Foreign Policy*, fall 1997, in *coursepack*;
- Anwar Faruqi: “Iran Leader Reaches Out to U.S.,” *Washington Post*, Dec. 14, 1997, in *coursepack*;
- BBC News: “Profile: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad” (the new president in Iran), in *coursepack*;
- Brian Murphy: “Bush Remarks May Have Spurred Iran Voters,” *Washington Post*, June 19, 2005; in *coursepack*;
- Kathy Gannon: “Iran President-Elect Vows to Restart Nukes,” *Washington Post*, June 26, 2005; in *coursepack*;
- Kathy Gannon: “Iran’s New President Now Looks to Economy,” *Washington Post*, June 29, 2005; in *coursepack*;
- David L. Phillips: “Pragmatism Needed in US-Iran Relations,” *The Boston Globe*, March 07, 2004, in *coursepack*;
- Kenneth Pollack and Ray Takeyh: “Taking on Tehran,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 2005; in *coursepack*;
- James Srodes: “Iran on the Brink: Book Review on *Countdown to Crisis: The Coming Nuclear Showdown with Iran*,” *Washington Times*, June 28, 2005; in *coursepack*.

October 31 The Iraqi War: Ongoing National Debates

Required Readings:

Joseph Nye Jr.: “The Power of Persuasion: Dual Components of US Leadership,” *Harvard International Review*, Winter 2003; in *coursepack*;

Richard Cohen: “Blind in Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, April 13, 2004, p. A19; in *coursepack*;

James Dobbins: “Winning the Unwinnable War,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2005; in *coursepack*;

Edward Luttwak: "The Logic of Disengagement," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2005; in *coursepack*;

Bernard Lewis: "Freedom and Justice in the Modern Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2005, in *coursepack*;

Rashid Khalidi: "Raising the Ghosts of Empire," in *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*, in *coursepack*.

November 2 The Vietnam War in Retrospect (Asia)

Required Readings:

Warren I. Cohen, chapters 3 ("The Korean War and Its Consequences") and 6 ("America's Longest War").

Robert McNamara: "The Lessons of Vietnam," *In Retrospect*, pp. 318-335, in *coursepack*.

November 7 From the Bay of Pigs to the Cuban Missile Crisis (the Caribbean and Latin America)

Required Readings:

Warren I. Cohen, pp. 104-105, 121-146;

David Halberstam: *Fifties*, section 46, in *coursepack*;

"Excerpts from Bay of Pigs Report," *The New York Times*, February 22, 1998, in *coursepack*;

Tim Weiner: "CIA Bares Own Bungling in Bay of Pigs Report," *The New York Times*, February 22, 1998; in *coursepack*;

The Kennedy Tapes: "Word for Word: The Cuban Missile Crisis," *The New York Times*, October 5, 1997, in *coursepack*;

The National Security Archive: "Robert F. Kennedy Urged Lifting Travel Ban to Cuba in '63," The National Security Archive, the George Washington University; <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/index.html>

Tim Weiner: "Pope vs. Embargo," January 21, 1998, in *coursepack*;

November 9 The Marshall Plan, NATO, and U.S. – EU Relations in the post-9/11 World (Europe and Russia)

Required Readings:

Warren I. Cohen, Chapters 2, 7, and 8;

Andrei Shleifer & Daniel Treisman: “Rethinking Russia: A Normal Country,” *Foreign Affairs*, March./April 2004, in *coursepack*;

Javier Solana: “The Transatlantic Rift: US Leadership After September 11,” in *coursepack*.

November 14: Class Debates on U.S. Foreign Policymaking in the post-9/11 World

Required Readings:

Charles Duelfer (Special Advisor to the Director of Central Intelligence): “Key Findings,” [Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq’s WMD, 30 September 2004](#)

****** PART THREE ******

Research Paper Presentations

November 16 – 30: Research Paper Presentations

****** COURSE SUMMARY ******

December 5-7 Course Summary

Required Readings:

Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf: chapter 15: “At the Dawn of a New Millennium: the Future of American Foreign Policy”

December 9 (5 pm)

Research Paper Due

December 15 (5:45-7:45 pm)

Final Exam (Bluebooks are Required)

