

BOWDOIN COLLEGE
Department of Government and Legal Studies
Government 2670

United States Foreign Policy

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Office Hours M 10:30am-12, W 3:30-4:30
T TH 2:30 – 3:55 pm
Lecture Hall: Adams 406

Examining issues in American foreign policy has always been important, but it is arguably even more so today given the current political landscape where the U.S. and its place in the world are undergoing a series of extraordinary transitions. How skillfully America conducts itself abroad in this moment will profoundly impact the emerging international political world. This course is a systematic examination of the evolution of U.S. strategy with foreign actors since American independence. It aims to identify traditional, persistent and emerging challenges to American interests as well as examining proposed academic theories on policy making and policy outcomes.

Assignments

Assigned readings are available on Blackboard or URLs to online sources are provided. Readings are **due the day** they are assigned on this syllabus.

Expectations

Students are expected to be professional and participatory in the classroom. This includes attending class, contributing to discussions, completing the readings on time, respecting peers and observing guidelines regarding laptops, phones and tablets.

Exams and Grading

Graded assignments are ways for me to assess your mastery of key concepts presented in readings and lectures. There is **positively no dishonesty** tolerated. Contact me if emergencies arise that affect your work, but do not take shortcuts or violate the honor code. Please review the code of the college:
www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/student-handbook/college-policies/

Late policy

I will deduct 1/2 a letter grade from the assignment for each 24 hour period the assignment is late. For example, if you hand a paper 23 hours late and the paper is a B+, it will be recorded as a B. If that paper is handed in 47 hours late, the grade will be a B- and so on. Furthermore, to ensure the classroom remains conducive to learning, no phones are allowed. Please turn the sound off and store phone in your bag. No laptops or tablets will be allowed during lectures, unless

you require the use of technology for your learning. For the majority of students, taking notes by hand is a better way to absorb the material and make the most out of our limited time together. If you are the rare exception to this rule, please contact me at the start of the semester to arrange for an accommodation. Laptops and tablets may be brought to class for use to reference, cite or discuss assigned texts, but again must be put away once the class is done discussing the particulars of that text.

Assignments

1. 15% - Quiz – **February 13**
2. 10% - Policymaking Simulation Paper (1-2 pages) – **March 8**
3. 25% - Midterm Exam – **April 10**
4. 10% - Regional Briefings (100-200 words), 3 total, **on or before Feb 13, Mar 29, Apr 26.**
5. 10% - Presidential Daily Brief & Policy Memo (3 pages) – **May 3**
6. 30% - Final Paper (5-7 pages) – **May 15**

Part I: Traditions, Theory and Considerations in Foreign Policy

January 23: Introduction

January 25: U.S. National Interests

- George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, Part I, sections Chapter 6, “Diplomacy in the Modern World,” (pp. 97-109)
- Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter With the World Since 1776*, “Introduction: The American Bible of Foreign Affairs,” (pp. 1-12)
- Stephen M. Walt, “Making the Grade, Is There a Way to Judge if a Foreign Policy is Successful?” *Foreign Policy*, January 6, 2014

January 30: American Exceptionalism

- Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter With the World Since 1776*, Chapter 1, “Liberty or Exceptionalism (so called),” (pp. 15-38)
- Peter H. Schnuck and James Q. Wilson, *Understanding America: The Anatomy of an Exceptional Nation*, Chapter 21 “Looking Back,” (pp. 627-643)
- Stephen M. Walt, “The Myth of American Exceptionalism,” *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011

February 1: Morality and American Foreign Policy

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

- Remarks by President George W. Bush at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., November 6, 2003.
- Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 2016. Chapter 1, The American Approach to Foreign Policy (pp. 2-21)

February 6: American Foreign Policy Traditions

- George Washington's Farewell Address
- Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter With the World Since 1776*, Chapter 2, "Unilateralism, or Isolationism (so called)," (pp. 39-56)
- Walter Russell Mead, "The American Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No 1. (Jan – Feb 2002) (pp. 163-176)

February 8: American Foreign Policy & The World Wars

- George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, Part I, Chapter 4 "World War I" and Chapter 5, "World War II" (pp. 59-96)

February 13: The Cold War & **Quiz**

- Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 2016 "From World War to Cold War," (pp. 22-44)
- George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, Part II, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" (pp.113-134)

Part II: The Policy-Making Process

February 15: Executive Agencies – State, Defense, NSC and the CIA

- Colin Powell, "The Craft of Diplomacy," The Wilson Center, 2004
- Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, "How National Security Advisers See Their Role," December 2006
- Paul R. Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85 No. 2 (March/April 2006), (pp. 15-27)

February 20: Organizations and Bureaucratic Politics – Iraq

- Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, September 1969, (pp. 689-718) [[For this article, just skim for the main ideas](#)]
- Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 2016. Chapter 11 "Hot Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq," (pp. 252-276)

February 22: Organizations and Bureaucratic Politics - Rwanda & Genocide

- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic*, September 2001, Vol. 288 Issue 2, (pp. 84-108)

February 27: The Role of Congress - Iran-Contra

- James M. Lindsay, *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1994. "Introduction" and Chapter 2, "Legislative Motivation and Foreign Policy," (pp.1-8, 33-52)
- Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 2016 (Selections from) Chapter 6, "Rollback & Iran Contra" (pp. 134-141)

March 1: Military Intervention - Vietnam

- Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 2016, (Selections from) Chapter 4, "North-South Tensions and the Vietnam War," (pp. 89-100)
- Marvin Gettleman, Jane Franklin, Marilyn Young, and Bruce Franklin, eds., *Vietnam and America: A Documented History*, Grove Press, 1995. (pp. 26-28, 49, 255-276)

March 6: Policymaking Simulation

- Materials Distributed in 3/1 Class

March 8: Misperceptions & Limits of Rationality

No Readings Due

Policymaking Simulation Paper Due

(1-2 pages, paper copy due beginning of class)

[Spring Break]

March 27: Public Opinion – Vietnam

- Bruce W. Jentleson, ed. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century* (Fifth Edition), 2014 "Public Opinion: What Is It? What Is Its Impact?" 2013, (pp. 76-85)
- Marvin Gettleman, Jane Franklin, Marilyn Young, and Bruce Franklin, eds. *Vietnam and America: A Documented History*, Grove Press, 1995. (pp. 378-400)

March 29: Interest Groups – Israel/Palestine

- Bruce W. Jentleson, ed. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century* (Fifth Edition), W. W. Norton & Company. "Interest Groups and Their Influence," 2013, (pp. 56-64)
- James Madison, Federalist Papers #10
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XII, No. 3, Fall 2006. (pp. 29-63)
- Walter Russell Mead, "Jerusalem Syndrome: Decoding *The Israel Lobby*," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 6, (November/December 2007), (pp. 160-168)

April 3: News Media

- Bruce W. Jentleson, ed. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century* (Fifth Edition), 2014, "The Impact of the News Media" 2013, (pp. 66-76).
- Mathew Baum and Phillip Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 11, (June 2008) (pp. 39-65)

April 5: Social Media

- Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (January/February 2011), (pp. 28-41)
- Director of National Intelligence, "Background to 'Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent U.S. Elections': The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution," January 2017.
- Benedict Carey, "How Fiction Becomes Fact on Social Media," *The New York Times*, October 20 2017
- Monica Anderson, "Social Media Causes Some Users to Rethink Their Views on an Issue," *Pew Research Center*, November 7, 2016

April 10: **Midterm Exam**

Part III: Current Challenges, Regions and Priorities

April 12: September 11, The Global War on Terrorism

- John Mueller and Mark Stewart, "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11," *International Security* (Summer 2012), (pp. 81-110)

April 17: Afghanistan/Pakistan

- Michael E. O'Hanlon, "A Flawed Masterpiece," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No.3 (May-June 2002), (pp. 47-63)

April 19: Drones & Ways of Fighting Terrorism

- Daniel Byman, "Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (July/August 2013), (pp. 32-43)
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Why Drones Fail: When Tactics Drive Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (July/August 2013), (pp. 44-54)
- Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun. 2011. "The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition," *Ethics and International Affairs* 25 (3) (pp. 337-358)

April 24: The (Second) Invasion of Iraq

- Kenneth M. Pollack, "Next Stop Baghdad?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81 No. 2 (March-April 2002), (pp. 32-47)
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt. "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (Jan/Feb 2003), (pp. 50-59)
- Brian C. Schmidt, and Michael C. Williams. "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists," *Security Studies* Vol. 17, 2008. (pp. 191-220)

April 26: Syria, ISIS and What Comes After ISIS

- Zachary Laub, "Backgrounder: The Islamic State," Council on Foreign Relations, August 10, 2016. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/islamic-state>
- National Counterterrorism Center Director Nicholas Rasmussen Remarks, December 8, 2017, CSPAN2. Watch from 3:30-21:32 <https://www.c-span.org/video/?438292-1/national-counterterrorism-center-director-nicholas-rasmussen-remarks>

May 1: Counterterrorism Foreign Policy

- Richard LeBaron and William McCants, "Experts Weigh In: Can the United States Counter ISIS Propaganda?" June 17, 2015, *Brookings Institute*.
- "Executive Order Protecting The Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into The United States," March 6, 2017
- David Bier, "A Dozen Times Trump Equated his Travel Ban with a Muslim Ban," *CATO Institute*, August 14, 2017.
- "Islam is Peace" President George W. Bush at Islamic Center of Washington, D.C., September 17, 2001. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>

May 3: North Korea. **Presidential Daily Brief & Policy Memo Due**

- Roger Baker, "North Korea: A Problem Without a Solution," STRATFOR, January 10, 2017
- "North Korea: 6 Experts on How We Can Solve the Problem: How to Stop Kim Jong Un," TIME Magazine, 2017

May 8: President Obama, President Trump & the Future of U.S. Foreign Policy

- Gideon Rose, "What Obama Gets Right: Keep Calm and Carry the Liberal Order On," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (September/October 2015), (pp. 3-12)
- Bret Stephens, "What Obama Gets Wrong: No Retreat, No Surrender," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (September/October 2015), (pp. 13-16)

[May 15] – Final Paper Due – 5pm

Central Intelligence Agency – Directorate of Intelligence/Analysis
Congratulations. You've been hired as an analyst!

- You are a regional CIA desk officer assigned to provide intelligence analysis on the current state of affairs in a particular region for the U.S. intelligence community. You will have the opportunity to rank your regional preferences. The bureau will do its best to honor your choices, however, as a public servant you may need to accept an assignment outside your preferences. Your country thanks you.
- As a class/bureau of an intelligence agency, we will collectively gather intelligence on the current state of foreign affairs across the entire globe. This is important work.
- Note that budget cuts mean that desk officers often are in charge of more than one country.
- Using (news) sources you will post three 100-200-word briefings to the Top Secret//CODEWORD GOV 2670 Blackboard website throughout the semester.
 - o At least one briefing is due on or before February 13, one on or before March 29 and the last is due on or before April 26.
 - o The agency will provide an example of a briefing for you to work from on Top Secret//CODEWORD Blackboard.
 - o This is a bureaucracy; please follow protocol and the standard operating procedures.
 - o Each briefing will be graded on a pass/fail basis.
- As an intelligence analyst, it is imperative that you rely on sound, accurate and trustworthy sources of information to build your reports. Be sure to cite all sources, seek balance in your sources, draw information from more than one outlet, note any potential biases in sources, and triangulate/ corroborate information wherever possible.
 - o Guidelines from CIA headquarters (HQ) will offer standards for you to work from.
 - o If you rely on unsound sources, your briefing will be rejected by HQ (given a failing grade), so be sure to make accuracy a priority because the CIA will not be responsible for misleading policymakers with faulty information.
- At the end of the semester, you will choose what you consider the five most important reports from our class collection to build a "Presidential Daily Brief" (PDB) for the White House. Note that your final paper assignment will require you to use this PDB to make policy recommendations.

Name: _____

Regions. Please rank your top 5.

Your title will be Central Intelligence Desk Analysis Officer for []

- [] Angola-Mozambique-Zimbabwe
- [] Algeria-Libya-Morocco-Tunisia-Egypt-Sudan
- [] Argentina-Bolivia-Paraguay-Uruguay
- [] Australia-Fiji-New Zealand-Vanuatu
- [] Bahrain-Kuwait-Oman-Qatar-Saudi Arabia-UAE
- [] Belarus-Georgia-Kazakhstan-Ukraine
- [] Belize-El Salvador-Guatemala-Honduras-Nicaragua
- [] Bosnia-Croatia-Slovenia-Serbia
- [] Cambodia-Laos-Thailand-Vietnam
- [] Canada/Mexico
- [] Chile-Ecuador-Peru
- [] China-Mongolia-Taiwan
- [] Colombia-Costa Rica-Panama
- [] Cuba-Dominican Rep.-Haiti-Jamaica
- [] Czech Rep.-Slovakia-Hungary-Poland
- [] Denmark-Finland-Norway-Sweden-Estonia-Latvia-Lithuania
- [] Ethiopia-Somalia-Sudan-Eritrea
- [] France
- [] Germany
- [] Ghana-Liberia-Nigeria-Senegal
- [] Greece-Turkey-Cyprus
- [] India-Nepal-Sri Lanka
- [] Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines-Singapore
- [] Iran
- [] Iraq
- [] Ireland-United Kingdom
- [] Israel
- [] Italy-Portugal-Spain
- [] Japan
- [] Jordan-Lebanon
- [] Kazakhstan-Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan
- [] Kenya-Tanzania-Uganda
- [] North/South Korea
- [] Pakistan-Afghanistan-Bangladesh
- [] Romania-Bulgaria-Albania-Macedonia
- [] Russia
- [] Rwanda-Burundi-Democratic Rep. of Congo-Rep. of Congo
- [] South Africa-Bostwana-Namibia-Zambia
- [] Syria