

US Foreign Policy Processes
(Graduate seminar)

Course Description

With a particular focus on core concepts such as ideology, values, power, security, economics, institutions, and central actors, this course is designed to develop students' understanding of the various tools of the American foreign policy making apparatus. After examining the scope and debates around what constitutes the US' "national interest" and the manifestations of power in foreign policymaking, this course is divided into two themes: (1) the institutional sources of US foreign policy; and (2) the instruments through which US foreign policy is exercised. The course will end with a discussion of the deployment of US foreign policy in two thematic areas (climate change and genocide) and with a brief review of how foreign policy is made within and among US allies and adversaries.

Course Objectives and Learning Outcomes

This course will improve understanding of the inner workings of several sources of authority in US foreign policy making, including the Presidency, Congress, and the federal bureaucracy. It will also discuss these sources of authority by reference to the various instruments and mechanisms through which US power is exercised internationally. Upon completing this course, students will be able to identify major questions in US foreign policy, theoretical paradigms scholars use to debate those puzzles, and an appreciation for the discipline's diversity of approaches.

Diversity and Inclusion

This course is geared to serve all students, no matter their backgrounds, experiences, and identities. As a result, the class is a safe space in which to respectfully exchange ideas about the substantive and methodological merits of the arguments presented in the course materials. The things we have each gone through undoubtedly informs how we analytically assess the world. Scholars' perspectives are also informed by their own backgrounds, experiences, and identities. With respect to scholars, we must try to understand the historical and biographical contexts from which they write. With respect to one another, we must be generous and kind in how we frame our critiques, especially when we strongly disagree with one another's arguments. The diversity students bring to this course is a resource through which we all gain a better understanding of the materials at hand and, more importantly, one another and ourselves.

As part of an effort to protect and cultivate the diversity students bring to the classroom and given the sensitive nature of some of the topics we cover, it is imperative that there be an atmosphere of trust and safety in the classroom. Some of the material in this course may evoke strong emotions, please be respectful of others' emotions and be mindful of your own. Please let me know if something said or done in the classroom, by either myself or other students, is particularly troubling or causes discomfort or offense. It is my intent to present materials and activities that are respectful of differences of gender, sexuality, disability, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation, race, culture, nationality, linguistic background, and immigration status. Your suggestions are encouraged and appreciated. Please let me know ways to improve the effectiveness of the course for you personally or for other students or student groups. Please also let me know if you have concerns about course accessibility. In addition, if any of our class meetings conflict with your religious events, please let me know so that we can make arrangements for you. Lastly, class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal

name; I will gladly honor your request to address you by a different name or gender pronoun than the one listed there. Please advise me early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.

Required Texts:

1. Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: American in the Age of Genocide*, Harper Perennial, 2002.
2. Paul Harris, *Climate Change and American Foreign Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.
3. Randall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay, *Congress Resurgent: Foreign and Defense Policy on Capitol Hill*, University of Michigan Press, 1993.
4. Carne Ross, *Independent Diplomat: Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite*, Cornell University Press, 2007.

All other readings will be online or distributed in class.

Course Requirements

Attendance and Participation (15%)

Regular attendance and active participation are required, and you should come to each course meeting prepared to discuss the assigned readings in detail. Mastery of the assigned material will be demonstrated through participation in seminar discussions. As such, active participation entails more than just answering questions on the assigned material, and much more than simply “saying something.” Earning a superior participation grade requires that you demonstrate critical thinking on the subjects at hand by connecting concepts across sections of the course, engaging me and fellow classmates in discussion, being an attentive listener to others, and applying concepts to real world situations. In plain language, showing up for each meeting and occasionally making a comment is average (C-range) participation at best. To participate effectively, remember that quality is even more important than quantity!

Response Papers (3 x 15% = 45%)

You will be responsible for producing three short (3-4 page) response papers, focusing on aspects of the debates touched on in the readings that are of particular interest. Response papers are NOT summary papers. Instead, you are meant to use them to react to the readings while bringing authors and theorists in conversation with one another to help sustain your arguments. Your voice and argument should clearly come through, but it should be well supported by texts from class. You may problematize the theoretical or methodological approaches of the texts you choose, but in keeping with good academic form, you are encouraged to do so with a generous appreciation of the contributions of works you are critiquing. Although these are not lengthy research papers, they should be presented in appropriate academic format, with citations, references, footnotes or endnotes, etc. where appropriate. In general, they should contend only with required readings for class, not scholarship or topics related to your particular disciplinary specialization or materials outside the range of required readings (though, if you’d like to bring a particular outside perspective to bear on a question you’d like to reflect on in your paper, speak to me in office hours). **RESPONSE PAPERS DUE IN CLASS AT THE END OF WEEKS FOUR, EIGHT, AND TWELVE**

Take Home Exam (40%)

The final exam will be a take home exam. It will be made available at the beginning of the last week in the term. You will be asked to write several short essays, giving you the opportunity to show (a) your understanding of the materials introduced in the course, (b) your analytical skills, and (c) the conclusions and questions you draw from this course. You should work on your exam individually. No group-work allowed. You can use your lecture notes and assigned readings, but no other materials. Additional guidelines for the final exam will be given in class later in the quarter. **TAKE HOME EXAM WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST WEEK AND IS DUE AT THE END OF EXAM WEEK**

Schedule of Topics & Readings

Week 1 – The “National Interest”

Class 1 –What is the “National Interest”?

- Watch:** Opening statement of deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, George Kent. Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Xb7R7fCOTE>
- Article (pp. 2-26),** Condoleezza Rice, “Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World”
- Article (pp. 144-67),** Shaohua Hu, “A Framework for Analysis of National Interest: United States Policy Towards Taiwan”
- Article (pp. 1624-39),** Jannika Brostrom, “Morality and the National Interest: Towards a ‘Moral Realist’ Research Agenda”

Class 2 – Power & Rationality

- Chapter 1 (pp. 3-32),** John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence & Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*
- Chapter 3 (pp. 37-60),** Paul Chilton and George Lakoff, “Foreign Policy by Metaphor” in Christina Schaffner and Anita L. Wenden (eds.), *Language & Peace*
- Chapter 1 (pp. 13-76),** Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, “*Model I: The Rational Actor*”
- Article (pp. 509-23),** Ken Cunningham, “A Critical Theory of the ‘Rationality’ of US Foreign Policy: The Case of the American War in Vietnam”

Week 2 – The Aims of Foreign Policy

Class 3 – Peace and War

- Chapters 2-3 (pp. 21-70),** Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*
- Chapters 1 and 8 (pp. 3-44 and 333-52),** Richard A. Melanson, *American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War: The Search for Consensus from Richard Nixon to George W. Bush*

Class 4 – Governance, Prosperity, and Wellbeing

- Chapter 1 (pp. 3-26)**, Louis A. Picard and Robert Groelsema, “U.S. Foreign Aid Priorities: Goals for the Twentieth Century,” in Louis A. Picard, Robert Groelsema, and Terry F. Buss (eds.), *Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy*
- Chapter 9 (pp. 215-240)**, Mark Peceny, “Democracy Promotion and American Foreign Policy: Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Future,” in David P. Forsythe and Patrice C. McMahon, *American Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*
- Article (pp. 661-694)**, R. Charli Carpenter, “‘Women and Children First’: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95”
- Monograph (pp. 1-32)**, Rachel Vogelstein, *Ending Child Marriages: How Elevating the Status of Girls Advances U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives*

Week 3 – FP Institutions: Congress

Class 5 – Congressional Power

- Article I**, US Constitution, <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/article/article-i>
- Article (pp. 20-41)**, R. Zoellick, “Congress and the Making of US Foreign Policy”
- Chapters 2-4 (pp. 17-88)**, Randall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay, *Congress Resurgent: Foreign and Defense Policy on Capitol Hill*
- Article (pp. 151-69)**, James M. Scott and Ralph G. Carter, “Acting on the Hill: Congressional Assertiveness in U.S. Foreign Policy”

Class 6 –Congress, continued

- Article (pp. 113-24)**, David Kaye, “Stealth Multilateralism: U.S. Foreign Policy Without Treaties—Or the Senate”
- Chapters 6-8 (pp. 115-206)**, Randall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay, *Congress Resurgent: Foreign and Defense Policy on Capitol Hill*

Week 4 – FP Institutions: The Presidency

Class 7 – Presidential Powers

- Article II**, US Constitution, <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/article/article-ii>
- Chapter 9 (pp. 159-68)**, Michael Nelson, “Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy,” in Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick (eds.), *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*
- Article (pp. 750-7)**, Phillip R. Trimble, “The President’s Foreign Affairs Power”
- Article (pp. 69-86)**, Jeffrey S. Peake, “Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy”
- Article (pp. 1-16)**, Brandice Canes-Wrone, William G. Howell, and David E. Lewis, “Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis”

Class 8 – The Imperial Presidency **(FIRST RESPONSE PAPER DUE IN CLASS)**

- Chapter 10 (pp. 169-84)**, Louis Fisher, “Costly Presidential Wars,” in Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick (eds.), *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*
- Chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-99)**, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Imperial Presidency*

Week 5 – FP Institutions: The Bureaucracy and Organizational Logics

Class 9 – Bureaucracy

- Article (pp. 733-49)**, Daniel W. Drezner, “Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Crafting of Foreign Policy”
- Article (pp. 67-97)**, Juliet Kaarbo, “Power Politics in Foreign Policy: The Influence of Bureaucratic Minorities”
- Article (pp. 216-225)**, Jutta Weldes, “Bureaucratic Politics: A Critical Constructivist Assessment”

Class 10 – Organizational Logics & Politics

- Chapters 3 and 5 (pp. 143-196, 255-324)**, Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, “*Model II: Organizational Behavior*” and “*Model III: Governmental Politics*”

Week 6 – Foreign Policy Interest Groups and The Press

Class 11 – Interest Groups

- Article (pp. 1-41)**, John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy”
- Article (pp. 503-12)**, Julien Zarifian, “The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy”
- Article (pp. 811-41)**, Yossi Shain, “Ethnic Diasporas and U.S. Foreign Policy”
- Chapter 5 (pp. 89-114)**, Randall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay, *Congress Resurgent: Foreign and Defense Policy on Capitol Hill*

Class 12 – The Press

- Article (pp. 385-405)**, John Zaller and Dennis Chu, “Government’s Little Helper: U.S. Press Coverage of Foreign Policy Crises, 1945-1991”
- Article (pp. 413-29)**, Steven Livingston and Todd Eachus, “Humanitarian Crises and U.S. Foreign Policy: Somalia and the CNN Effect Reconsidered”
- Chapter 1 (pp. 11-30)**, William A Dorman and Mansour Farhang, *The U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference*

Week 7 – Instruments of FP: Economics

Class 13 – Economics I

- Article (pp. 1042-1070)**, Carla Norrlof, “Dollar Hegemony: A Power Analysis”
- Chapter 1-2 (pp. 1-40)**, Zachary Selden, *Economic Sanctions as Instruments of American Foreign Policy*
- Chapters 5-7 (pp. 75-122)**, G. Shiffman, *Economic Instruments of Security Policy: Influencing Choices of Leaders*

Class 14 – Economics II

Introduction & Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-86), Rhonda L. Callaway and Elizabeth G. Matthews, *Strategic US Foreign Assistance: A Battle Between Human Rights and National Security*
Chapters 8-10 (pp. 122-60), G. Shiffman, *Economic Instruments of Security Policy: Influencing Choices of Leaders*

Week 8 – Instruments of FP: Military

Class 15 – Military I

Chapter 6 (pp. 206-230), James David Meernik, *The Political Use of Military Force in US Foreign Policy*
Chapters 1-3 (pp. 3-59), Gordon Adams and Shoon Murray (eds.), *Mission Creep: The Militarization of US Foreign Policy?*

Class 16 – Military II **(SECOND RESPONSE PAPER DUE IN CLASS)**

Article (pp. 49-74), Bruce W. Jentleson, “The Pretty Prudent Public, Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force”
Chapters 2-4 (pp. 25-124), Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might*

Week 9 – Instruments of FP: Diplomacy

Class 17 – Diplomacy I

Chapters 1-6 (pp. 1-128), Carne Ross, *Independent Diplomat: Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite*
Article (pp. 784-802), Craig Hayden, “Beyond the ‘Obama Effect’: Redefining the Instruments of Engagement Through U.S. Public Diplomacy”
Article (pp. 117-9), Eileen Babbitt, “Will the Trump Administration Change International Diplomacy?”

Class 18 – Diplomacy II

Chapters 7-11 (pp. 129-226), Carne Ross, *Independent Diplomat: Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite*
Article (pp. 413-29), Olubukola S. Adesina, “Foreign Policy in an Era of Digital Diplomacy”

Week 10 – Instruments of FP: International Institutions and Miscellaneous Instruments

Class 19 – International Institutions

Chapters 2-3 (pp. 40-113), David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization & the Construction of an American World Order*

Chapters 1-2 (pp. 10-79), David Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the World Order*

Class 20 – International Institutions, continued

Article (pp. 457-73), William H. Kaempfer, James A. Lehman, and Anton D. Lowenberg, “Divestment, Investment Sanctions, and Disinvestment: An Evaluation of Anti-Apartheid Policy Instruments”

Chapter 1-2 (pp. 3-52), Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*

Week 11 – Instruments of FP: Activists, Ideas, and Foreign Sources of Power

Class 21 – Activists and Ideas

Chapter 1 (pp. 1-38), Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*

Chapter 1 (pp. 3-30), Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutional and Political Change*

Article (pp. 610-27), Jelena Subotić, “Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change”

Class 22 – Other Sources of Power

Article (pp. 862-68), Peter J. Hotez, “Vaccines as Instruments of Foreign Policy”

Article (pp. 555-85), Benjamin E. Goldsmith and Yusaku Horiuchi, “In Search of Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for US Foreign Policy?”

Week 12 – Climate Change

Class 23 – Climate Change I

Treaty (pp. 1-27), *Paris Agreement*, Link: <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement>

Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-72), Paul Harris, *Climate Change and American Foreign Policy*

Class 24 – Climate Change II (**THIRD RESPONSE PAPER DUE IN CLASS**)

Chapters 4-7 (pp. 73-130), Paul Harris, *Climate Change and American Foreign Policy*

Article (pp. 277-96), Hermann E. Ott, “Climate Change: An Important Foreign Policy Issue”

Week 13 – Genocide and Intervention

Class 25 – History of US Genocide Response

Chapters 1-5 (pp. 1-86), Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell*. Choose **one** additional chapter to read from among chapters 6-12.

Class 26 – Contemporary Humanitarianism

Article (pp. 454-73), A. Cooper Drury, Richard Stuart Olson, and Douglas A. Van Belle, “The Politics of Humanitarian Aid: U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance, 1964-1995”

Article (pp. 24-32), Paul Slovic, “When (In)Action Speaks Louder than Words: Confronting the Collapse of Humanitarian Values in Foreign Policy Decisions”

Chapter 2 and 4 (pp. 5-28, 53-86), Chih-Hann Chang, *Ethical Foreign Policy? US Humanitarian Interventions*

Week 14 – Other States’ Interests & Policies

Class 27 – US Allies (**TAKE HOME EXAM DISTRIBUTED**)

Introduction, Chapters 1 and 10 (pp. 1-55, 286-307), David Sanders and David Patrick Houghton, *Losing an Empire, Finding a Role: British Foreign Policy since 1945*

Chapter 1 (pp. 1-34), Jan Orbie, “A Civilian Power in the World? Instruments and Objectives in European Union External Policies,” in *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*

Chapter 11 (pp. 275-316), Marise Cremona, “Values in EU Foreign Policy,” in Malcolm Evans and Panos Koutrakos, *Beyond the Established Legal Orders: Policy Interconnections Between the EU and the Rest of the World*

Class 28 – US Adversaries

Chapters 1-2 (pp. 7-44), Ning Lu, *The Dynamics of Foreign-policy Decisionmaking In China*
Article (pp. 957-84), Ruth Deyermund, “The Uses of Sovereignty in Twenty-First Century Russian Foreign Policy”

Chapter 1 (pp. 1-27), Roger E. Kanet and Alexander V. Kozhemiakin, *The Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation*

Week 15 – Exam week

(TAKE HOME EXAM DUE AT THE END OF THE WEEK)