

Michigan State University
James Madison College
Spring 2007

Professor Yael Aronoff
Office: 317 South Case Hall
Class Meeting: MW 8:30-9:50
Class Location: 339 Case Hall
Office Hours: MW 10:10-11:10,
2:10-3:10, by appointment, and open
door
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U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: MC326

Course overview, organization and objectives:

The end of the Cold War and the attacks of September 11th have presented American foreign policy makers with many new challenges to established ways of dealing with world problems. This course will focus on the process by which foreign policy is made. It is organized so that case studies can primarily illuminate a better understanding of the foreign policy making process, but also its assessment. We begin with a general overview of the myriad impacts on U.S. foreign policy, including the impact of political culture, public opinion, federal bureaucracies, the congress, the international context, the President, the National Security Council, and the bargaining and compromises made at the juncture of all of these influences. We will then take a closer look at each of these factors so that we become more familiar with the evolving role of each institution over time and on different issue areas. The class seeks to analyze the strengths and limitations of various types of explanations, and ask why policy implementation is at times different from the intentions of decision-makers.

After familiarizing ourselves with these institutions individually, we will explore various approaches to studying foreign policy which privilege the influence of one or more of these factors. Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow wrote a classic book applying some of these models to explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. They apply the rational actor model, organizational behavior model, and government politics model to the crisis and show how each approach offers a different lens through which to view decisions made during the Cuban missile crisis. You will have an opportunity to write a policy memo making recommendations for the President as to how he should react to the deployment of missiles in Cuba, and to participate in simulation of the crisis where you will represent a policy maker/adviser. You will be provided with an unfolding scenario throughout the simulation and will be divided into different groups. At the conclusion we will analyze to what extent each group perceived itself as operating primarily according to the dictates of one of Allison's models of foreign policy making.

We will continue to apply these models, as well as elaborations of and additions to Allison's approaches, such as the group think model of decision-making, to decisions made during the first

Gulf War. We will then briefly examine the foreign policy making process in regard to economic issues and examine criteria for assessing the effectiveness of different tools of statecraft.

We will then move to some of the main issues that the U.S. has been focused on since the end of the Cold War and the September 11th attacks. We will continue to examine the role of leaders and their advisors in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy, in *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. We will also examine the international context and perceptions of U.S. hegemony and U.S. foreign policy, explanations for the causes of terrorism, and different analyses of how to counter terrorism relying primarily on *Understanding the War on Terror*. In addition to continuing to assess the process of foreign policy formation and implementation, we will also assess what we think U.S. policy, broadly defined, should be. Should the war on terror be considered a war? What are the ethical implications of means used to fight this war? Is the war in Iraq distracting from the war on terror or contributing to it? Is the U.S. relying primarily on force, but minimizing the impact of other tools of statecraft to diminish threats? Can this be explained by the models of foreign policy making we have learned? Is preventing and stopping tragic genocides falling through the cracks of the American foreign policy agenda? We will also assess whether issues such as genocide are falling through the cracks. Finally, can and should the U.S. try to retain its hegemony, and if so, how?

This course has five main objectives:

- 1) To familiarize yourself with our government institutions and how they influence foreign policy.
- 2) To understand different models and approaches for explaining foreign policy making decisions as well as understanding policy implementation.
- 3) To be able to apply these models to particular cases of foreign policy decisions and to explore the strengths and weaknesses of these various approaches: the valuable insights each perspective can give, to what extent the approaches are complimentary and to what extent they are contradictory, and the limits of their explanations.
- 4) To improve your understanding of the complexities of U.S. foreign policy in a variety of issue areas and to assess what broad policies should be.
- 5) To provide you with opportunities to improve your critical thinking, reading, writing, and speaking abilities. Particular attention will be given to developing argumentation skills, both orally and in writing, through written assignments, in class discussions and weekly discussions on ANGEL, in class debates, and simulations. We will focus on the use of logic and evidence to build an argument, and address weaknesses and exceptions in order to determine the limits of an argument.

Evaluation:

1) Class Participation (20%)

On-time attendance to all classes is expected. Students must faithfully complete a close reading of assigned readings before class, and participate regularly in class and web discussions. Students must bring a one page summary and assessment of the reading to each class which will

be checked. Participation in web forums will enable you to come to class prepared for discussion, and will give you an opportunity to discuss the material outside of class. I will be checking, and at times participating in, these discussions. In these discussions, both in and outside of class, you will have the opportunity to engage the viewpoints of other students, make connections among the readings and link theory with empirical examples, and ask clarifying questions.

2) Written assignment in preparation for the simulation on the Cuban Missile Crisis (15%), due Wednesday February 7 at the beginning of class.

Three page policy memo written for the President advising him on how to react to the deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Write in the voice of either the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, National Security Adviser, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, or the Ambassador to the UN. Take into consideration your organizational perspective, as well as your perspective on national security when writing the memo. You are free to write what you think the reaction should be, and are not bound by what the policy maker you represent actually recommended. Base your recommendations on evidence from the book, and use footnotes with proper citations.

3) Participation in the simulation (5%), Wednesday, February 7

You will be graded on your preparation, as well as argumentation and persuasive skills in trying to get others to adopt your recommendations, and ability to incorporate new information that will be periodically supplied during the simulation. Further guidance for this will be provided in class.

4) Five page paper (20%), due Monday, February 26

Explain what approach to analyzing foreign policy decision-making you think carries the most weight in explaining the U.S. decision-making during the first Gulf War. In your explanation, you need to address all the approaches discussed in the book, although you are focusing on one or a combination.

Integrate all relevant readings into your argument. State your thesis and argument in the beginning of the paper; do not summarize readings, but integrate them into your argument in a way that supports and gives evidence to your argument. Present and support with evidence and consistent logic the main reasons for why your argument is correct. Remember that you are trying to persuade someone who might disagree with you. Seriously address counter-arguments to your own, and do not merely use them as straw men.

Write a 5 page, double spaced paper, with normal 12pt. Font. Write a title page, in addition to the 5 pages, stating your name, class, essay question that you are answering. Do not include a bibliography, but include full citations for footnotes at the bottom of each page. The first time that you cite an article give a full citation. Author's full name, place of publication, publisher, date of publication, page number of article where you got the idea or evidence. In future citations of that same article just use the author followed by the page number. You can rely exclusively on

class readings and get a 4.0; this is not a research paper. If you want to use a couple outside sources you may. Be sure to focus on the class readings and give full citations for all readings. When in doubt as to whether you need a citation, always use one. Remember that, unless you significantly paraphrase the entire sentence, put the sentence or sentence phrase in quotation marks. Of course, borrowed ideas, arguments and evidence, when paraphrased, still require a citation with an exact page number.

5) Mid-term exam (20%), Wednesday, February 28

The mid-term will cover all material covered until the exam. It will consist of short answer questions, and one longer essay question. There will be no excuses for not taking the midterm at the designated time, unless you have been given permission from me prior to the exam.

6) Final exam (20%) Tuesday May 1

The final will be comprehensive. It will consist of short answer questions, and two longer essay questions. There will be no excuses for not taking the final at the designated time, unless you have been given permission from me prior to the exam.

This course is part of the I.R. major Tier 2 “cluster” requirement. You are welcome to re-write the assigned papers. If you choose to do so, your final grade for the paper will be the average of the two grades that you receive for the original paper and for the re-write.

Evaluation Criteria: I use the following criteria for assessing work:

4.0 – Your work is excellent relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements; you not only make strong, organized arguments that make good use of evidence and link theory to empirical cases, but also are able to recognize the limits of those arguments through thoughtful assessments of alternative explanations. Your work is probing, perceptive, and well expressed.

3.0 – Your work is good relative to the level of course requirements; it demonstrates very good command of the materials, is well written, and is insightful.

2.0 – Your work meets requirements of the assignment, demonstrates adequate command of materials, and is fairly well expressed.

1.0 – Your work meets minimum requirements for credit but shows weaknesses in the mastery of material and expression.

0.0 – Your work is unsatisfactory for credit because of major problems in understanding and expressing that understanding of course material.

Office Hours and Availability:

I strongly encourage everyone to take advantage of the 4 hours a week I have devoted to office hours. Please do contact me if you cannot make the office hours due to your class schedule, and I will be happy to make an appointment with you at another time. Please feel free to come with questions concerning lectures, readings, or assignments, or if you would just like to discuss the reading, relate the reading to what you are doing in another class or your past experiences. I encourage you to come to office hours with outlines for all written assignments, so that we can discuss your ideas and so that I have the opportunity to advise you. I also encourage you to write outlines for answers to possible essay questions (you of course will not be getting the questions before hand) on the midterm and final, and I would be happy to discuss those with you in office

hours as well. My door is open to you, and I look forward to have stimulating discussions with out outside class (over lunch and in office hours), as well as in class. I would like everyone to succeed, and am available to help you do so.

Readings:

The following books are available in the book store and in library reserve:

1) Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd edition Longman. ISBN 0-321-01349.

2) Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay. 2005. *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Revised and Updated Edition. ISBN 0471741507

3) Jerel A. Rosati and James M. Scott. 2007. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*. 4th edition.

4) Eugene Wittkopf and Thomas McCormick. 2004. *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*. 4th edition. {Noted as WM in the syllabus}(NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC., 2004) ISBN 0-7425-2563-5

5) Steve Yetiv. 2004. *Explaining Foreign Policy: U.S. Decision-making and the Persian Gulf War*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) ISBN 0-8018-7811-x

6) *Understanding the War on Terror*, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose, Foreign Affairs/Council on Foreign Relations, 2005

7) Regular reading of a periodical with good national and international coverage. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* are typically the most thorough. The *Wall Street Journal*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Economist* are also useful on specific issues. *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *International Security*, *Orbis*, *World Policy Journal*, and the *National Interest* are recommended journals with more sustained coverage of many of the topics we are studying. Knowledge of current events is expected for the exams and class discussions.

8) Any other readings as assigned in the syllabus. All other articles and book chapters will be on library reserve and on the web.

Academic Integrity:

James Madison College and Michigan State University policies on academic integrity and plagiarism will be strictly enforced in this course. See the James Madison College Handbook section, Standards and Expectations, and the MSU Academic Programs catalogue, for further information. If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please see me.

Honors Option:

The topic for the Honors Option will be understanding and analyzing the U.S.'s use and potential use of soft power by discussing Joseph Nye's, *Soft Power*. He is a prominent political scientist who is Dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He coined the term "soft power" which grows from the appeal of a country's culture, ideals and policies. Nye argues that the U.S. can retain its leadership by focusing to a greater extent on its soft power. There will be extra meetings in which students will present critiques and analysis of each chapter, within the context of competing theories of international relations we are learning in class. The written assignment is a 5 page book review. A 3.5 must be maintained in order to receive Honors credit. The honors designation for this course requires outstanding work in all aspects of the class, in addition to satisfactory completion of the additional work that is required of those participating in the honors option sessions.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

America and the World: National Interests and Ideals

January 8, M: Introduction to the class and overview of course

January 10, W: Introduction to approaches, interests, values, and political culture

Required Reading:

Rosati and Scott, *United States Foreign Policy* (from now on designated as RS), chapter 1, pp. 1-10

RS, chapter 10, "Decisionmaking Theory and Washington Politics," pp. 276-305

RS, chapter 12, "The Public and Its Beliefs," pp. 349-388

Wittkopf & McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy* (from now on designated as WM), pp. 1-15

January 15, M: **no class, Martin Luther King Day**

Institutions in the Foreign Policy Making Process

January 17, W: Leaders and the NSC

Required Reading: There is extra reading for today since you had a week to do the reading.

Fred I. Greenstein, *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Clinton*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) pp. 1-11, 59-75

WM chapter 25, "Presidential Leadership Style and the Foreign Policy Advisory Process," by Preston and Hermann, pp. 363-380.

RS, Chapter 5, "The Bureaucracy, Presidential Management, and the National Security Council," pp. 103-139

WM, chapter 9, "Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign

Policy,” and intro to this section, pp. 129-154
WM, chapter 11, “How National Security Advisers See Their Role,” pp. 171-182

Recommended Reading:

Yael Aronoff, “In Like a Lamb, Out Like a Lion: The Political Conversion of Jimmy Carter,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 2006, pp. 425-450.

January 22, M: The Military Establishment and the State Department

Required Reading:

RS, chapters 6- 7, pp. 140-202

WM, chapter 6, Feaver and Kohn, “The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians, and their Mutual Misunderstanding,” pp. 85-96

January 24, W: The Intelligence Community and Congress

Required Reading:

RS, chapters 8 and 11, pp. 203-246, 306-348

WM, chapter 12, “From Deference to Activism and Back Again: Congress and the Politics of American Foreign Policy,” pp. 183-196

Approaches to Explaining Foreign Policy-Making and Their Application

Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis

January 29, M: The Rational Actor Model

Required Reading:

Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision* (Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 1-54

January 30, T: **Movie Screening:** “Thirteen Days,” 6:00-8:00 p.m.

January 31, W: Organizational Process

Required Reading:

Allison book, pp. 143-185

February 5, M: Government Politics and Differences in Interpretation

Required Reading:

Allison book, pp. 255-405

February 7, W: **Policy Memos due.** In class simulation of critical decision points in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Explaining the First Gulf War

February 12, M: Background to Crisis and application of the rational actor model

Required Reading:

Yetiv, *Explaining Foreign Policy*, pp. 1-57

February 14, W: Cognitive approaches: analogies, constructing threat, and group think

Required Reading:

Yetiv, *Explaining Foreign Policy*, chapters 3-5, pp. 58-120

February 19, M: Government politics and evaluating the models

Required Reading:

Yetiv, *Explaining Foreign Policy*, chapters 6-11 and Postscript, pp. 121-234

February 21, W: In class debate concerning the first Gulf War

February 26, M: **Papers due applying foreign policy approaches to the first Gulf War.**

Review for midterm

February 28, W: **Midterm**

March 5, M: **no class, Spring break**

March 7, W: **no class, Spring break**

Economic Aspects of Foreign Policy

March 12, M: The Policy Making Process and Ways of Measuring Effectiveness of Policy

Required Reading: A little extra reading for today since it has been over 10 days since our last class.

RS, chapter 9, "Foreign Economics, the NEC, and State and Local Governments," pp. 247-275

WM, "Trade Policy Making: The Changing Context," pp. 237-246

Richard N. Haass, "Sanctioning Madness," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 1997)

Daniel W. Drezner, "Serious About Sanctions," *The National Interest* (Fall 1998)

David A. Baldwin, *Economic Statecraft*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) Chaps. 7, "National Power and Economic Statecraft," pp. 115-144.

Recommended Reading:

Baldwin, *Economic Statecraft* chapter 10, "Foreign Aid," pp. 290-335.

The Impact of September 11

March 14, W: The international and domestic context

Required Reading:

WM, chapter 2, "Why Don't They Like Us? How America Has Become the Object of Much of the Planet's Genuine Grievances – and Displaced Discontent," by Stanley Hoffman, pp. 33-43

WM, chapter 4, “The Erosion of American National Interests,” by Samuel Huntington, pp. 55-66.

Hoge and Ros, *Understanding the War on Terror* (from now on designated as *War on Terror*), article by Fareed Zakaria, “Why Do They Hate Us?” pp. 116-133

Hoge and Ross, *Understanding the War on Terror*, article by Boroumand and Boroumand, “Terror, Islam, and Democracy,” pp. 134-153

War on Terror, “Left, Right, and Beyond – The Changing Face of Terror,” pp. 154-165

Recommended Reading:

WM, chapter 3, “That’s Entertainment? Hollywood’s Contribution to Anti-Americanism Abroad,” by Michael Medved, pp. 43-54

War on Terror, “9/11 Commission Staff Statement No. 15,” pp. 31-45

March 19, M: The prior beliefs of Bush and his advisors

Required Reading:

Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* pp. 1-77

March 21, W: The impact of September 11

Required Reading:

WM, Fred Greenstein, “The Changing Leadership of George W. Bush: A Pre – and Post – 9/11 Comparison,” pp. 353-362

Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound*, pp. 78-128

WM, Murray and Spinosa, “The Post-9/11 Shift in Public Opinion: How Long Will It Last?” pp. 97-116

March 26, M: Should it be called a war and what means are just?

Required Reading:

RS, chapter 13, “Civil Liberties and Political Participation Versus National Security,” pp. 389-433

War on Terror, Roth, “The Law of War in the War on Terror,” pp. 302-310

War on Terror, Wedgwood and Roth, “Response: Combatants or Criminals?” pp. 311-317

War on Terror, Howard, “What’s in a Name?” pp. 318-325

Recommended Reading:

War on Terror, Byford, “The Wrong War,” pp. 326-334

March 28, W: Counter Terrorism

Required Reading:

War on Terror, Richard Betts, “Fixing Intelligence,” pp. 285-301

War on Terror, Jessica Stern, “The Protean Enemy,” pp. 354-366

War on Terror, Paul Pillar, “Counterterrorism After Al Qaeda,” pp. 367-381

Barnett Rubin, “Saving Afghanistan,” *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2007

Recommended Reading:

The 9/11 Commission Report, pp. 361-373, 380-398

April 2, M: The War in Iraq

Required Reading:

America Unbound, 129-200

April 4, M: The war in Iraq continued

Required Reading:

WM, chapter 14, Cohen, "A Tale of Two Secretaries," pp. 207-218

War on Terror "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror," pp. 248-261

War on Terror "Response: Democracy Promotion" pp. 262-269

War on Terror, Gerecht, "Not a Diversion," pp. 382-391

War on Terror, Fallows, "Bush's Lost Year," pp. 392-418

War on Terror, "Gellman and Linzer, "Afghanistan, Iraq: Two Wars Collide," pp. 419-432

Recommended Reading:

Robert Jervis, "Why the Bush Doctrine Cannot Be Sustained," *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 2005 pp. 351-378

April 9, M: Are we minimizing the impact of other tools of statecraft?

Required Reading:

The 9/11 Commission Report, pp. 374-379

JM, chapter 1, Joseph Nye, "Beyond September 11," pp. 25-32

Rajapakasa and Dundes, "Can Humanitarianism Instill Good Will? American Tsunami Aid and Sri Lankan Reactions," *International Studies Perspectives*, August 2006, pp. 231-238

Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival* Autumn 2001;

Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Error," *New York Review of Books*, August 9, 2001; Reply by Ehud Barak and Benny Morris and then response to them by Malley and Agha.

Richard Haass, "The New Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2006

Is Genocide Falling Through the Cracks? Humanitarian Intervention

April 11, W: Criteria for intervention

Required Reading:

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Redefining the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs* (July/Aug 1999)

Stanley Hoffman, "The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism," *Foreign Policy* No. 98 (Spring 1995).

Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Rescue," *Social Research* (1995), pp. 53-66.

April 12, TH: **Movie: Hotel Rwanda** 6:00-8:00

April 16, M – The U.S.'s decision not to intervene in Rwanda – applying approaches to studying foreign policy

Required Reading:

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen"

Richard Norton, "Rwanda" in *Case Studies in Policy Making & Process*

Peter Uvin, "Reading the Rwandan Genocide," *International Studies Review* 3:3
Fall 2001

Yael Aronoff, "An Apology Is Not Enough: What Will Happen in the Next Case of Genocide?" OPEd, *The Washington Post*, April 9, 1998.

Policy alerts of U.S. Committee for Refugees

"The Rwanda Witness," NYT Magazine, 4/4/04

April 18, W: Analogies to Darfur

Required Reading:

Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs*

January/February 2005 pp. 123-133

Other readings from human rights/advocacy groups and relevant UN resolutions will be posted on ANGEL

April 21, S: Invited to an end of semester party at my home

Conclusions: American Hegemony?

April 23, M: Can and should the U.S. try to retain hegemony? If so, how?

Required Reading:

Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, Introduction, pp. 514-535.

Zalmay Khalilzad, "Losing the Moment? The United States and the World After the Cold War," *Washington Quarterly* 18:2 (Spring 1995)

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security* 17:4 (Spring 1993).

Joseph Nye, "The Limits of American Power"

April 25, W: Review for Final

May 1, T: Final Exam 7:45-9:45AM

