GVPT 457: American Foreign Relations

Fall 2017

Weds. 2:00pm-4:45pm Location: MTH 0402

Syllabus v.1.0

Prof. Jennifer Wallace

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Office: TYD 1153

Office Hours: TuTh 3:30-4:30 and by appointment



Course Objectives:

This course provides an overview of the evolution and contemporary foreign policy of the United States. The first part of the course will be devoted to the context of foreign policy-making: the international environment, domestic institutions, and the role of media and public opinion. The second part of the course takes a closer look at contemporary foreign policy themes, identifying the major economic, humanitarian, and security concerns and the response of the United States government. The course incorporates a variety of methods to appeal to all learning types: lectures, debates, discussions and film. These methods are intended to reinforce basic concepts as well as to hone students' critical thinking skills.

This course is designed so that students successful in the course will be able to demonstrate:

- An understanding of how foreign policy is formulated in the U.S. government, and what historical, institutional, and political factors shape these outcomes;
- Knowledge of the major foreign policy issues facing the United States today, and how these issues came into prominence;
- An understanding of the terminology and major theories of the study of foreign policy;
- An ability to critically analyze historical and contemporary events, and to conduct appropriate
 research that applies relevant terminology, theory, and empirical data to answer questions
 about the topic.

The class will combine lecture and class discussion nearly every week, so the success of this course relies heavily on students coming to class ready and willing to discuss the reading material. I will provide background information on the themes and cases as needed, but many of the readings present different perspectives that are part of the ongoing debate about role of the United States in the world. You should be ready to think critically about these texts and to formulate your own opinions on the merits of these arguments. There is no better learning environment than a classroom of students who are prepared, engaged, and excited to hear each other. Let's make that happen!

Course Structure:

The course only meets once per week, so we meet for 2 hours and 45 minutes. A typical class will consist of a current events session, lecture, break, and class discussion. While class sessions may deviate from this format to accommodate unique lessons and academic needs, a typical class will roughly follow the following schedule:

2:00-2:30: Administrative Matters and Current Events

2:30-3:30: Lecture 3:30-3:45: Break

3:45-4:45: Class Discussion

Course Readings:

- The are no required textbooks for this course. Readings will be available online, either through the course page (on ELMS), links to websites, or academic journals.
- You are expected to keep up with current events by following a major daily newspaper such as
 the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal or the New York Times. Other recommended sources
 for foreign policy articles are The Economist, The Financial Times, The Diplomat (for East Asia),
 Der Spiegel and Le Monde Diplomatique (for Europe, both have online English versions), The
 Atlantic Monthly and Foreign Affairs.
- If you would like supplementary reading to the course lectures to strengthen your background or conceptual knowledge, I recommend the following two textbooks:

On Part I: The Context of US Foreign Policy: Theory and History:

o Bruce W. Jentleson (2014) American Foreign Policy, 5th edition. New York: Norton.

On Part II: American Foreign Policy in the 21st Century

- Richard Mansbach and Kirsten L Taylor (2017) Contemporary American Foreign Policy.
 1st edition. Washington DC: Sage.
- I have requested that the library purchase both textbooks and place them on course reserves (24-hour loan).
- I may update the some of the readings for Part II of the course in response to changing events. Any changes to the assigned readings will be noted in an announcement on ELMS.

Course Requirements:

1. Discussion Preparation: 35% (5% each – 7/11 required)

2. Current Events Contributions: 5%

3. Midterm: 20%

4. Take-Home Final Exam: 20%

5. Participation and Attendance: 10%

6. Event or Literature Review: 10%

Discussion Preparation: There are 11 structured discussions planned for the semester as noted on the syllabus, not including Week 1 of the course (4 in Part I; 7 in Part II). To prepare for these discussions students are expected to submit a 1-2 page document (single spaced) to ELMS before the start of class

that demonstrates preparation for the in-class discussion. These submissions should reflect knowledge of the readings assigned for the day and include your own answer to the discussion questions noted on the syllabus. Assignments are graded on: 1) accurately integrating the arguments from the reading; 2) answering the question; and 3) demonstrating independent analysis. Submissions may be informal in style [you can discuss the authors' contributions by referencing their name (e.g., "According to Madison..."), without formal citations] and should only focus on the course material, not outside research. You have four "free passes" over the course of the semester, or days in which you may opt out of the writing assignment, although you are still expected to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned reading material for the day. Thus, you are expected to complete 7 preparation assignments in total over the duration of the course. Discussion preparation assignments will not be accepted after the class period begins under any circumstances, including illness and technical difficulty. If you have difficulty uploading your assignment you may email it directly to me or turn in a hard copy in class as a backup.

Current Events Contribution: You are expected to contribute to our current events discussions by identifying an article of interest and leading an informal discussion on it in class; once during Part I of the course and once during Part II of the course. ("Informal discussion" means that you will say why it is interesting and lead a discussion with the class; no presentation is necessary.) Students will be assigned weeks in which their articles are due, but are welcome to send additional articles throughout the course that you wish to discuss in our current events session. On your assigned week, you are expected to email to me a full-length article of interest to you that will be posted on ELMS for the class to discuss in the next class session. Current events articles should meet the following guidelines:

- Be <u>recent</u>, i.e., less than a week old from a daily periodical or less than a month old from a
 weekly or monthly periodical (½ point);
- Be of good journalistic quality, meaning from a reputable publication with quality reporting. It does not need to be politically neutral, but should not make unsubstantiated arguments or offer "conspiracy theories" (½ point);
- Be <u>relevant</u> to deepening our understanding of current events as they relate to foreign policy (½ point);
- and be <u>substantive</u>, meaning a full-length article regarding a new development or discussion of an ongoing current event that offers more that an short update or "blurb" (½ point).

Students should email articles no later than the <u>Tuesday before class at noon</u>. The email should include the article <u>attached as a pdf</u> (please avoid sending links to avoid subscription/access issues) and <u>include a short paragraph</u> in the body of the email on why you found the article to be interesting and relevant (½ point). We will also use current events sessions to discuss any other newsworthy events not captured by the assigned articles. Each submission is worth 2.5 points as indicated above, for a total percentage of your overall grade of 5%.

Midterm: There will be a mid-term held in class on October 11 covering Part I of the course. It will be mixed format (multiple choice, short answer, short essay).

Take-Home Final Exam: A take-home final exam will be posted on Blackboard after the final class of the semester. The format will be short essay. It will be due at 11:59pm on ELMS on whatever day the final exam for this class is scheduled by the university. (This date will be announced mid-semester because our class meets at a non-standard class time.)

Participation: Your participation will be measured by your attendance AND your involvement in classroom discussions and activities. At a minimum, you should come to class having read all of the assigned material, identified some common themes or interesting questions raised by the texts, and be prepared to discuss them. Announced or unannounced quizzes may be added to assess participation if deemed necessary by the professor. If you miss roll call at the beginning of class, it is your responsibility to see me at the end of class (not in the next class or by email) to confirm your attendance. Unexcused absences, non-participation and coming to class unprepared will result in a lower grade.

Event (or Literature) Review: You are expected to attend one foreign policy event on campus or in Washington DC. You should then submit **documentation** of your attendance (program, ticket stub, photo/selfie) and a **5-page analysis** of the event. The review should include: A brief description of the topic addressed and speaker; a summary of the arguments presented; and your own analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the argument. The analysis should focus on the presentation content, and not the general delivery of the presentation. For example, you may wish to address questions such as: Were the arguments convincing? Did the speaker address a range of perspectives? Do you agree with any policy recommendations offered? The following institutions regularly offer free events that address foreign policy issues:

American Enterprise Institute: https://www.aei.org/events/

Brookings Institution: https://www.brookings.edu/events/

Cato Institute: http://www.cato.org/events

Center for American Progress: https://www.americanprogress.org/events/upcoming-events/

Center for Strategic and International Studies: https://www.csis.org/events

Heritage Foundation: http://www.heritage.org/events

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: https://www.wilsoncenter.org/events

You are encouraged to check the calendar of events of these organizations early in the semester, confirm that they are open to the public, and register if necessary. You may want to join the mailing lists of these organizations/follow them on social media early in the semester so that you get notifications of events as they are added. If students do have a valid reason why attending an event is a hardship, let me know and we can discuss whether substituting this assignment for a review of a book related to foreign policy (chosen after consultation with me) is appropriate. However, this arrangement must be agreed to **before the midterm**, no exceptions, and should only be used out of absolute necessity. Washington DC has a wealth of resources to strengthen your foreign policy knowledge – go out there and use them!

Grading Scale

A = 93-100	C = 73-76
A- = 90-92	C- = 70-72
B+ = 87-89	D+ = 67-69
B = 83-86	D = 63-66
B- = 80-82	D- = 60-62
C+ = 77-79	F = < 60

Course Policies and Expectations:

- 1. Assignments that are turned in past the due date will be penalized <u>one letter grade per day</u> for each day or a fraction thereof that the assignment is late. The take-home final will be penalized <u>one letter grade per hour</u> or fraction thereof that it is submitted late. Discussion preparation assignments will not be accepted after the class period begins under any circumstances, including illness and technical difficulty. If you have difficulty uploading your assignment you may turn in a hard copy in class as a backup.
- 2. Because this class meets only once per week, the absence policy will be enforced strictly. Absences for valid reasons such as medical or family emergencies will be excused with appropriate documentation, but you will still be responsible for material missed and a make-up assignment may be required. All unexcused absences will negatively impact your participation grade. Please contact me in advance if you know you will be late or absent, or as soon as possible following the missed class.
- 3. With respect to announced quizzes and exams, there will be <u>no make-up</u> unless: 1) there is an official excuse for having missed an exam (proper documentation is required); or 2) prior arrangement is made. Medical excuses will only be accepted with a doctor's note on official letterhead with a contact phone number.
- 4. Neither cheating nor plagiarism in any form will be tolerated. The penalty for having committed either one of these violations is a *failing grade for the course*. Should you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please do not hesitate to contact me via email or during office hours.
- 5. Cell phones and other potentially disrupting devices must be <u>turned off</u> before you enter the classroom. Laptops may be used to access course material as needed, but must be put away during classroom discussions. If you are checking your email or social media, you are not giving this course your full attention. If I see it, you will be considered "absent," and you will lose your privilege to use your laptop for the rest of the semester. Should distracted use of laptops become a consistent problem, their use in class will be prohibited.
- 6. Any student with disabilities/special needs or who will miss class due to a religious observance should contact me *during the first week of classes* so that the proper arrangements can be made.
- 7. I know that some students find class participation challenging. If you have particular concerns or anxieties about participating in class discussion, let's talk about it *early* in the semester. I will gladly work with you over the course of the semester to make your participation less stressful and more effective. But I can only work with you to make that happen if we talk about your

- concerns and develop a strategy to respond to them. Think of this class as a comfortable place to develop the communication skills you will need later on. Getting more comfortable with participation and public speaking could be a major personal accomplishment this semester, with this class as the vehicle.
- 8. While I am happy to answer <u>brief</u> questions by email, meeting <u>during office hours</u> is the preferred form of communication and should be used if you have a substantive question about the course material. It also helps us get to know each other, which can be a good investment of your time if you need recommendation letters or career advice down the line. Take advantage of the opportunity!
- 9. For additional information on university-wide policies, including on topics of academic integrity, student conduct, sexual misconduct, discrimination, accessibility, attendance, absences, missed assignments, student rights regarding undergraduate courses, official UMD communications, midterm grades, complaints about final exams, copyright and intellectual property, final exams, course evaluations, and campus resources for students, please see the following link: http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html

Course Structure:

PART I: The Context of U.S. Foreign Policy: Theory and History

Week 1 Lecture: The Strategic Context

Aug 30 Discussion: Change and Continuity in US Foreign Policy

What priorities characterize U.S. foreign policy? What tensions exist, and how are they resolved? Is U.S foreign policy marked by continuity or change?

- S. Walt, "Making the Grade: Is There a Way to Judge if a Foreign Policy is Successful?" Foreign Policy, January 6, 2014.
- George Washington's Farewell Address (1796)
- The Monroe Doctrine (1823)
- The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1904)
- The Truman Doctrine (1947)

<u>Week 2</u> Lecture: The Domestic Context – The President and Congress

Sept 6 Discussion: Is Foreign Policy Like Sausage Making?

How are decisions made in the United States regarding foreign policy? How might this lead to errors in decision-making?

- Graham T. Allison (1969) "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," as excerpted in Guy Ziv "Readings in US Foreign Policy," Kendall Hunt. 2011.
- Robert Jervis (1969) "Hypotheses on Misperception," World Politics (20)3.
- Irving L. Janis. (1982) "Introduction to Groupthink: Why So Many Miscalculations?" in Groupthink, Wadsworth.
- Christopher J. Deering "Congress's Role in Foreign Policymaking," in Guy Ziv "Readings in US Foreign Policy," Kendall Hunt, 2011.

Week 3 Lecture: The Domestic Context – Media and Public Opinion Sept 13 Discussion: Is the U.S. Public the 12th Man?

How does the public influence foreign policy? What is the role of the media? Are the public's interests different from those of practitioners?

- Alexander Todorov and Anesu N. Mandisodza. (2004) "Public Opinion on Foreign Policy: The Multilateral Public that Perceives Itself as Unilateral," Public Opinion Quarterly, 68(3).
- Piers Robinson. (2005) "The CNN Effect Revisited" Critical Studies in Media Communication, (22)4.
- Ole R. Holsti. (1992) "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippman Consensus," International Studies Quarterly, 36(4).
- Walter Russell Mead, (2006) "God's Country?" Foreign Affairs (85)5.

Week 4 Lecture: The Historical Context

Sept 20 Discussion: The United States as a Great Power

When and why did the U.S. emerge as a "superpower"? Was this by design or circumstance?

- Henry Kissinger (1994) "Chapter 15: America Re-enters the Arena: Franklin Delano Roosevelt," in Diplomacy, Simon & Schuster.

- Walter LeFeber (1963) "The American 'New Empire'" as excerpted in Bruce W. Jentleson. American Foreign Policy, 5th edition, Norton.
- Peter H. Smith. (2013) "Chapter 4: Mr. Roosevelt's Neighborhood," in Talons of the Eagle, Oxford University Press.

Week 5 Lecture: The Cold War

Sept 27 Movie: The Quiet American

No discussion preparation assignment this week, but please read the following in preparation for the lecture and the movie:

- Peter H. Smith. (2013) "Chapter 5: Closing Ranks" and "Chapter 7: Crushing Enemies," in Talons of the Eagle, Oxford University Press.
- "X" aka George F. Kennan (1947) "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," as excerpted in Essential Readings in World Politics, 6th edition, Norton.

Week 6 Discussion: Lessons from the Cold War

Why did the U.S. get involved in Vietnam? What is the role of "credibility" in U.S. foreign policy?

ICC Debate Prep

- H.R. McMaster (1998) Dereliction of Duty. (New York: HarperCollins) Chapters 1 and 2.
- Stephen Walt (2015) "The Credibility Addiction," Foreign Policy
- Leslie H. Gelb (1971) "Vietnam: The System Worked" Foreign Policy 3.

PART II: American Foreign Policy in the 21st Century

Week 7 Midterm on Weeks 1-6

Oct 11 ICC Debate

Oct 4

- See Background Materials on ELMS for ICC Debate

Week 8 Lecture: Strategy in a New Era: Foreign Policy in the 21st Century Oct 18 Discussion: Change and Continuity in the U.S. Presidency

Have the 21st century presidencies been characterized by change or continuity in foreign policy? What do you expect the Trump Administration to change or maintain, and why?

- Jeffrey Goldberg (April 2016) "The Obama Doctrine," The Atlantic
- M. Glennon, "National Security and Double Government," Harvard National Security Journal 5 (2014).
- Walter Russell Mead (March/April 2017) "The Jacksonian Revolt," Foreign Affairs 96(2).
- J. Biden, "Building on Success: Opportunities for the Next Administration," Foreign Affairs 95, no. 5 (September/October 2015).
- D. Trump, "Transcript to Donald Trump's 'America First' Foreign Policy Speech," April 27, 2016, at http://time.com/4309786/read-donald-trumps-america-first-foreign-policy-speech
- M. Anton (March 2017) "America and the Liberal International Order," American Affairs

Optional:

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- S. Walt (March 2017) "How Not to Fix the Liberal World Order," Foreign Policy. [This is a response to the Anton article, above]
- S. Sestanovich (May 2017) "The Brilliant Incoherence of Trump's Foreign Policy," The Atlantic Monthly

Week 9 Oct 25

Lecture: The Role of the Military and WMD Discussion: Foreign Policy toward Iran, North Korea

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the Iran nuclear deal? What should the policy of the U.S. be towards Iran and other potential nuclear powers? What about its own arsenal?

- BBC. (2016) "North Korea's Nuclear Program: How Advanced is it?" Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-11813699
- Dominic Tierney. (2015) "The Iran Nuclear Deal: Munich or Reykjavik?" The Atlantic
- Peter Beinart, et al. (2015) "Is There a Viable Alternative to the Iran Deal?"
 The Atlantic.
- Cohen et al. (2016) "Time to Get Tough on Tehran: Iran Policy After the Deal," Foreign Affairs.
- Fred Kaplan (2016) "Rethinking Nuclear Policy," Foreign Affairs.

Optional:

- Dan De Luce. (October 2016) "US Weighs Iran-Style Sanctions on North Korea, Risking a Rift With China," Foreign Policy
- Victor D. Cha (Summer 2002) "North Korea's Weapons of Mass Destruction: Badges, Shields or Swords?" Political Science Quarterly, 117(2).

Week 10 Nov 1

Lecture: Economics – Free Trade vs. Neomercantilism Discussion: NAFTA, TPP, Trade Agreements

What are the domestic and international factors that have led to a rise of neomercantilism? What should be the government's response?

- Francis Fukyama (2016) "American Political Decay or Renewal?" Foreign Affairs
- Douglas A. Irwin (2016) "The Truth About Trade," Foreign Affairs
- Petra Pinzler (2016) "How to Free Trade and Protect Democracy," Foreign Affairs.
- Porter, Eduardo (April 11, 2017) "Trump Isn't Wrong on China Currency Manipulation, Just Late," New York Times.

Optional:

- Todd Allee and Andrew Lugg. (2016) "Who Wrote the Rules for The Trans-Pacific Partnership?" Research and Politics
- Roger C. Altman, "Globalization in Retreat," Foreign Affairs. July/August 2009.
- Ann Pettifor, "Brexit and its Consequences" Globalizations, 2017
- No Author. (October 2016) "What Trumponomics Means for the Border Region," The Economist.

Week 11

Lecture: Human Rights and Intervention

Nov 8

Discussion: Evaluating the Responsibility to Protect

What are the obligations of the United States to intervene militarily in Syria, legally and ethically? If you were a member of Congress, what course of action would you recommend?

- Micah Zenko. (October 2016) "This is How America Will Accidentally Join the Syrian War," Foreign Policy.
- Adrian Gallagher (2015) "The Promise of Pillar II: Analysing International Assistance Under Responsibility to Protect," International Affairs.
- Stephen R. Weissman (2017) "Congress and War: How the House and Senate Can Reclaim Their Role," Foreign Affairs.
- Derek Averre and Lance Davies (2015) "Russia, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: The Case of Syria," International Affairs.

Optional:

- James Kurth (2006) "Humanitarian Intervention After Iraq: Legal Ideals vs Military Realities." Orbis.

Week 12 Nov 15

Lecture: US Interventionism and Abandonment in the Middle East Discussion: Engagement with the "Greater Middle East"

What do you think of the criticism that Obama abandoned the Middle East? Do you think that US interests are better served by engaging more deeply, or by reducing involvement in the region? Is a diplomatic approach possible?

- C. Freeman, "Militarism and the Crisis of American Diplomacy," Epistulae, No. 20, July 7, 2015.
- Kenneth M. Pollack (2016) "Fight or Flight: America's Choice in the Middle East" Foreign Affairs.
- F. Gregory Gause III (2016) "The Future of US-Saudi Relations," Foreign Affairs.
- Andreas Krieg (2016) "Externalizing the Burden of War: the Obama Doctrine and US Foreign Policy in the Middle East." International Affairs.
- Donald J. Trump (August 20, 2017) "Address on Afghanistan, Plans for U.S. Engagement," http://www.npr.org/2017/08/21/545038935/watch-live-trump-s-address-on-afghanistan-next-steps-for-u-s-engagement

Optional:

- A. Bacevich, "The Swamp of War" from TomDispatch, November 29, 2016, at
 http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/176215/tomgram%3A andrew bacev ich, the swamp of war
- Martin Kramer (2016) "Israel and the Post-American Middle East: Why the Status Quo is Sustainable," Foreign Affairs

Nov 22

No Class - **Happy Thanksgiving!**

<u>Week 13</u>

Lecture: Frenemies? – China and Russia (and Cuba)

Nov 29

Discussion: Engagement versus Containment

What is the outlook of US relations with its former Cold War rivals in the 21st century? What are the primary areas of cooperation; what tensions remain?

- Evan A. Feigenbaum (2017) "China and the World: Dealing with a Reluctant Power," Foreign Affairs.
- Wu Xinbo. (2016) "Cooperation, Competition and Shaping the Outlook: The United States and China's Neighborhood Diplomacy." International Affairs.
- Joyce P. Kaufman (March 2017) "The U.S. Perspective on NATO Under Trump," International Affairs, 93(2).
- William M. Leogrande (2015) "Normalizing US-Cuba Relations: Escaping the Shackles of the Past," International Affairs

Optional:

- Ash Carter. (2016) "The Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Security," Foreign Affairs.
- Philp M. Breedlove (2016) "NATO's Next Act" Foreign Affairs.

Week 14 Dec 6

Lecture: The Environment, Energy Security, and Climate Change Discussion: US Leadership, its Limits and What's Next

How do U.S. energy policy and climate change policy intersect? Should the U.S. disengage from the Paris Climate Agreement? What impact will that have, domestically and internationally?

- Carlos Pascual. (September 2015) "The New Geopolitics of Energy," SIPA Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University
- Robert MacNeil (2016) "Death and Environmental Taxes: Why Market Environmentalism Fails in Liberal Market Economies," Global Environmental Politics.
- Raymond Clemencon (2016) "The Two Sides of the Paris Climate Agreement," Journal of Environment and Development.