

**PS 245: The US in World Politics
(Introduction to American Foreign Policy)
Tuesday/Thursday 830-1018AM, Ramseyer 336**

Instructor: Seth Goldstein

Office: Derby 2031

Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday 1030AM-1130AM and by appointment

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Description: Every day, the American government—your government—makes decisions on your behalf that have far-reaching consequences in our own lives as well as those of people all around the world. More money has been spent on American Foreign Policy since 1950 than on any other collective enterprise in the world. In my mind, these are ample reasons for us to study US foreign policy, and to think about how we might craft a wiser, more efficient foreign policy. This course will provide students with the theoretical and analytical tools to be conscientious observers of American foreign policy. During the first part of the quarter, International Relations theory will be introduced as a tool for the analysis of foreign policy. The second half of the course will be dedicated to analyzing post- WWII US foreign policy through the lens of the theories we have learned, with an eye towards evaluating the utility of various types of theories for explaining US policy choices and their implications. Apart from the teaching of the course material, in light of the generally crude analysis common in mainstream discussions of American Foreign Policy, my primary goal as a teacher is to get each of you to become critical thinkers, and more intelligent consumers of the information you are bombarded with on an everyday basis. Such is a skill that will serve you well regardless of what path you take in the future. Though the journey will demand much of you as students, I hope to make the journey through the material as interesting, enjoyable, and painless as possible. Thus my door is always open to your suggestions, concerns, and comments. If you can't make my scheduled office hours, feel free to email me and set up an appointment.

The course meets two GEC requirements:

#5. Diversity: International Issues

Goals/ Rationale:

Diversity: International Issues courses help students become educated, productive, and principled citizens of their nation and the world.

Learning Objectives:

1. Students exhibit an understanding of political, economic, cultural, physical, and social differences among the nations of the world, including a specific examination of non-Western culture.

#7. Social Science

Goals/Rationale:

Courses in social science help students understand human behavior and cognition, and the structures of human societies, cultures and institutions.

Learning Objectives:

1. Students understand the theories and methods of scientific inquiry as they are applied to the studies of individuals, groups, organizations, and societies.
2. Students comprehend human differences and similarities in various psychological, social, cultural, economic, geographic, and political contexts.
3. Students develop abilities to comprehend and assess individual and social values, and recognize their importance in social problem solving and policy making.

Course Requirements/ Approximate Grading Scheme:

Pop quizzes (Attendance): 15%

Participation: 5%

Midterm Exam: 35%*/20%

Final Exam: 50%* /30%

Elective Paper: 30%

My grading scale for the exams, paper and final course grades is as follows:

A = 100% - 93% C+ = 80% - 77%

A- = 93% - 90% C = 77% - 73%

B+ = 90% - 87% C- = 73% - 70%

B = 87% - 83% D+ = 70% - 67%

B- = 83% - 80% D = 67% - 60%

E (also known as "F") = Less than 60%

*The weight of the exams in determining your grade will be nearly halved if you elect to write a research paper (10-15 pages)¹ on any aspect of American foreign policy. It can be a reasoned policy recommendation regarding some current issue, a critical examination of some past foreign policy decision, taking issue with the historical validity of some purportedly authoritative source (book, movie, etc), a musing on the direction of current US policy, the similarities of current patterns to past ones, or just about anything else within reason. The only catch is that you **must** decide whether you are going to write this paper by the end of the 7th week (November 2), and the topic **must** be cleared with me by this time, so please plan ahead. Also, you are required to submit to me an outline of your paper along with a tentative bibliography by the end of Week 9 (November 17). Papers turned in by students who have not consulted me, or have not provided me with the outline and bibliography will not be accepted. The paper is due, in **both** paper and electronic formats, by 5pm on Thursday November 30. The paper copy should be given directly to me or can be put in my mailbox in 2140 Derby Hall; the electronic copy should be emailed to me in MS-Word format. As this is an opportunity to express your own thoughts and opinions in a way not probed by the exams, it is my hope is that everyone will elect to write the paper.

¹ Double-spaced, Standard character spacing and margins in 12 point Times New Roman font.

Attendance Policy/ What to Expect on Exams/ Participation Grade: Attendance is Required: Because I will be posting my lecture notes on the internet, and in lieu of circulating an attendance sheet with each student's name on it, there will be periodic pop quizzes on the readings to ensure that people are coming to class and keeping up with the readings. No make up quizzes will be given; if you miss class, you cannot take the quiz, hence your grade will suffer. Make-up exams will not be given except in extreme circumstances. Also, no early or late exams will be given to accommodate travel plans, so make plans accordingly. Anything from the readings or lectures is fair game for exams, though I will distribute a review sheet prior to both the midterm and final exams to help direct your studying.

Participation: Quality is more important than quantity when it comes to participation. To encourage discussion, if no one is volunteering I will randomly call on people to answer questions, so do the reading and **BE PREPARED!** If you want to gauge how you are doing in this respect, please come to office hours and we can discuss it. The onus is on you to participate. I will have questions that we will discuss as a class during most lectures. There is some wiggle room in my grading scheme, and the participation is typically what determines whether an 80 is a C+ or a B-. Please make sure that I know who you are by the end of the quarter! I recognize that some students are shy and uncomfortable participating in a large class. If you fall into this category, please make sure that you are conveying your participation in other ways; whether it be coming to office hours regularly to convey to me that you are actively involved in the course, or emailing me any questions that you have that you don't wish to bring up in class.

Two Notes on Respect: To do well in this class, you must learn from each other as much as you learn from the course material. Because this class is about political issues, it will doubtlessly touch on many sensitive issues in which people have passionate and discordant feelings and opinions. During exchanges of ideas, please treat your fellow students with the courtesy and respect that you would expect from them. Failure to do so will adversely affect your participation grade.

Also, please turn off your cell phones, pagers, Ipods, or any other noise-making electronics before entering class.

Email Requirement: Each of you is required to furnish me with a working email address where you can be reached. In the event that I have to cancel class on a given day, you will receive notice via email.

Academic Honesty: I expect all of the work you do in this course to be your own. I will tolerate absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation). I will report any cases of cheating or plagiarism to the university committee on academic misconduct, and they will be handled according to university policy.

Disability: If you need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability, you should contact me to arrange an appointment as soon as possible. At the appointment we can discuss the course format, anticipate your needs, and explore potential accommodations. I rely on the Office for Disability Services for assistance in verifying the need for accommodations and developing accommodation strategies. If you have not previously contacted the Office for Disability Services, I encourage you to do so.

Reading: This course will have a lot of reading, and I expect that each student will come to class having read the required materials for that day. Again, if people do not volunteer when I pose questions to the class about the readings or related issues, I reserve the right to volunteer you. The readings during the first half are generally denser than those in the second half, so in some cases, to cut down on required pages, I will assign you to skim certain readings. In these cases, I will let you know what main points to read for ahead of time.

Besides the readings on the syllabus, I would like each of you to keep up with American Foreign Policy through the reading of a major newspaper (i.e. the New York Times if you are a communist, the Washington Times if you are a fascist, etc) throughout the quarter. Questions about the significance and interpretation of recent foreign policy events may just show up on the exams; keeping up with the news will also provide you with some potential fodder for paper topics. Not everything in the readings and in lecture will show up on the exams, but everything covered in either venue is fair game.

Supplemental Readings: These are to be done at your leisure and convenience; while I may mention the arguments of some of the authors in passing, you will not be responsible for the material that is in those books/articles that I do not cover in lecture. My primary goal in providing supplemental readings is to give those people that wish to write papers good starting points.

Books: The following books are required for Purchase and have been ordered at the Usual Suspects:

Required for purchase

G. John Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, 5th edition (\$77 new on Amazon)

Steven Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 16th edition (\$47 new on Amazon)

Required Download, Available for Free: Robert Johnson, *Improbable Dangers*
This book will be available as a downloadable PDF file, links will be on the course Carmen page:

[complete book--high quality](http://psweb.sbs.ohio-) (36MB) <http://psweb.sbs.ohio->

state.edu/faculty/jmueller/JOHCOPEZ.PDF
[complete book--somewhat lower quality](http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/jmueller/johnson.pdf) (7 MB) <http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/jmueller/johnson.pdf>
[text--somewhat lower quality--without notes or index](http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/jmueller/JOHNSCUT.PDF) (5MB) <http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/jmueller/JOHNSCUT.PDF>

Tentative Course Reading Schedule (watch Carmen for updates)

Most readings will come from either the Ikenberry, Hook and Spanier, or Johnson volumes. Other Readings are available for download on the course Carmen page and they will be uploaded to the Carmen site no later than one week before the class for which they are to be read. The source of each reading assignment is indicated on the reading schedule.

Week 1

**Thursday, September 21: Syllabus Distribution and Course Introduction/
Conceptual Overview**

Week 2

Tuesday, September 26: What is (International Relations) Theory and How Does It Help us Analyze American Foreign Policy?

Required: Ikenberry Introduction and Holsti "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy, pp. 1-39 (**Ikenberry**)

Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One world, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998, pp. 29-44. (**Carmen**)

Thursday, September 28: The Third Image: International Sources of American Behavior

Required: Kenneth Waltz "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," pp. 60-84 (**Ikenberry**).

V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," from Richard Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War*, pp. 242-248. (**Carmen**)

Week 3

Tuesday, October 3: The Second Image: Domestic Sources of American Behavior: Public Opinion, Economic Explanations, and the Military-Industrial Complex

Required:

Michael Roskin, "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam," pp. 312-333 **(Ikenberry)**

Jacobs and Page, "Business versus Public Influence in US Foreign Policy," pp. 357-383 **(Ikenberry) (SKIM)**

Dwight Eisenhower, Presidential Farewell Address (available on the web)

at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/speeches/eisenhower001.htm>

James Fallows, "The Military Industrial Complex," *Foreign Policy* Nov-Dec 2002, pp.46-48. **(Carmen)**

Cal Clark, Review of Bruce Russett and Elizabeth Hanson, *Interest and Ideology: The Foreign Policy Beliefs of American Businessmen*, *Journal of Politics* 38(4), Nov 1976, pp 1073-1074. **(Carmen)**

Thursday, October 5: The Second Image Continued: Bureaucratic and Organizational Theory

Required:

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," pp. 402-447 **(Ikenberry)**

Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," pp. 447-460 **(Ikenberry)**

Week 4

Tuesday, October 10: The Second Image Continued: Institutions, Regime Type, and the Democratic Peace

Mastanduno, in Ikenberry

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97(4), Nov. 2003. **(Carmen)**

Thursday, October 12: The First Image: Human Nature and Perception

Required: Kenneth Waltz, Chapter 1 from *Man the State and War*, pp. 16-41 **(Carmen)**

Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," pp. 462-484 **(Ikenberry)**

Week 5

Tuesday, October 17: The First Image Continued: Cognition and the Importance of Leaders

Required: Tetlock and McGuire, "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy," pp. 484-500 **(Ikenberry)**

Thursday, October 19: MIDTERM

Week 6

Tuesday, October 24: The American Style of Foreign Policy and American Policy Prior to WWII

Required: Hook and Spanier, Chapter 1

George Washington, Farewell address, 1796 available at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm>

Thursday, October 26: The Origins of the Cold War

Required: President Truman's Domino Theory Speech:

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/harrystrumantrumandocctrine.html>

George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," available at

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/coldwar/x.htm>

Hook and Spanier, Chapter 2.

Supplemental: **Robert Johnson**, pp. 51-87, 131-178.

Melvyn Leffler, "The American Conception of National security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-1948," (**Ikenberry**)

Week 7

Tuesday, October 31: The Diplomacy of Violence, Nuclear Weapons, and Nuclear Strategy

Required: Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Chapter 1 (**Carmen**)

Hook and Spanier, Chapter 3, pp. 75-80.

Thursday, November 2: In-Class viewing: Dr. Strangelove (PAPER DECISION DEADLINE 5PM TODAY)

Week 8

Tuesday, November 7: Containment during the Cold War

Required: Hook and Spanier, Chapter 3 (pp. 50-75), and Chapter 5.

Ted Hopf, "Soviet Inferences from their Victories in the Periphery," in Robert Jervis and Jack Snyder, eds. *Dominoes and Bandwagons: Strategic Beliefs and Superpower Competition in the Eurasian Rimland*, 1991 (**Carmen**).

Thursday, November 9: Containment through Other Means: Détente and World Order Politics

Required: Hook and Spanier, Chapters 6 and 7

Week 9:

Tuesday, November 14: The Reagan Buildup and the End of The Cold War

Required: Hook and Spanier, Ch 8 and 9

Robert Johnson, Chapter 6, pp. 111-130 (**Carmen**).

Richard Herrmann, "The End of the Cold War: What Have We Learned?," in Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, eds., *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War*, pp. 259-284 (**Carmen**).

Thursday, November 16: American Primacy in the Post-Cold War Era

Required: Hook and Spanier, Ch. 10.

Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs* Vol 70 No 1, Winter 1991/1992, pp. 23-33 (**Carmen**).

John Mueller, "The Catastrophe Quota: Trouble After the Cold War" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38(3), Sep. 1994, pp. 355-375 (**Carmen**).

Supplemental:

John Mearsheimer, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," *The Atlantic*, August 1990, pp. 35-50 (**Carmen**)

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72(3), Summer 1993 (**Carmen**).

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989) (**Carmen**).

Week 10

Tuesday, November 21: The US Invasion of Iraq: Causes and Consequences

Required: Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," pp. 576-599 (**Ikenberry**)

Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004), pp. 5-48 (**Carmen**).

John Mueller, "the Iraq Syndrome," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2005, pp. 44-54 (**Carmen**).

Supplemental:

Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, (this one is more to familiarize oneself with the timeline of the war. This is pretty light reading and possible paper topics also abound in this 'fly on the wall' account)

Bruce Jentleson, *With Friends Like These: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam*, New York: WW Norton, 1994 (This chronicles the US relationship with Iraq during the 1980s leading up the first gulf war)

Also correspondence between Kauffmann and his critics, *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Spring 2005), pp. 196-207 (**Carmen**)

Thursday, November 23: Thanksgiving Holiday—NO CLASS!

Week 11

Tuesday, November 28: The Origins of Extremist Terrorism and WMD Proliferation in the Post-9/11 Era

Required: Richard Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1998 (**Carmen**).

Hook and Spanier, Chp. 13

Andy Altizer and Erum Jilani, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001, *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* 2(4), 2005 (**Carmen**).

Supplemental: Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001, New York: Penguin Books, 2004 (738 pp so be warned!).

Thursday, November 30: Terrorism and Proliferation II: Or, Will (and Should) the United States Invade Iran (PAPERS DUE)

Read: Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May be Better," in Richard Betts, ed, *Conflict After the Cold War*, pp. 433-433 (**Carmen**).

Scott Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 18(4), Spring 1994, pp. 66-107 (**Carmen**).

Ray Takeyh, "Iran Builds the Bomb," *Survival* 46 (4), Winter 2004-05, pp. 51-64. (**Carmen**)

Supplemental: John and Karl Mueller, "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* 78, May/June 1999, pp. 43-53 (**Carmen**).

Kenneth Waltz & Scott Sagan, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 2nd edition, New York: WW Norton, 2004.

The Final Exam will be held at the time designated by the university: Tue Dec 5, 9:30 AM - 11:18 AM in our regular classroom.

An informal review session will be held a few days before the exam.

****I reserve the right to modify the readings/topics on the syllabus, with sufficient notice, to accommodate the pace of the course.**

Movies

The following films are no substitute for the course readings, nor should my listing of them be interpreted to vouch for their historical accuracy. Nonetheless, they may aid in your experience in this course insofar as they may help you visualize the subjects we discuss and, more broadly, bring you closer to the mood and feel of our topics. Plus, I am something of a movie buff myself, so these titles are recommended to watch at your leisure. They also might be useful jumping off points for paper topics. For instance, you might choose to critique the validity of some of the depictions of historical events in the movie.

US Domestic Politics During the Cold War

Good Night and Good Luck

JFK

Nixon

The Manchurian Candidate (old version)

A Beautiful Mind

The Front

Nuclear Weapons and the US-Soviet relationship

Dr. Strangelove

13 Days

Fail Safe

The Hunt for Red October

The Day After

Wargames

Crimson Tide

K19: The Widowmaker

Vietnam War

Apocalypse Now

Full Metal Jacket

Platoon

Fog of War

American Policy During the 1990s

Three Kings

Bowling for Columbine

Clear and Present Danger

Executive Decision

Motivations for Contemporary US Foreign Policy

Team America: World Police

Why We Fight

Fahrenheit 9/11

The Sum of All Fears

The Manchurian Candidate (new)

JFK