

Political Science 482

American Foreign Policy

Monday, Wednesday, Friday 11AM to 11:50AM

Eric Drummond Smith, PhD

Course Description: An analysis of the manner in which American foreign policy is created and executed. Attention also is paid to current US objectives and the specific policies devised to reach these objectives.

Office: Social Sciences 104

Office Hours: MW 1PM to 3PM; TR 10AM to Noon & 2PM-4PM; Also by appointment after scheduled course/office hours until 5PM

Office Phone: TBA

Classroom: Culbertson Hall 125

Cell Phone: (no calls after 9PM!) 276-708-6868

E-Mail: eds9g@uvawise.edu

Course Website: <http://smithsbluebook.com/academics.html>

Evaluation:

5% Map Quiz

5% Map Quiz

5% Map Quiz

20% First Examination

20% Midterm Examination

20% Final Examination

25% Paper

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100% - Final Grade

Note-taking: Note-taking is an essential part of any course, and in particular of any course that is introductory in nature. Not only does the act of note-taking reinforce the material in question (it is not merely read and heard, but physically reproduced), it creates a record essential to preparation for quizzes and exams. Always come to class with paper and a writing utensil. If you are forced by circumstance to miss class, you will be expected to catch up on all missed notes (from your classmates if at all possible). Having a designated note-taker does not relieve you of responsibility to take notes unless you are physically incapable of taking notes. Students not taking notes may be asked to leave the class at the instructor's leisure.

Exams: There will be three take-home essay-based examinations. Additionally there will be three map quizzes; in the first of these the students will have to identify the major states of the Western Hemisphere, in the second of these the students will have to identify the major states of Europe and the Middle East, and in the third of these the students will have to identify the major states of Central, Southern, Southeastern, and East Asia.

Policy on Making-up Quizzes/Exams: Making-up any missed quiz or exam is the responsibility of the student. The student should make an appointment for the make-up ahead of time and should remember the content of the quiz/exam will be different from that in the generally distributed quiz/exam. Make-up work will not be done during class. Excepting extreme situations (emergencies, etc.), make-up work must be completed within five school days of the absence. If the student has made no attempt to address an absence on the day the final exam is administered by the time of grade turn-in, a grade of "0" will be entered in its place and the grade will be calculated and turned in.

Policy on Attendance: Attendance for this course is mandatory. Each student will be allowed three (3) unexcused absences. Any unexcused absences beyond this will result in the loss of a letter grade from the final course grade (e.g. an A will become a B). There will be no exceptions. Excused absences include, but are not limited to, serious illness

(not hangovers), family emergencies, religious holidays/high holy days, and school related events. Please inform the instructor as soon as possible of any such occurrence. To further quote the Student Handbook:

Class and laboratory attendance is expected. A student who attends fewer than fifty percent of the lectures or laboratories in a course is not eligible to receive credit for that course. A student who is absent from classes or labs because of serious illness, a death in the immediate family, hospitalization, or as a member of an athletic team or officially recognized field trip may be excused. Students who are absent for a prolonged period should contact Elizabeth Steele, Coordinator of Advising, Retention & Assessment, at (276) 328-0313.

Policy on Tardiness: Students arriving later than 20 minutes into class will be counted absent unless their tardiness is excused.

Policy on Electronic Devices: The instructor reserves the right to eject for the day any students found using cell phones or other electronic devices without prior permission in class. Students who have permission to use laptops, etc. for note-taking who are found to be using their laptops for non-relevant matters may be ejected and will be forbidden from using these devices in class henceforth. *No electronic device may be present on the desk of a student during an exam or quiz and any student using said device during such a period will be ejected and will receive a grade of zero on the assignment given the expectation and potential for cheating.*

Policy on Behavior: All students are at all times expected to be attentive, to take part in class discussions, and above all else, to be courteous and sensitive towards their fellow students. Impropriety will not be tolerated. Further, emotionally charged subject material will be dealt with in this course (ethical, bioethical, religious, political, etc.); such material requires maturity and openness to views that may conflict with one's own. Under no circumstances will racial, religious, or ethnic slurs be used in this course, or the result will be an automatic expulsion from the course.

Cheating, Plagiarism, & Academic Dishonesty: Any instance of cheating, plagiarism, and/or academic dishonesty will result in an automatic failure of the course and will be dealt with to the fullest extent. To avoid cheating, all blue books will be checked by the instructor and/or his assistant and no hats will be allowed during the administration of exams. Specifically, all students are expected to adhere strictly to the Honor Code of the University of Virginia's College at Wise – all Honor Code violations will be referred to the Honor System and will result in punishment up to and including expulsion. Further, all students at The University of Virginia's College at Wise will sign the following pledge to all work completed:

This signifies understanding and agreement of the articles of the Constitution of the Honor System. I, (name), certify as a student at The University of Virginia's College at Wise that I have neither received nor given aid on this ___(test, exam, etc.)___ .

Policy on the Paper: The major paper for this course will be at *minimum* 15 pages (double-spaced, 12-point, Times New Roman Font, margins of one inch). Paper length will not include citations or graphics; pages indicate full pages. The paper will be a theoretical work in which students (1) develop a theory, (2) review related literature [at least ten (10) sources], (3) explain their methodology, (4) "test" their hypothesis, and (5) summarize their findings and speculate on the importance of those findings. The paper must be on a subject relevant to the study of southern European politics and must be approved by the instructor – failure to receive approval on the subject or failure to notify the instructor as to changes in the paper's subject (receiving necessary approval) will result in the loss of at least two letter grades on the paper's final grade. Final versions of the papers will receive a letter grade deduction for each day late without the permission of the professor.

Policy on Readings: Students are expected to have read all assigned readings prior to class – students who have not read are incapable of discussing the course material in a meaningful way. As such, failure to read and/or to bring the day's

relevant course materials to class may result in the instructor labeling the day an unexcused absence on the student's attendance record and/or asking the student to leave the class period in question.

Outline of the Course: Note that this outline is imperfect and may have to be changed to meet needs/realities of the class. Should this be the case, the class will be given sufficient alert, both in class and on the course website. Some additional readings not yet listed may be added through the course of the class in ample time for the students to digest the material. All readings are required before the class period listed.

Academic Assistance: Academic Support Services offers tutoring, counseling, advising, and enrichment opportunities for students who evidence need and can satisfy the eligibility requirements. The project is funded by the United States Department of Education. The Tutor Connection, located in Zehmer Hall, serves all students who request tutoring. Peer tutors, working under the supervision of UVa-Wise faculty and staff, provide free tutoring in all subject areas. Hours of operation are 8:00 am - 10:00 pm weekdays; and weekend hours are arranged as needed (summer hours vary). Call (276) 328-0177 for more information.

Assistance for Students With Disabilities: In compliance with Section 504 and ADA legislation, UVa-Wise provides services for students with disabilities to assure their access to both facilities and educational programs. Students in need of assistance should contact Narda Porter, ADA Coordinator, by calling (276) 328-0177 or via e-mail at nnb3h@uvawise.edu. Students needing accommodations or academic program modifications must provide documentation of the disability from a physician, state or local agency or other licensed professional. Documentation should be recent (within the last three years) and should include recommendations for services based on the evaluation.

Extra Credit: Any extra credit opportunity decided upon by the instructor will be made available to the members of the course as a whole; no single extra credit event will be worth more than one (1) point on the student's final course grade and students may earn no more than six (6) points towards their final grade through extra credit; a handout of tentative extra credit opportunities will be made available at the first possible instance. First, students can receive three (3) points on their final grade by reading one of the following books then writing a brief summary of these books and discussing it with Dr. Smith: Joe Haldeman's *Forever War*, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, Yevgeny Zamyatin's *We*, Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* or *The Martian Chronicles*, Frank Herbert's *Dune*, Robert Heinlein's *Starship Troopers*, Jonathon Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*, Thomas More's *Utopia*, Ayn Rand's *Anthem*, Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* or *Oryx and Crake*, Mary Shelly's *Frankenstein*, or Jack Finney's *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*.

Other books will be considered if proposed, but must be approved by Dr. Smith ahead of time.

Primary Texts:

Howard Jones (2002) *Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations to 1913*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Howard Jones (2008) *Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations from 1897*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

G. John Ikenberry (2004) *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*. Wadsworth.

David Bernell (2009) *Readings in American Foreign Policy: Historical and Contemporary Problems*. Pearson Longman.

NOTE: THIS IS A 400-LEVEL COURSE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE – THE INSTRUCTOR ASSUMES AT LEAST FUNDAMENTAL KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL TERMS AND CONCEPTS; IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A FIRM GRASP ON THESE YOU ARE STRONGLY ADVISED TO SEEK PREPARATION IN A LOWER-LEVEL POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSE (E.G. POLS 101, 102, 103, and/or 104) **BEFORE** TAKING THIS COURSE. FURTHER, PLEASE NOTE THAT WHILE POLITICAL SCIENCE IS RELATED TO A NUMBER OF OTHER DISCIPLINES IT IS **NOT** HISTORY, ECONOMICS, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, AND SO FORTH –PLEASE, DO NOT EXPECT SIMILAR MATERIAL TO BE TREATED IN SIMILAR WAYS.

Introduction to the Class

Wednesday, February 13th

I. Fundamentals of American Foreign Policy

Friday, January 15th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Chapter 6 – Noam Chomsky, “Dilemmas of Dominance”)

Ikenberry (Chapter 1.1 – Ole R. Holsti, “Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy”)

1. What is hegemony? Is the United States a hegemon? Is its power declining in absolute and/or relative terms, or is it stable or growing?
2. What is polarity? What are the implications of polarity? Specifically be able to describe the differences between multipolar, unipolar, and bipolar worlds.

II. Traditions of American Foreign Policy

A. Isolationism

Monday, January 18th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Chapter 1 – Cecil Crabb, “The Isolationist Heritage” & Chapter 4 – Joshua Muravchik, “The New Great Debate-Washington Versus Wilson”)

George Washington (1796) “Farewell Address” http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp

B. Manifest Destiny

Wednesday, January 20th

Primary Readings:

Julius W. Pratt (1927) “The Origin of ‘Manifest Destiny.’” *The American Historical Review*. 32/ 4 **On Reserve**

John Winthrop (1630) “A Model of Christian Charity” <http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/sacred/charity.html>

John L. O’Sullivan (1839) “The Great Nation of Futurity,” *The United States Democratic Review*, Volume 6, Issue 23, pp. 426-430. <http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=AGD1642-0006-46>

Rudyard Kipling (1899) “The White Man’s Burden” <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.html>

C. Internationalism

Friday, January 22nd

Primary Readings:

Bernell [Chapter 4 – Joshua Muravchik, “The New Great Debate-Washington Versus Wilson” (*REVIEW*)]

Jeffrey W. Legro (2000) “Whence American Internationalism.” *International Organization*. 54/2 **EBSCO**

Woodrow Wilson (1918) “14 Points” <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=62&page=transcript>

D. Exceptionalism

Monday, January 25th

Primary Readings:

Seymour Martin Lipset (1996) "American Exceptionalism: A Double Edged Sword"

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/americanexceptionalism.htm>

Bernell (Chapter 5 – Harold Hongju Koh, "America's Jekyll-and-Hyde Exceptionalism")

Seymour Martin Lipset (2000) "Still the Exceptional Nation?" *Wilson Quarterly*. 24/1. EBSCO

Wednesday, January 27th

First Examination Distributed; First Map Quiz Administered

III. Theoretical Approaches to American Foreign Policy

A. American Realism

Wednesday, January 27th & Friday, January 29th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Chapter 2 – Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy")

Ikenberry (Chapter 2.1 – Kenneth Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power" & "Toward a Realist Theory of State Action")

1. What is realism? What are its fundamental assumptions about human rationality and logic of action?
2. What is anarchy? What are the implications of an anarchic world system?
3. What is meant by the phrase "balance of power?" What is meant by the concept of polarity and what are the major types of polarity? What are the implications, as some theorists assert, of variations in polarity with regards to state stability?

B. Interstate Structure (Structural Realism)

Monday, February 1st

Primary Readings:

John J. Mearsheimer (2007) Chapter 4 – "Structural Realism" in Timothy Dunne, Milja Kurki & Steve Smith (editors) *International Relations Theories*. <http://www.oup.com/uk/orc/bin/9780199298334/01student/guide/ch02/>

Hans J. Morgenthau (2006) "Part Four: Limitations of National Power: The Balance Power." *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. **ON RESERVE.**

C. Bureaucracy

Wednesday, February 3rd

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Chapter 9 – Howard Wiarda, “Beyond the Pale: The Bureaucratic Politics of United States Policy in Mexico”)

Ikenberry (Chapter 6.1 – Graham T. Allison, “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” & Chapter 6.2 – Stephen D. Krasner, “Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)”)

Wednesday, February 3rd

First Examination Due

D. Domestic Institutions

Friday, February 5th & Monday, February 8th

Primary Readings:

Ikenberry (Chapter 4.1 – Samuel P. Huntington, “American Ideals versus American Institutions.” Chapter 4.2 – Michael Mastanduno, “The United States Political System and International Leadership: A “Decidedly Inferior” Form of Government?,” Chapter 4.3 – G. John Ikenberry, “America’s Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-War Era,” & Chapter 4.4 – Robert O. Keohane, “Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States”

G. John Ikenberry (1999) “Why Export Democracy: The ‘Hidden Grand Strategy’ of American Foreign Policy.” *The Wilson Quarterly*. 23/2 **EBSCO**

James Lee Ray’s “Democracy: On the Level(s), Does Democracy Correlate with Peace?” From John A. Vasquez’s *What Do We Know About War?* (2000) **On Reserve**

E. The Elites

Wednesday, February 10th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Chapter 7 – Louis Fisher, “Presidential Wars” and Chapter 8 – James M. Lindsay, “Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy”)

F. Public Opinion

Friday, February 12th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Chapter 10 – Warren P. Strobel, “The CNN Effect: Myth or Reality” & Richard Sobel, “Extending the Theory of Public Opinion in American Foreign Policy: Public Opinion as Intervention Constraint”)

Ikenberry (Chapter 5.1 – Michael Roskin, “From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms and Foreign Policy,” Chapter 5.2 – Alexander L. George, “Domestic Constraints on Regime Change in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Need for Policy Legitimacy,” & Chapter 5.4 – Peter Trubowitz, “Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus”

1. What is the Almond-Lippmann Consensus/Thesis?

G. Geopolitics, Scarcity, & Commons

Monday, February 15th – Friday, February 19th

Primary Readings:

Paul K. Huth’s “Territory: Why Are Territorial Disputes Between States a Central Cause of International Conflict?” From John A. Vasquez’s *What Do We Know About War?* (2000) **On Reserve**

Chapter 1 “Discussion of the Elements of Sea Power” of A.T. Mahan’s *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (1890)
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13529/13529-h/13529-h.htm>

David E. Sanger (1998) “Ideas & Trends: Contagion Effect; A Guide to the Modern Domino Theory.” *The New York Times*.
<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0DEFDF1138F931A3575BC0A96E958260&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=1>

Malthus, Thomas (1798) Excerpts from “An Essay on the Principle of Population, As It Affects the Future Improvement of Society With Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers.” on *Modern History Sourcebook*: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1798malthus.html>

H. Prestige

Monday, February 22nd & Wednesday February 24th

Primary Readings:

Thucydides (431 BCE) - “The Melian Dialogue.” From Book V of *History of the Peloponnesian Wars*.
<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/melian.htm>

Niccolò Machiavelli (1532) *The Prince*. <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/1232>

Barry O’Neill (2002) “Nuclear Weapons and the Pursuit of Prestige (draft).” Department of Political Science, UCLA.
<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/boneill/prestap5.pdf>

I. Soft Power

Friday, February 26th

Primary Readings:

Nye, Joseph (2005) "The Changing Nature of Power," "Sources of American Soft Power," and "Other's Soft Power." *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. (Chapters 1-3); **On Reserve**

J. Neoliberalism & Interstate Institutions

Monday, March 1st & Wednesday, March 3rd

Primary Readings:

Michael W. Doyle (1986) "Liberalism and World Politics." *The American Political Science Review*. 80/4. **On Reserve**

Wendt, Alexander (1992) "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organizations*. 46/2 (391-425) **On Reserve**

Immanuel Kant (1795) *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*.

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

**Monday, March 8th, Wednesday, March 10th, & Friday,
March 12th
Spring Break**

K. Marxian Approaches

Friday, March 5th & Monday, March 15th

Primary Readings:

Lenin, V.I. (1916) *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/>

"Modern History Sourcebook: Summary of Wallerstein on World Systems Theory" based on Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/wallerstein.html>

Wednesday, March 17th

Final Day for Paper Proposal Without Penalty; Second Examination Distributed; Second Map Quiz Administered

IV. Major Periods in American Foreign Policy

Primary Readings:

Charles P. Kindleberger (1977) "U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1776-1976." *Foreign Affairs*. 55/3. EBSCO

A. The American Revolution & Early American Expansionism

Wednesday, March 17th & Friday, March 19th

Primary Readings:

Jones (*To 1913*) Ch. 1

B. The First Wave of Isolationism

Monday, March 22nd

Primary Readings:

Jones (*To 1913*) Ch. 2 & 3

Washington, George (1793) "Proclamation of Neutrality." <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1776-1800/foreignpolicy/neutr.htm>

Washington, George (1796) "Farewell Address." http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp

C. The War of 1812

Wednesday, March 24th

Primary Readings:

Jones (*To 1913*) Ch. 4

Wednesday, March 24th

Second Examination Due

D. The Second Wave of Expansionism

Friday, March 26th

Primary Readings:

Jones (*To 1913*) Ch. 5, 6, 7, & 8

The Monroe Doctrine (1823) http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp

Jackson, Andrew (1835) "Removal of the Southern Indians"

http://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?page=transcript&doc=25&title=Transcript+of+President+Andrew+Jackson%27s+Message+to+Congress+%27On+Indian+Removal%27+%281830%29

E. The American Civil War

Monday, March 29th

Primary Readings:

Jones (*To 1913*) Ch. 9

F. The Third Wave of Expansionism

Monday, March 29th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Part III – "An Emerging Power at the Turn of the Century: Creating a Global American Foreign Policy")

Jones (*To 1913*) Ch. 10, 11, & 12

Roosevelt, Theodore (1904) "Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine"

<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=56>

G. The First World War & Internationalism

Wednesday, March 31st & Friday, April 2nd

Primary Readings:

Bernell [Part III – “An Emerging Power at the Turn of the Century: Creating a Global American Foreign Policy”(REVIEW)]

Jones (*Since 1897*) Ch.3, 4, & 5

Wilson, Woodrow (1918) “Fourteen Points’ Speech” <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/ww28/speeches/fourteen.htm>

H. The Second Wave of Isolationism

Monday, April 5th & Wednesday, April 7th

Primary Readings:

Jones (*Since 1897*) Ch. 6

Butler, Smedley (1935) *War is a Racket*. <http://www.archive.org/details/WarIsARacket>

I. The Second World War

Friday, April 9th & Monday, April 12th

Primary Readings:

Jones (*Since 1897*) Ch.7 & 8

J. The Cold War

Wednesday, April 14th – Monday, April 19th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Part IV – “The Cold War: The Foreign Policy of a Superpower”)

Ikenberry (Chapter 2.2 – Melvyn P. Leffler, “The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-1948”)

Jones (*Since 1897*) Ch. 9-16

The Marshall Plan (1948)

http://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?page=&doc=82&title=Marshall+Plan+%281948%29

The Truman Doctrine (1947) http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

The Carter Doctrine (1980) <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml>

K. The Post-Cold War Period

Wednesday, April 21st – Wednesday, April 28th

Primary Readings:

Bernell (Part V – “After the Cold War: A New World Order” & Part VI – “September 11 and Beyond: Contemporary American Foreign Policy”)

Ikenberry (Chapter 8.1 – Samuel P. Huntington “The Lonely Superpower,” Chapter 8.2 – Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment Revisited,” Chapter 8.3 – G. John Ikenberry, “America’s Imperial Ambition,” & Chapter 8.4 – Robert Jervis, “Understanding the Bush Doctrine”)

Jones (*Since 1897*) Ch.17

The Bush Doctrine (2002) “The National Security Strategy of the United States”

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/index.html>

Fukuyama, Francis (1989) “The End of History?” *The National Interest*. <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>

Huntington, Samuel (1993) “The Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Affairs*. 72/3:22-28. EBSCO

Housekeeping

Friday, April 30th

Friday, April 30th

Major Paper Due; Final Examination Distributed; Final Map Quiz Administered

Friday, April 7th

Final Examination Due