

BOWDOIN COLLEGE  
Department of Government and Legal Studies  
Government 2670  
Spring 2020

**United States Foreign Policy**

Professor Barbara Elias  
Office: 203 Hubbard Hall  
E-mail: [belias@bowdoin.edu](mailto:belias@bowdoin.edu)

Office Hours: Wed 2:15 – 4:15  
T TH 1:15pm – 2:40pm  
Pickering Room, Hubbard 213

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.

**Exams, Grading & Academic Integrity**

These assignments are ways for me to assess your understanding of key concepts presented. There will be positively no dishonesty, plagiarism or cheating tolerated. Contact me if emergencies arise that affect your work. Please review the college's policy on academic integrity, [www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/the-academic-honor-code-and-social-code.html](http://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/the-academic-honor-code-and-social-code.html)

1. 10% - Quiz – February 4
2. 20% - Midterm Exam – February 20
3. 10% - Policymaking Simulation Assignments  
(1–2 page reports, speeches and/or briefings produced) Feb 27 – March 5
4. 20% - Take Home Exam – (3 pages) – April 16
5. 15% - Presidential Daily Brief (due April 30) and  
Policy Regional Briefings (3 in total, due on or before Feb 13, Mar 26, Apr 23)
6. 25% - Final Paper – (5–7pages) – May 16, 4pm

**Late Policy & Extensions**

Please manage your time wisely and do not ask for extensions unless you are facing extraordinary circumstances, such as medical emergencies. If you need extra time to complete an assignment, please note the standard late policy for the course will apply. The late policy is as follows: 1/2 a letter grade will be deducted from the assignment for each 24 hour period the assignment is late. For example, if you hand in 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 B+ will be recorded as a B-, and so on.

## **Laptops, Technology & Classroom Etiquette**

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. To ensure the classroom remains conducive to learning, no phones are allowed. Please turn the sound off and store your 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 must be put away once the class is done discussing the particulars of that text.

## **Part I: Traditions, Theory and Considerations in Foreign Policy**

January 21: Introduction

January 23: U.S. National Interests

- George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, Part I, sections of 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 28: 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

January 30: 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 4: American Foreign Policy Traditions – **Quiz**

- 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 6: 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 11: The Cold War

- 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 13: Bureaucracies – State, Defense, NSC & CIA – **Policy Regional Briefing Due**

- 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 18: 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 20: **Midterm Exam**

#### February 25: Military Intervention in Vietnam – Policymaking Simulation Preparation

- 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)

#### February 27: **Vietnam Policymaking Simulation**

- Readings Distributed Based in Class Based on Assigned Roles

#### March 3: **Vietnam Policymaking Simulation**

- Readings Distributed Based in Class Based on Assigned Roles

### March 5: Vietnam Policymaking Simulation

- Readings Distributed Based in Class Based on Assigned Roles

[Spring Break]

### March 24: 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 26: No Class - Professor at an Academic Conference

- **Second Policy Regional Briefing Due**

### March 31: 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)
- 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 2: U.S. and European Alliances and Security – Guest Speaker Professor Kaija Schilde

- Melvyn P. Leffler, “The Strategic Thinking That Made America Great ‘Europe First’ and Why It Still Matters,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 10, 2018
- Barry Posen, “The Rise of Illiberal Hegemony: Trump’s Surprising Grand Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018

### April 7: News Media & Public Opinion

- 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)
- 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).
- Matthew 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 9: 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.
- Tamara Laine, “Thumb-Boat Diplomacy Could Undo U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy*, November 1, 2019

### **Part III: Current Challenges, Regions and Priorities**

April 14: 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 16: Afghanistan/Pakistan – **Take Home Exam Due**

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

April 21: 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)
- David J. Barron, Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Memorandum for the Attorney General, “Lethal Operation Against Shaykh Anwar Aulaqi,” February 19, 2010, U.S. Department of Justice, Top Secret, Declassified.

April 23: Iran – **Third Policy Regional Briefing Due**

- Michael R. Pompeo, “Confronting Iran: The Trump Administration’s Strategy” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2018
- Robin Wright, “Donald Trump’s Iran Problem” *The New Yorker*, January 12, 2020

April 28: Counterterrorism Foreign Policy – Guest Speaker U.S. Ambassador Laurence Pope

- Garrett M. Graff, “Pan Am Flight 103: Robert Mueller’s 30-Year Search for Justice,” *Wired Magazine*, December 27, 2018
- “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.

April 30: North Korea & China – Nuclear Weapons, Small & Great Powers and Trade Disputes – **Presidential Daily Brief Assignment Due**

- Roger Baker, “North Korea: A Problem Without a Solution,” STRATFOR, January 10, 2017
- Weijian Shan, “A Delicate Truce in the U.S.-Chinese Trade War: What Both Sides Must Do to Forge a Better Peace,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 13, 2020

May 5: Foreign Policy with Ukraine and President Trump’s Impeachment Proceedings

- Dana Farrington, “Trump Impeachment Inquiry: A Guide To Key People, Facts And Documents,” NPR, October 28, 2019. [Look through online for an overview] <https://www.npr.org/2019/10/28/771287237/trump-impeachment-inquiry-a-guide-to-key-people-facts-and-documents>
- Transcript of July 25, 2019, 9:03am phone call between U.S. President Donald J. Trump and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine.
- To the Honorable Richard Burr and the Honorable Adam Schiff, Whistleblower Complaint Regarding the White House Approaches to Ukraine, August 12, 2019

**Final Paper Due** – Saturday, May 16, 4pm

## Central Intelligence Agency – Directorate of Intelligence

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 for your service.
- 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 26 and the last is due on or before April 23.
  - 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 most important reports from our class collection to build a "Presidential Daily Brief" (PDB) for the White House. You will also be required 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/Palestine
- [ ] 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