

POL 673: Seminar on U.S. Foreign Policy
Summer 1 2007
T R 130-345PM HRN 209
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Office Hours by appointment

This course is intended to serve as a seminar in U.S. foreign policy for graduate students. Its primary purpose is to introduce students to the wide range of research on American foreign policy behavior. This should contribute to providing the necessary background for the student to teach a basic undergraduate course in the subject and for the student to begin to conduct research in the area. A second purpose of the course is to increase the student's sensitivity to the requisites of theory building and research design in the area of foreign policy. Third, the course strives to acquaint the student with the strengths and weaknesses of alternative methods, approaches, and modes of conceptualization and analysis. By the end of the term the student should be familiar with the major sources of U.S. foreign policy, with the literature that examines each of these forces, and with the relative strengths and weaknesses of these levels or approaches.

This is not a course in American diplomatic history. However, it is imperative that analysts of American foreign policy have a strong working knowledge of the history of the subject. Students who believe their background in this area to be lacking should, as a professional-in-training, take it upon themselves to read beyond the syllabus in history and biography. The professor can provide some references, such as *Strategies of Containment*, *The Long Peace*, and *The United States and the End of the Cold War* by John Lewis Gaddis, *Rise to Globalism* by Stephen E. Ambrose, *The Origins of Containment* by Deborah Welch Larson, and *US Diplomacy since 1900* by Robert D. Schulzinger. The main textbooks for undergraduate courses on US Foreign Policy are also useful historical and theoretical background sources.

This is to be a seminar in cooperative learning; that is what a seminar is all about. The seminar format is designed to encourage an active exchange of ideas among all seminar participants. Learning occurs as we explore and test ideas on one another, ready to challenge each other but also willing to learn from one another. Each member of the seminar has a responsibility to contribute actively to ensure a stimulating environment. The professor will make presentations, often at the beginning of the session, in order to put research or literature in context or to explain a particularly vexing problem. However, the bulk of the seminar should proceed as a discussion among the group that the professor and others will lead.

BOOKS

- Francis Fukuyama. 2007. *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ole R. Holsti. 1996. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Yuen Foong Khong. 1992. *Analogies at War*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- James M. Lindsay. 1994. *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Tony Smith. 2000. *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the making of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

CLASS ENVIRONMENT

The professor is committed to the department's policy of supporting the learning of all students, irrespective of gender, ethnicity, race, age, religion, handicapping condition, or sexual preference. Students should be able to expect that their learning environments are free from any form of prejudice. If prejudicial behavior occurs, you should talk to the professor and identify the specific offense or disparaging behavior. If you are not content with the resolution of your complaint you are encouraged to consult with the Department Chair. The university exists for learning and the free and open pursuit of ideas. Anything that impedes this mission is antithetical to the role of a university as a "free and ordered space" and will not be tolerated.

STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES, ATTENDANCE, AND GRADING

The university requires that students attend all regularly scheduled class sessions, with the exception of University recognized excused absences for religious observances: "Students must give written notification to their instructor within the first two weeks of class of the religious event which prohibits class attendance, and the date that will be missed, if officially known. Instructors will, without prejudice, provide such students with reasonable accommodations for completing missed work. However, the students are ultimately responsible for material covered in class, regardless of whether the student is absent or present." I adhere to this policy; no other absences will be excused.

Participation in Seminar Discussions: 20 percent

As a seminar, we are dependent on the members of the seminar to be fully prepared for class and to actively and constructively contribute to our discussion. All reading should be completed before the assigned class meeting, and I look forward to (and will call for) your active participation. In assigning a grade for this, I will rely on the empirical indicators Professor Neack used in her recent foreign policy seminar, and you should use these to guide your preparation for class discussion:

- Evidence of careful preparation of assigned readings.
- Logical consistency in comments, appropriateness of comments to discussion, originality, and use of relevant evidence in the arguments made.
- Comments that are clear, concise and respectful of others.
- Comments that contribute to the process of the discussion, such as by building on the ideas of others, providing constructive criticism and asking constructive questions.

Reading Summaries, Questions, Extensions: 30 percent

Each seminar member will write at least a one paragraph summary of each item assigned (and at least a one page summary of each book assigned); the summary will include a full citation to the piece, at least one question that emerges from it that may help guide our discussion; and at least one citation to a source beyond the syllabus that touches on the same issues as it (a source that you are ready to discuss). Items from my syllabus last summer and/or from Professor Neack's syllabus are out of bounds. Students should concentrate on becoming familiar with at least the following journals through this exercise: the ISA family of journals, *World Politics*, *IO*, *APSR*, *JOP*, *AJPS*, *JCR*, *II*, *PRQ*, *PSQ*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *Political Psychology*, and *Congress & the Presidency*. These written summaries must be turned in to me or my mailbox in hardcopy form by 1pm on the day of that class meeting.

Midterm Examination: 20 percent

Each seminar participant will complete a closed-book midterm exam. This blue book exam will be composed of 2 or 3 essay questions that will require a response that discusses several of the readings to date and the theoretical, empirical, and substantive issues they raise.

Final Examination: 30 percent

Each seminar participant will complete a closed-book final exam. This blue book exam will be composed of 3 or 4 essay questions that will require a response that discusses many of the readings throughout the term and the theoretical, empirical, and substantive issues they raise. Think of it as a “mini-comp.”

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

1. Tuesday May 15: Theory and Foreign Policy

Rosenau, J.N. 1966. "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy." In *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, ed. R.B. Farrell. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. Reprinted in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, ed. J.N. Rosenau, 1969 edition. JX1308.R6

Gerner, Deborah J. 1995. "The Evolution of the Study of Foreign Policy." In *Foreign Policy Analysis*, ed. L. Neack, J. Hey, and P.J. Haney. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Alexander George, "Case Studies and Theoretical Development: The Method of Structured Focused Comparison," in Paul Lauren, ed., *Diplomacy* (Free Press, 1979).

Dina A. Zinnes. 1980. "Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher." *International Studies Quarterly* 24,3: 315-342.

Dina A. Zinnes. 1976. "The Problem of Cumulation." In *In Search of Global Patterns*, ed. James N. Rosenau. New York: Free Press.

2. Thursday May 17: Individuals, Psychology, and Foreign Policy

George, A.L. 1969. "The 'Operational Code:' A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13: 190-222.

Jervis, R. 1968. "Hypotheses on Misperception." *World Politics* 20: 454-79 (Reprinted in Ikenberry).

Blanton, Shannon Lindsey. 1996. "Images in Conflict: The Case of Ronald Reagan and El Salvador." *International Studies Quarterly* 40: 23-44.

Herrmann, R. 1988. "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution: A Strategy for Drawing Inferences About Perceptions." *International Studies Quarterly* 32: 175-203.

Sylvan, Donald A., and Stuart J. Thorson. 1992. "Ontologies, Problem Representation, and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36: 709-732.

Winter, David G., Margaret G. Hermann, Walter Weintraub, and Stephen G. Walker. 1991. "The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance." *Political Psychology* 12: 215-45. (Reprinted in Ikenberry).

Biddle, Stephen. 2006. "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon." *Foreign Affairs* 85, 2 (March/April): 2-14.

3. Tuesday May 22: Cognition and Foreign Policy making

Yuen Foong Khong. 1992. *Analogies at War*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

4. Thursday May 24: Bureaucracies

Allison, G.T. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63: 689-718. (Reprinted in *Ikenberry*).

Krasner, S.D. 1971. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy* 7: 159-179. (Reprinted in *Ikenberry*).

Herek, Gregory M., Irving L. Janis, and Paul Huth. 1987. "Decision Making During International Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31: 203-226.

Ellsberg, Daniel. 1971. "The Quagmire Myth and the Stalemate Machine." *Public Policy* 19: 217-274.

Gelb, Leslie H. 1971. "Vietnam: The System Worked." *Foreign Policy* 3: 140-167.

5. Tuesday May 29

Midterm Examination

6. Thursday May 31: Public Opinion

Ole R. Holsti. 1996. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

7. Tuesday June 5: Presidents and the Public

John Mueller. 1971. "Trends in Popular Support for the Wars in Korea and Vietnam." *American Political Science Review* 65: 358-375.

Jentleson, Bruce. 1992. "The Pretty Prudent Public." *International Studies Quarterly* 36: 49-73.

Baum, Matthew A. 2004. "Going Private: Public Opinion, Presidential Rhetoric, and the Domestic Politics of Audience Costs in U.S. Foreign Policy Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 48: 603-631.

Patrick James and John R. Oneal. 1991. "The Influence of Domestic and International Politics on the President's Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35: 307-332.

James Meernik and Peter Waterman. 1996. "The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents." *Political Research Quarterly* 36: 176-187.

Page, Benjamin I., and Jason Barabas. 2000. "Foreign Policy Gaps Between Citizens and Leaders." *International Studies Quarterly*. 44: 339-364.

Become familiar with the public opinion and elite opinion surveys of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs: http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/past_pos.php

8. Thursday June 7: Congress

James M. Lindsay. 1994. *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

9. Tuesday June 12: Interest Groups

Tony Smith. 2000. *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the making of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby." *London Review of Books* (March 23): 3-12.

10. Thursday June 14: Ideas, Interests, and Foreign Policy

Francis Fukuyama. 2007. *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

11. Tuesday June 19: Grab-Bag

Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. 1992; 1993. "Who Won the Cold War?" *Foreign Policy* 87 (Summer): 123-38; 90 (Spring 1993): 171-76.

Cohn, Carol. 1987. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs* 4: 687-718.

Cohn, Carol. 2006. "Motives and Methods: Using Multi-Sited Ethnography to Study U.S. National Security Discourses." In Brooke A. Ackerly, maria Stern, and Jacqui True, eds., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge University Press): 91-107.

Holsti, Ole R. 1998-99. "A Widening Gap Between the U.S. Military and Civilian Society? Some Evidence, 1976-96." *International Security* 23 (Winter): 5-42.

Robinson, William I. 2004. "What to Expect from U.S. 'Democracy Promotion' in Iraq." *New Political Science* 26, 3 (September): 441-447.

Zegart, Amy B. 2006. "An Empirical Analysis of Failed Intelligence Reforms Before September 11." *Political Science Quarterly* 121, 1: 33-60.

12. Thursday June 21

****Final Examination****