

Political Science 359
Problems of American Foreign Policy
Northwest Quadrant Building B Room 6590
Spring 2014

Instructor: Dr. Kristin Trenholm

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Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays from 2:00-2:50 p.m. and by appointment

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Final exam: Wednesday, May 14, 2014, 12:30-2:30 p.m.

Optional final papers are due: Thursday, May 8, 2014 at 12:30 p.m.

Course Description

This course examines the development and problems of American Foreign Policy since World War II, with special attention to the Cold War and post-9/11 periods. This course will focus on U.S. National Security Policy, which is the coordination of diplomacy, military policy, information dissemination and propaganda, trade policy, and intelligence collection.

We begin with a general introduction to the nature of U.S. National Security Policy (NSP) and examine the domestic environment, such as the constitutional limits, bureaucratic politics, and the media (Block I and II). We then examine several case studies of U.S. NSP, focusing upon the Cold War and early post-Cold War era. Here we examine the NSP of the Carter, Reagan, and Clinton Administrations (Block III). In the final section (Block IV) we examine the contemporary setting: U.S. National Security after 9/11, under George W. Bush and Barack Obama.

The readings for this course are varied. We will read a number of “classics” in U.S. National Security Studies, including works by George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, George Marshall, and Winston Churchill. We will also read a number of contemporary works by policy analysts (from both liberal and conservative think tanks), academics (political scientists and historians), government officials, as well as essays and speeches by U.S. Presidents (including Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama).

Having completed this course, students should be familiar with the development, central issues, and key debates concerning U.S. National Security Policy, past and present. Furthermore, students should enhance their critical and analytical skills in the process and apply such skills to more current research and debate in this field. In short, students should take from this class the critical thinking skills that will enhance their discriminating consumption of professional research and contemporary journalistic arguments in the field.

Course Requirements

Regular attendance and participation. I expect you to come to class each session and to come prepared. Students are expected to: 1) finish the assigned readings before the class for which they are assigned, 2) attend class regularly, 3) show up to class on time, and 4) participate in class discussion. Be sure to sign the attendance sheet each time that the class meets. Students may not miss more than two lectures without it negatively affecting their grade.

Preparation. In assessing the various authors’ works, students should be able to answer the following questions: 1) What does the author seek to explain? 2) What evidence does the author

offer in support of the argument? 3) What are the key concepts? 4) From what theoretical perspective does each argument originate? 5) Are there counter-arguments that can be made? 6) What do you make of the author's argument overall?

Grades

Grades will be based on the best two of three short quizzes (worth 8.33% each), participation (8.34%), attendance (10%), one midterm exam (worth 25%), and one final exam (worth 40%). Interested students may choose to write one six-page final analytical essay from a list of essays of my choosing. In which case, the final analytical essay is worth 20% and the final exam is worth 20% of the grade.

Each student must present on two class discussion questions and provide written commentary on another. Students presenting (or providing commentary) in a given week should talk to me after class the week before, in order to agree on what will be debated or discussed. Each student will prepare their own talking points and these presentation notes are due after class on the day that the presentation is made. Students providing commentary will also submit their notes after class discussion, and should be prepared to serve in the role of a discussant after the student presentations are made and/or during class discussion.

There will be no make-up quizzes, although one quiz may be dropped. No make-up midterm or final exams will be given without a medical or university excuse. Students must produce the appropriate documentation stating why they were not able to be in class at the exact time of the exam. If you have a problem or miss an exam, please contact me immediately (beforehand if possible).

If you miss the midterm exam without giving me prior notice, you MUST contact me within 24 hours of that exam or you will not be allowed to take a make-up exam under any circumstances. For additional information about UWM University policies see <http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/SecU/SyllabusLinks.pdf>. This web site contains a list of University policies regarding such issues as incompletes, grade appeal procedures, and University policy governing academic misconduct, among other things.

The midterm exam will be given during the regular class period during the 7th week of class (**Tuesday, March 4, 2014**). The final exam is: **Wednesday, May 14, 2014, 12:30-2:30 p.m.** The optional six-page analytical essay is due on **Thursday, May 8, 2014**. It is due at the beginning of class at 12:30 p.m. *I do not accept late analytical essay papers without a documented University accepted reason.*

Students with special needs are responsible for making their needs known in the first two weeks of the semester, especially if accommodations are needed in order to meet any of the requirements of this course.

Required Readings

There is one required book that is available at the UWM Bookstore:
David Bernell. *Readings in American Foreign Policy: Historical and Contemporary Problems*. Pearson Longman, 2008. First Edition.

There are also a number of additional required readings for the course (i.e. articles, government documents and presidential speeches). All of these required readings are available on the D2L (Desire to Learn) course site. I have placed one copy of the required book on two-hour reserve at the UWM library.

Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

The following schedule is subject to modification. Be sure to try to finish each day's readings before class.

Block I. The Nature of US National Security Policy (NSP)

Week #1 (1/21 Tuesday): Overview of the course.

Week #1 (1/23 Thursday): The Nature of US National Security Policy.

Cecil Crabb. "The Isolationist Heritage." *From Policymakers and Critics: Conflicting Theories of American Foreign Policy*. (1986) Bernell (pp. 3-17).

Hans Morgenthau. "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy." From *In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. (1951). Bernell (pp.18-30).

Week #2 (1/28 Tuesday): The Nature of US National Security Policy Continued.

G. John Ikenberry. "America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-war Era." *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies and Impacts*. Edited by Cox, Ikenberry, and Inogouchi. Oxford University Press (2000). Bernell (pp.31-50).

Joshua Muravchik. "The New Great Debate—Washington Versus Wilson," From *The Imperative of American Leadership: A Challenge to Neo-Isolationism*. The American Enterprise Institute (1996). Bernell (pp. 52-64).

(Recommended) Harold Hongju Koh. "America's Jekyll-and-Hyde Exceptionalism." *Stanford Law Review* (2003). Bernell (pp. 65-81).

Block II. The Domestic Setting

Week #2 (1/30 Thursday): The Constitution and Politics of NSP I: Bureaucratic Politics.

Glen Hastedt. "The Foreign Affairs Bureaucracy," from *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present, Future*. (Seventh Edition). Pearson. 2009. Chapter 9 (pp. 230-264). D2L.

James Lindsey. "Defense and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33, No. 3, September, 2005 Bernell (pp. 105-117).

The Obama Administration. Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/cabinet>

Week #3 (2/4 Tuesday): The Constitution and Politics of NSP II: Public Opinion, Pressure Groups, and the Media.

Warren P. Strobel. "The CNN Effect: How Much Influence does the 24-hour News Network Really Have on Foreign Policy?" *American Journalism Review*, May 1996. Bernell (pp.129-137).

Fred H. Cate. "The CNN Effect" is Not Clear-Cut." *Humanitarian Affairs Review*, Summer 2002 D2L.

Richard Sobel. "Extending the Theory of Public Opinion in American Foreign Policy: Public Opinion as Intervention Constraint." (2001) Bernell (pp. 150-159).

Karl R. DeRouen, Jr. ed. *Historic Encyclopedia of the U.S. Presidential Use of Force, 1989-2000* M-Media (pp.187-193). D2L.

Block III. The History of NSP

Week #3 (2/6 Thursday): The Origins of Containment and NSP I. QUIZ #1

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. From *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*. 7th Edition (Pearson Longman, 2009). Chapter 5. The Cold War (pp.116-162). D2L.

George Kennan (X). "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs*, (July 1947). Bernell (pp. 199-213). Also D2L.

Week #4 (2/11 Tuesday): The Origins of Containment and NSP I.

George C. Marshall. "Against Hunger, Poverty, Desperation and Chaos": the Harvard Speech.

From *Foreign Affairs*, (May/June 1997). D2L.

Winston Churchill, *Iron Curtain Speech*. Fulton, Missouri. March 5, 1946. D2L.

U.S. State Department. "The Truman Doctrine, 1947." D2L. Also available at:

<<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/cwr/82210.htm>>

Week #4 (2/13 Thursday): NSP II: During the Cold War.

Jimmy Carter. *University of Notre Dame-Address at Commencement Exercises at the University*.

May 22, 1977. Bernell (pp. 242-250). Also available at:

<<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=7552.htm>>

Jimmy Carter. *State of the Union Address*. 1980. D2L. Also available at:

<<http://jimmycarterlibrary.org/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml>>

"The Hostages and the Casualties." *The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum*. D2L.

Also available at: <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/documents/list_of_hostages.phtml>

Week #5 (2/18 Tuesday): NSP II: During the Cold War Continued.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. "Dictatorship & Double Standards." *Commentary*, November 1979.

Bernell (pp.251-266) or D2L.

Freedom House. "Freedom in the World-Nicaragua (2012)." D2L. Note the political rights score, civil liberties score, and the status for both Iran and Nicaragua in 2012.

Freedom House. "Freedom in the World-Iran (2012)." D2L.

Week #5 (2/20 Thursday): The Beginning of the End of the Cold War.

Ronald W. Reagan. *Address to British Parliament*. The Palace of Westminster in London. June

8, 1982. Bernell (pp. 267-275) Also available at:

<<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/reagan-parliament.htm>>

Lou Cannon. "Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Talks Collapse as Deadlock on SDI

Wipes Out Other Gains." *The Washington Post*. October 13, 1986 (p. A01). D2L.

Ronald W. Reagan. *Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate—"Tear Down This Wall."* West Berlin, Germany. June 12, 1987. D2L. Also available at:

<<http://www.reaganlibrary.com/reagan/speeches/wall.asp.htm>>

Week #6 (2/25 Tuesday): The End of the Cold War. Why Did The Soviet Union Collapse?

Raymond L. Gartoff. "Retrospect and Prospect." (1994) Bernell (pp. 286-293).

John Lewis Gaddis. "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System." (1988) Bernell (pp.293-310).

Week #6 (2/27 Thursday): The End of the Cold War Continued. Why Did The Soviet Union Collapse?

Stephen Sestanovich. "Did the West Undo the East?" *The National Interest* (Spring 1993) pp. 26-34. D2L.

Peter Reddaway. "The Role of Popular Discontent." *The National Interest* (Spring 1993) pp. 57-63. D2L.

Vladimir Kontorovich. "The Economic Fallacy." *The National Interest* (Spring 1993) pp. 35-45. D2L.

Week #7 Midterm Exam: Tuesday, March 4, 2014

Week #7 (3/6 Thursday): The Early Post-Cold War Era.

Samuel Huntington. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer, 1993). D2L.

John Mearsheimer. "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War." *The Atlantic*, (November 1990). D2L.

Charles Krauthammer. "The Unipolar Moment." *Foreign Affairs*, (Winter 1990/91). Bernell (pp. 313-322).

Week #8 (3/11 Tuesday): The Post-Cold War Era.

The National Security Council. "A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement." (February 1996). Bernell (pp. 329-335).

William J. Clinton. *Remarks at a Democratic Leadership Council Gala*. October 13, 1999. Bernell (pp. 374-378). Also available at:

<<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=56711.htm>>

Douglas Brinkley. "Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*, (March 22, 1997). Bernell (pp. 335-346).

James Dobbins, "Nation Building: The Inescapable Responsibility of the World's Only Superpower." *Rand Review*, (Summer 2003). Bernell (pp. 357-366).

Week #8 (3/13 Thursday): The Bosnia case study.

Shale Horowitz. "Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslims, Croats, and Serbs." Chapter 9 (pp. 164-185). *From Ethnic Conflict to Stillborn Reform: The Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. Texas A&M University Press (2005). D2L.

UWM Spring Recess: March 16-23, 2014

Block IV. The Contemporary Setting

Week #9 (3/25 Tuesday): 9/11 and George W. Bush.

Condoleezza Rice. "Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest." *Foreign Affairs*, (January/February 2000). D2L.

Condoleezza Rice. "Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World." *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 2008). D2L.

Week #9 (3/27 Thursday): 9/11 and George W. Bush Continued.

George W. Bush. *Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People*. United States Capital Washington, D.C. (September 20, 2001). D2L.

Barry R. Posen. "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics." *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter 2001/02). D2L.

Week #10 (4/1 Tuesday): The Threat of Terrorism I. QUIZ #2

George W. Bush. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. June 2002. D2L.

Osama Bin Laden. "Speech to the American People." English Transcript of speech delivered by video tape. 2004. D2L.

Week #10 (4/3 Thursday): The Threat of Terrorism I Continued.

Marc Sagamen. "Jihadi Networks of Terror." From Katharina von Knop, Heinrich Neisser, and Martin van Creveld, eds. *Countering Terrorism: History, Current Issues, and Future Threats*. Proceedings of the Second International Security Conference, Berlin, 15-17 December 2004. D2L.

Martha Crenshaw. "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism." From Richard Betts, (2008) *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*. (pp. 511-524). D2L.

Week #11 (4/8 Tuesday): The War in Iraq.

James Baker, Lee Hamilton et al. (The Iraq Study Group), from "Assessment of the Current Situation in Iraq." *The Iraq Study Group Report*. The United States Institute of Peace, December 2006. Bernell (pp. 425-433).

Peter Wehner. "Liberals and the Surge: Wrong From the Beginning." *Commentary*, (November 2008). D2L.

Bing West. "Decency, Toughness...and No Shortcuts." *The Atlantic Online* (September 2008). D2L.

Emma Sky. "Iraq, From Surge to Sovereignty: Winding Down the War in Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April 2011) pp.117-127. D2L.

Weeks #11 (4/10 Thursday): The Threat of Terrorism Part II.

John Mueller, "Is There Still a Terrorist Threat? The Myth of the Omnipresent Enemy." *Foreign Affairs*, (September/October 2006). D2L.

Bret Stephens. "How to Manage Savagery." *Commentary*, (September 2008). D2L.

Week #12 (4/15 Tuesday): Terror in Mumbai, December 2008.

Bill Roggio and Thomas Joscelyn. "Pakistan's Jihad: In the War on Terror, Islamabad is Both with Us and Against Us." *The Weekly Standard*, 12/15/2008, Vol. 14, Issue 13. D2L.

Bret Stephens. "Let's Buy Pakistan's Nukes." *The Wall Street Journal*. Opinion page (December 16, 2008) D2L.

Joby Warrick. "Nuclear Scientist A.Q. Khan is Freed from House Arrest." *The Washington Post*. (February 7, 2009) D2L.

Michael Laufer. "A.Q. Khan Nuclear Chronology." Issue Brief from *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. (Vol.VIII. No. 8, September 7, 2005). D2L.

(Recommended) William Langewische, "The Wrath of Khan." *The Atlantic Monthly*. (November 2005). D2L. Also available at:
<<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/print/200511/aqkhan>>

Week #12 (4/17 Thursday): Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Debate over Counterterrorism (CT) vs. Counterinsurgency (COIN).

Eliot Cohen, Conrad Crane, Jan Horvath, and John Nagl. "Principles, Imperatives, and Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency." From Richard Betts ed. *Conflict After the Cold War*. Fourth Edition, pp.591-598. D2L.

Max Boot. "How We Can Win in Afghanistan." *Commentary*. (November 2009). D2L.

Dan Murphy and Ben Arnoldy. "Is US Strategy in Afghanistan Working?" *The Christian Science Monitor*, (October 4, 2009). D2L.

Paul Staniland. "Caught in the Muddle: America's Pakistan Strategy." *The Washington Quarterly*. (Winter 2011) pp. 133-147. D2L.

Barack Obama. "Remarks by the President on the Way Forward in Afghanistan." *The White House*. June 22, 2011. D2L.

Useful website: <<http://www.longwarjournal.org>>

Week #13 (4/22 Tuesday) Barack Obama QUIZ #3

Barack Obama. "Renewing American Leadership." *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 2007). D2L.

Hilary Rodham Clinton. "Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-first Century." *Foreign Affairs*, (November/December 2007). D2L.

Week #13 (4/24 Thursday): Intelligence Collection: "Enhanced Interrogation" or "Torture?"

Scott Wilson and Michael A. Fletcher. "In Dueling Speeches, a National Security Debate: Obama Says Bush Set aside Principles in Terrorism Fight." *The Washington Post*, Friday, (May 22, 2009). D2L.

Barack Obama. "Remarks by the President on National Security." *The White House*, (May 21, 2009). D2L.

Richard B. Cheney. "Remarks by Richard B. Cheney." *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*, (Thursday, May, 21, 2009). D2L.

Barack Obama. "Remarks by the President at the National Defense University." *The White House*, (May 23, 2013). D2L. Also available at:

<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university>>

Week #14 (4/29 Tuesday): Intervention in Libya*

Robert D. Putnam. "With Libya's Megalomaniac 'Philosopher-King' In a Tent in the Desert, Gadhafi Explained Why He Could Never Tolerate Any Challenge To His Supreme Will." *The Wall Street Journal*. (February 26, 2011) D2L.

Justin Logan. "Libya: What Now?" *The National Interest*. (March 18, 2011). D2L.

John Kerry. "Libya and the Just Use of American Force." (March 26, 2011). D2L or
<<http://kerry.senate.gov/press/speeches/speech/.html>>

- Bret Stephens. "The Libya Mission Was 'Never About Regime Change.'" The Weekend Interview with Robert Gates. *The Wall Street Journal*. (March 27, 2011). D2L.
- Barack Obama. "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Libya." National Defense University, Washington, D.C. *The White House*. March 28, 2011. D2L.
- Michael O'Hanlon. "Winning Ugly in Libya: What the United States Should Learn From Its War in Kosovo." Snapshot *Foreign Affairs*, (March 30, 2011). D2L.
- Joseph I. Lieberman and John McCain. "In Libya, Regime Change Should Be the Goal." Opinion. *The Wall Street Journal*. (April 1, 2011). D2L.
- Barack Obama, David Cameron, and Nicolas Sarkozy. "Libya's Pathway to Peace." *The New York Times*, (April 14, 2011). D2L.
- George F. Will. "The Haze of Humanitarian Imperialism." Opinion. *The Washington Post*, (April, 2011). D2L.
- Andrew McGregor. "Special Commentary on Libya: It Didn't Start This Way, But It's a War For Oil." *Jamestown Foundation*, (April 18, 2011). D2L.

Useful website: Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection-UT Library On-Line. (See Libya Crisis Maps) <<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/libya-2011.html>>

Week #14 (5/1 Thursday): The Arab Spring.

- Seth G. Jones. "The Mirage of the Arab Spring: Deal with the Region You Have, Not the Region You Want." *Foreign Affairs*, (January/February 2013) pp. 55-63. D2L.
- Sheri Berman. "The Promise of the Arab Spring: In Political Development, No Gain without Pain." *Foreign Affairs*, (January/February 2013) pp.64-74. D2L.
- John Agresto. "Was Promoting Democracy a Mistake? Liberalism, the Arab Spring, and the Mugging of Neoconservatives." *Commentary*, (December 2012) pp. 32-37. D2L.
- Abe Greenwald. "A Response by Abe Greenwald." *Commentary*, (December 2012) pp.37-38. D2L.

Week #15 (5/6 Tuesday): Soft Power

- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Decline of America's Soft Power: Why Washington Should Worry." *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2004) pp.16-20. D2L.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Future of American Power: Dominance and Decline in Perspective." *Foreign Affairs*. (November/December 2010) pp. 2-12. D2L.
- Hilary Rodham Clinton. "Leading Through Civilian Power: Redefining American Diplomacy and Development." *Foreign Affairs*. (November/December 2010) pp. 13-24. D2L.
- Michael Hirsh. "The Clinton Legacy: How Will History Judge the Soft-Power Secretary of State?" *Foreign Affairs*, (May/June 2013) pp. 82-91. D2L.

Week #15 (5/8 Thursday): The Drone Warfare Debate

- Kenneth Anderson. "The Case for Drones." *Commentary*. (June 2013) pp.14-23. D2L.
- Daniel Byman. "Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice." *Foreign Affairs*. (July-August 2013) pp.32-43. D2L.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin. "Why Drones Fail When Tactics Drive Strategy." *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2013) pp. 44-54. D2L.

Useful website for tracking the number of drone strikes: <<http://www.longwarjournal.org>>

*Other readings may be assigned during the last two weeks of class.

Final Exam: Wednesday, May 14, 2014, 12:30-2:30 p.m.