

POLI SCI 359: Problems in American Foreign Policy
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin–Madison
June 19-August 13 2017 (Online)

Instructor: Ryan Powers (rpowers@wisc.edu)
Faculty Supervisor: Professor Jon Pevehouse (pevehouse@polisci.wisc.edu)
Teaching Assistant: Anna Oltman (aoltman@wisc.edu)
Office Hours: By appointment.

Course Overview: The purpose of this class is to undertake a historical and analytical examination of U.S. Foreign Policy since World War II. The course is divided into three main topics. First, we will discuss the history of U.S. Foreign Policy since World War II. We will examine topics such as how current U.S. policy has evolved and what was the impetus behind our important foreign policy choices. The second part of the class will examine the institutions and processes that guide foreign policy formation and implementation. Questions will revolve around who are the important people setting the foreign policy agenda and what are the important institutions attempting to implement this agenda. Finally, the last third of the course will review some of the more salient foreign policy challenges facing the U.S. as we enter the 21st century. Some of these issues include whether US foreign aid policy is effective, how the recent global economic crises will influence foreign policy, and whether U.S. foreign policy towards Africa is undergoing significant change.

Requirements: Students will complete all assignments as outlined in the Assignment Syllabus. Grades are computed as shown on the Assignment Syllabus (make sure you consult the appropriate syllabus: grad vs. undergrad).

Grade breakdown:

Participation and Discussion	15%
Assignment 1	15%
Assignment 2	15%
Assignment 3	15%
Assignment 4	15%
Final Exam	25%

Assignments: All assignments are due by 11:59pm (central time US) on the due date listed. If you are in a different time zone, please make sure you take this into account when handing in your assignments. Late assignments will be penalized. **Turn all assignments under the assignments tab in Canvas.** After you submit your assignment, you will receive an email confirmation. You will also be notified when feedback has been left. Your assignments are as follows:

- Participation and discussion (15%) [Due each Sunday evening] Respond to the question of the week on the Canvas discussion boards. You may choose to begin your own thread and respond directly to the question of the week or to reply to one of your fellow students. In either case, your response should be 2-3 paragraphs and make direct reference to arguments from the lectures, the readings, or both. If replying to a fellow student, we expect you to provide additional evidence and arguments that are either consistent with or in contrast to the previous student's contribution. In all cases, we expect your post to adhere to conventional rules of spelling, grammar, and professionalism. We note, however, that sparing use of emoji can be quite effective in these settings.
- Assignment 1: The Courts and American Foreign Policy (15%) [Due June 29]: Read the article by Noah Feldman on the Supreme Court and its increasing role in international relations and foreign policy and the Politico article on Zivotofsky v. Kerry. Write a 4-5 page (double-spaced) analysis that answers the following questions: 1) Are the powers of the courts in foreign policy as significant as the powers of

Congress? 2) How have recent Supreme Court decisions such as *Zivotofsky*, or lower court decisions like those blocking President Trump's travel ban, augmented or decreased the power of the courts in foreign policy? 3) Do you think it is acceptable for courts to play an increasing role in American foreign policy? Why or why not?

- Assignment 2: Applying Allison's Models (15%) [Due July 19]: Apply two of Graham Allison's decision-making models to one of two cases of decision-making (the Obama administration in Libya or the Trump administration in Syria). Your memo should be 5-6 pages (double-spaced) and contain the following three sections: 1) brief description of Allison's models; 2) description of relevant actors and their preferences/demands in the situation (Libya or Syria); 3) an argument about why one of the models better describes the decision. For section 2, there are a few newspaper articles on Canvas that will help provide you with background on the decision. Do not feel compelled to do additional research – there should be sufficient information in the articles to make a case for at least one model in each case. For section 3, there are no right or wrong answers, just more or less complete arguments. Make sure and state why you think one model does a better job than the other two at explaining the situation.
- Assignment 3: US Foreign Policy (15%) [Due July 31]: According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, there are currently over 21 million refugees worldwide (defined as someone who has been forced to leave their country of origin due to violence or persecution). Read the Congressional Research Service report on refugee resettlement in the US, and then write a 3-4 page memo (double-spaced) outlining your policy recommendation for the US response to the refugee crisis. Explain how the refugee crisis affects U.S. national interests; identify the current U.S. policy towards refugees; and outline at least two policy recommendations. In addition, suggest whether these efforts would be opposed by any individual or groups within the United States.
- Assignment 5: Foreign Aid: Past, Present, and Future (15%) [Due August 7]: Go to the OECD's aid information website: <https://stats.oecd.org/qwids/>. In a 3-4 page (double-spaced) memo, choose a recipient country and trace their foreign aid receipts over the longest possible period available in the data. Is the aid primarily from OECD states? How much comes from private donors? How do these trends change over time (if at all)? What accounts for any major trends (spikes or declines in receipts) that you see in the data?
- Assignment: Final Exam (25%) [August 13]

Readings

NOTE: "G": Additional readings for Graduate Students.

June 19, 2017

Introduction: The international and domestic context in American Foreign Policy

Bruce Jentleson, 2007, *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century*. New York: W.W. Norton, Chapter 1, pp. 6-23.

Hans Morgenthau, 1950, "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy: The National Interest vs. Moral Abstractions," *American Political Science Review* 44 (4): 833-854.

Ronald Steele, 1994, "The Lure of Detachment," *World Policy Journal* 11 (Fall): 61-69.

June 21, 2017

The Historical Context of American Foreign Policy

Stephen Hook and John Spanier, 2010, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 18th ed., Washington DC: CQ Press. Chapter 3, pp. 45-69.

Steven W. Hook, 2008. *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*, 2nd ed. Washington DC: CQ Press. Chapter 2, pp. 39-61.

June 23, 2017

Presidential Power: Institutional Roots

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., 1973, *The Imperial Presidency*, "Chapter 1: What the Founding Fathers Intended," Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Aaron Wildavsky, 1966, "The Two Presidencies Thesis," *Transaction* 4: 7-14.

William G. Howell, 2011, "Presidential Powers in War," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14: 89-105.

G: Lisa L. Martin, 2005, "The President and International Commitments: Treaties as Signaling Devices," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 35(3): 440-65.

G: Andrew Rudalevige, 2006, "The Contemporary Presidency: The Decline and Resurgence and Decline (and Resurgence?) of Congress: Charting a New Imperial Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(3): 506-24

June 26, 2017

Presidential Power: NSC & Presidential Management

Richard T. Johnson, 1974, *Managing the White House*, New York: Harper & Row, "Chapter 1 Presidential Style," pp. 1-8.

Bryan Mabee, 2011, "Historical Institutionalism and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Origins of the National Security Council Revisited," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (1): 27-44.

Kevin Marsh, 2011, "The Administrator as Outsider: James Jones as National Security Advisor," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42 (4): 827-842.

June 28, 2017

Congress: Check or Empty Vessel?

Norman F. Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann, "When Congress Checks Out," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2006.

William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2007.

Ryan Hendrickson, 2010, "War Powers in the Obama Administration," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 31 (2): 204-224.

G: Louis Fisher and David G. Adler, 1998, "The War Powers Resolution: Time to Say Goodbye," *Political Science Quarterly*, 113(1): 1-20.

G: William J. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, 2005, "Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force," *International Organization*, 59(1): 209-32.

ASSIGNMENT: Courts in American Foreign Policy (Due June 29, 2017)

June 30, 2017

State Department: Directing Foreign Policy or Playing Second Fiddle?

Harry Kopp and Charles Gillespie, 2008, *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 10-50.

Jerel Rosati and James Scott, 2010, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, Chapter 5: The State Department at Home and Abroad, Wadsworth.

G: Bert A. Rockman, 1981, "America's Department of State: Irregular and Regular Syndromes of Policy Making," *ASPR*, 911-927.

July 3, 2017

Department of Defense: Ahead or Behind the RMA?

Eliot A. Cohen, 1996, "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs* 75(2): 37-54.

Andrew Krepinevich, 2009, "The Pentagon's Wasting Assets." *Foreign Affairs*, 88 (4).

Paul Cornish, 2009, "The United States and Counterinsurgency: Political first, political last, political always," *International Affairs* 85 (1): 61-79.

Timothy Came and Colin Campbell, 2010, "The Dynamics of Top-Down Organizational Change: Donald Rumsfeld's Campaign to Transform the US Department of Defense," *Governance* 23 (3): 411-435.

G: Frank G. Hoffman, "Complex Irregular Warfare: The Next Revolution in Military Affairs," *Orbis*, Summer 2006, 395-411.
G: Christopher F. Chyba and J.D. Crouch, 2009, "Understanding the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Debate," *Washington Quarterly* 32 (3): 21-36.
G: Michael Horowitz and Dan Shalmon, "The Future of War and American Military Strategy," *Orbis*, Spring 2009.

July 5, 2017: NO LECTURE! HAPPY 4th OF JULY!

July 7, 2017

Department of Defense: Civil-Military Relations

Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, 2000, "The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians and Their Mutual Misunderstanding," *National Interest* 61: 29-40.

Peter Feaver and Christopher Gelpi, 2005, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 1, pp. 21-63.

G: Ole R. Holsti, 2001, "Of Chasms and Convergences: Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilians and Military Elites at the Start of a New Millennium," in Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn (ed.) *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*, MIT Press, 15-99.

GRAD ONLY ASSIGNMENT: Response to Baker/Christopher Report (Due July 8, 2017)

July 10, 2017

The Intelligence Community: Still in Need of Reform?

Helen Fessenden, "The Limits of Intelligence Reform," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2005.

Amy B. Zegart, 2005, "September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of the U.S. Intelligence Agencies," *International Security* 29: 78-111.

The 9/11 Commission, 2004, "Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: Executive Summary," (34 pages) <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/pdf/execsummary.pdf>

July 12, 2017

Foreign Economic Policy: Partners with Security or Still Second Fiddle?

Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley, 2011, "Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of American Foreign Economic Policy," *International Organization* 65 (1): 37-68.

Chris Dolan. 2003. "Economic Policy and Decision Making at the Intersection of Domestic and International Politics: The Advocacy Coalition Framework and the National Economic Council," *Policy Studies Journal* 31 (2): 209-236.

G: Judith Goldstein, 1996, "International Law and Domestic Institutions: Reconciling North American "Unfair" Trade Laws," *International Organization* 50(4): 541-64.

July 14-17, 2017

Putting it together: Models of Decision-making and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Graham Allison, 1969, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 63: 689-718.

Jonathan Monten and Andrew Bennett, 2010, "Models of Crisis Decision Making and the Iraq War," *Security Studies* 19 (3): 486-520.

G: Jonathan Bendor and Thomas Hammond, 1992, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86 (2): 301-322.

G: Stephen D. Krasner, 1972, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy* 7: pp.159-179.

ASSIGNMENT: Applying Allison's models. (Due July 19, 2017)

July 19, 2017

Public opinion: Map Quiz Anyone?

Stephen Earl Bennett, 1996, "'Knowing Nothings' Revisited Again," *Political Behavior* 18: 219-233.

Bruce Jentleson, 1992, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *International Studies Quarterly* 36:49-74.

Adam Berinsky, 2009, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, Chapter 1, pp.13-32.

G: Chris Gelpi, 2010, "Performing on Cue? The Formation of Public Opinion Toward War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (1): 86-116.

G: Ole R. Holsti, 1992, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus," *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(4).

July 21, 2017

Interest Groups: Much Ado About Nothing?

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books*, March 23, 2006

"FP Roundtable: The War Over Israel's Influence," *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2006, pp. 56-66.

Jon Pevehouse and Felicity Vabulas, 2012, "Foreign Lobbies and Foreign Aid", Working paper, University of Wisconsin/University of Chicago.

G: James M. Lindsay, 2002, "Getting Uncle Sam's Ear," *Brookings Review* 20.

http://www.cfr.org/publication/6429/getting_uncle_sams_ear.html

G: Chung-in Moon, 1988, "Complex Interdependence and Transnational Lobbying: South Korea in the United States," *International Studies Quarterly* 32: 67-89.

July 24, 2017

Media: Agenda Setter or Conduit?

Peter Osnos, "An Elegy for Journalism?" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2010.

Michael Parks, 2002, "Foreign News: What's Next?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February, pp. 52-57.

Matt Baum, 2002, "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public," *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 91-109.

G: Howell & Pevehouse, *While Dangers Gather*: Chapter 6.

GRAD ONLY ASSIGNMENT: Lobbying in American Foreign Policy (Due July 26, 2017)

July 26, 2017

Trade and Immigration: Moving Goods or Moving People?

Milner, Helen, "The Political Economy of International Trade," *Annual Review of Political Science*, June 1999.

Rodrik, Dani, "Too Late to Compensate the Losers," *Project Syndicate*, April 11, 2017.

Oltman, Anna and Jonathan Renshon, "Immigration and Foreign Policy," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*, Forthcoming 2017.

July 28, 2017

Iran: Will the Shah Hit the Fan?

Michael Doran, "The Heirs of Nasser," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011.

Kenneth Waltz, 2012, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb," *Foreign Affairs* 91 (2).

Robert Jervis, 2013, "Getting to Yes With Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb.

James M. Lindsay and Ray Takeyh, "After Iran Gets the Bomb," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr 2010.

ASSIGNMENT: U.S. Foreign Policy & the Refugee Crisis (Due July 31, 2017)

July 31, 2017

Terrorism and Counter-terrorism

Audrey Kurth Cronin, 2002/03, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, 27(3): 30-58.

Robert A. Pape, 2003, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

Dallas Boyd, Lewis A. Dunn, and James Scouras, "Why Has the United States Not Been Attacked Again?" *Washington Quarterly*, July 2009.

G: Stephen M. Walt, 2001, "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," <i>International Security</i> 26(3): 56-78.
--

August 2, 2017

Foreign Aid: Millennium Challenge and Beyond

Lex Rieffel and James Fox, "The Millennium Challenge Corporation: An Opportunity for the Next President," Brookings Working Paper 30: Global Economy and Development. Available at: http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/12_mcc_rieffel/12_mcc_rieffel.pdf

Jeffery Sachs, "The Development Challenge," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2005.

Jadish Bhagwati, "Banned Aid." *Foreign Affairs*, Jan. 2010

G: William Easterly, "Can Foreign Aid Buy Growth?" <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> , Summer 2003.

G: Ngaire Woods, 2005, "The Shifting Politics of Foreign Aid," <i>International Affairs</i> , 81(2): 393-409.

August 4, 2017

China: Rising Threat or Satiated Giant?

Drew Thompson, 2010, "Think Again China's Military," *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2010.

Thomas J. Christensen, "Shaping the Choices of a Rising China: Recent Lessons for the Obama Administration," *Washington Quarterly*, July 2009.

Joseph Nye, 2010, "American and Chinese Power After the Financial Crisis," *Washington Quarterly* 33 (4): 143-153.

G: Alastair Iain Johnston, 2002, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27(4): 5-56.
G: Aaron L. Friedberg and Robert S. Ross, "Here Be Dragons," *The National Interest*, October 2009.

ASSIGNMENT: Foreign Aid: Past, Present and Future. (Due August 7, 2017)

August 7, 2017

Globalization and The Great Recession

Roger C. Altman, 2009, "Globalization in Retreat," *Foreign Affairs* 88(2): 2-7.

Leslie Gelb, 2010, "GDP Now Matters More than Force," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2010.

Mathew J. Burrows and Jennifer Harris, "Revisiting the Future: Geopolitical Effects of the Financial Crisis," *Washington Quarterly*, April 2009.

G: Barry Eichengreen, "The Dollar Dilemma," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2008.

August 9, 2017

International Human Rights

Oz Hassan and Jason Ralph, 2011, "Democracy Promotion and Human Rights in US Foreign Policy," *International Journal of Human Rights* 15 (4): 509-519.

David Forsythe, 2011, "US Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Situating Obama," *Human Rights Quarterly* 33 (3): 767-789.

Timothy Hildebrandt, Courtney Hillebrecht, Peter Holm, and Jon Pevehouse, 2013, "The Domestic Politics of Humanitarian Intervention: Public Opinion, Partisanship, and Ideology," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, forthcoming.

Final Exam: Distributed August 11; Due August 13 by noon.