

DECISION-MAKING IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Dartmouth College
SPRING 2013
DAVID A. REZVANI

TIME AND LOCATION

Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays 1:45-2:50pm
Location: TBA

CONTACT DETAILS

Lecturer: David A. Rezvani, DPhil
Office Hours: Mondays and Fridays 2:50-4:20pm and by appointment, Silsby 304A
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Synopsis

This course will address frameworks, patterns, and practice of American foreign policy. It will explore the evolution of foreign policy institutions. It will examine some of the key political-military decision-making frameworks that have been used by policy makers, including isolationism, containment, rollback, selective engagement, retrenchment, deep engagement, and flexible integration. And it will assess a variety of challenges in American foreign policy as it applies to domestic lobbies, foreign occupation, and terrorism.

COURSE WORK AND GRADING

The final grade for this course will be based on a research paper abstract (worth 5%), a midterm exam (worth 20%), a research paper (worth 30%), a final exam (worth 30%), and participation (worth 15%).

- The research paper abstract is due at the beginning of class on **(4/12)**.
- The midterm will take place on **(4/24)**.
- Research paper presentations will take place on **(5/8 and 5/10)**
- A draft copy of the research paper is due on **(5/8)**.
- The final research paper is due on **(5/24)**.
- The final exam will take place on **(5/31) at 3:00pm**

Late assignments will be marked down by one-third of a grade (i.e. from A- to B+) for every day they are late, with the exception of extraordinary reasons. Class attendance is obligatory for the course. Students are strongly encouraged to have studied the required readings beforehand and actively participate in the class. The participation grade will be a measure of the research presentations toward the end of the class and especially the readings-enriched quantity and quality of the comments made in class discussion.

The research paper. The paper should at the outset very clearly state a central argument (thesis) in reaction to material in the lecture or the readings and then draw on evidence to reinforce the thesis. Students will need to read materials that are of interest to them from both the required and suggested readings after the lectures on American foreign policy traditions to gain ideas of possible paper topics. Students are also encouraged to obtain scholarly material outside of the required and suggested readings using sources such as Google Scholar. In response to the scholarly debates and arguments in the literature, you will agree or disagree with the information you encounter. The assignment then requires you to set forth your own ideas of how you believe policies and concepts should be formulated or reformulated. Ultimately you will need to take a position and make an argument that is clear, enriched by the readings, and backed up with evidence. Students will want to express all details, evidence, and facts only as they serve the purposes of their thesis and its supporting sub-arguments—unlike a news or book report that seeks merely to communicate facts and details. In other words, you are discouraged from providing extensive background information or summaries of other works. Instead, such details should be used as they reinforce the arguments as they are made throughout the paper. The quality of your argumentation will also be greatly strengthened by thinking of the strongest counterarguments to your thesis and refuting them. You should begin work on your research paper as early as possible in the term. Papers should be between 10-11 pages in length. Helpful advice for creating excellent research papers is also clearly described in the Van Evera reading on Blackboard.

Before the research papers are due, you are expected to hand in **a research paper abstract** (for the due date see above). This assignment will allow you to receive feedback well before your research paper is due later in the term. This assignment needs to include the title of your research paper (which describes the topic). It will also need an abstract of 150 words or less (which articulates the central argument as well as at least one counterargument that will be refuted by your research paper). Lastly, it will need to provide a list of at least five scholarly sources that the research paper will draw on.

Research Paper Presentations. Toward the end of class, each student will need to have completed a preliminary draft of their research paper and present its key arguments and evidence in 5-7 minute presentations. As with the research papers, students are discouraged from providing background information and encouraged to instead focus on articulating the paper's key arguments as well as refuting counterarguments. Presentations can also be improved through the use of visual aids such as handouts, Power Point slides, or writing on the chalkboard. Students who use Power Point are also encouraged to come 5-10 minutes before the start of the class to set up their presentation slides on the class computer. Practicing your presentation beforehand will also assist with your delivery. All students within the class are encouraged to be an active audience and carefully assess the presenter's arguments, proffering their opinions and reactions after the talk for the presenter's response. Students can then use such feedback for further revisions before papers are due.

All assignments will be assessed according to the quality of critical analysis, creativity, clarity, and use of theoretical and empirical support from the literature. Although you are expected to draw on the scholarly literature to enrich the arguments in your papers, the sources that you use must be properly cited to avoid the dangers of plagiarism. Plagiarism occurs when an author uses the ideas of another source without proper citations and thereby falsely makes it seem as if it is their own work. Any established citation style will be sufficient as long as it is used consistently throughout the paper. For citation styles you can examine scholarly articles and use them as a model. All papers are expected to be in scholarly format, with a bibliography, title, and thesis statement. The research paper should also have an introduction, body, and conclusion. The papers should be stapled, double-spaced, and have 1.25" margins with 12-point script. Page numbers should also be clearly noted.

If you have questions regarding your exams, assignments, or other aspects of the course, please do not hesitate to ask and/or see me at my office hours. For additional peer tutorial assistance with writing, research, and multimedia projects, students may use RWIT, the Student Center for Research, Writing, and Information Technology. To make appointments go to RWIT's appointment scheduler at <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit>, or drop by the Center in 183 Baker-Berry Library, Level One (next to the Reference area) from 4 to 6 pm and 7 to 10 pm, Sundays through Thursdays.

COURSE TEXTS AND READINGS

Among the required material for the course are two books:

- Walter Russell Mead. 2002. *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*. Routledge.

These books, which are marked on the syllabus with a star symbol (*), are available for purchase at the college bookstore, Barnes and Noble, or Amazon.com. The remainder of the required readings are available on Blackboard.

Students are also generally encouraged to keep up with current events, which can improve the quality of discussion and papers. Four publications are particularly good for current events information: *Foreign Affairs*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

I. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY EVOLUTION

Introduction (3/25)

Required Readings:

No Assignment

The Rise of America and Continental Realism (3/27 and 3/29)

Required Reading:

Mead, Walter Russell, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Routledge, September 2002), Introduction and Ch. 1-2.

The Hamiltonian and Wilsonian Traditions (4/1)

Required Reading:

Mead, Walter Russell, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Routledge, September 2002), Ch. 4-5.

The Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, and Neo-Con Traditions (4/3)

Required Reading:

Mead, Walter Russell, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Routledge, September 2002), Ch. 6-7.

Presidential versus Congressional Powers (4/5 and 4/8)

Required Reading:

Koh, Harold, 1990. *The National Security Constitution: Sharing Power After the Iran-Contra Affair*. Yale University Press, 67-100.

Suggested Readings:

War Powers Act Full Text: <http://www.cs.indiana.edu/statecraft/warpow.html>

Fisher, Louis. 2008, "Costly Presidential Wars," chap. 10 in Wittkopf and McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*, fifth edition.

Harold Koh, Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June 28, 2011

<http://www.state.gov/s/l/releases/remarks/167250.htm>

Robert Chesney, "A Primer on the Libya? War Powers Resolution Compliance Debate," June 17, 2011

http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0617_war_powers_chesney.aspx?p=1

Mathew Waxman, "The Debate Over US Libya Intervention," March 28, 2011, Council on Foreign Relations,

<http://www.cfr.org/libya/debate-over-us-libya-intervention/p24500>

National War Powers Commission Report, 2008,

www.bakerinstitute.org/publications/National%20War%20Powers%20Commission%20Report.pdf/view

Bernstein, Barton J., "The Road to Watergate and Beyond: The Growth and Abuse of Executive Authority Since 1940," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 40 (1976).

Lipset, Seymour Martin, "American Exceptionalism: A Double Edged Sword,"

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

Fisher, Louis, *Presidential War Power*, Ch. 7.

- Howell, William G.. 2005. "Power without Persuasion: Rethinking Foundations of Executive Influence." In George Edwards ed., *Readings in Presidential Politics*. pp. 109-134.
- Lowi, Theodore J., *The Personal President*, Ch. 3.
- U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.* 1936. In Michael Nelson (ed.) *The Evolving Presidency*. Congressional Quarterly Press. pp. 139-43.
- Whittington, Keith, *Constitutional Construction*, Ch. 5.
- Youngstown v. Sawyer* 1952. In Michael Nelson (ed.) *The Evolving Presidency*. Congressional Quarterly Press. pp. 156-65.

Questions of Torture, Signing Statements, and Wiretapping (4/10 and 4/12)

****Research Paper Abstract Due 4/12***

Required Reading:

- Pfiffner, James. 2008. "The Contemporary Presidency": Constraining Executive Power: George W. Bush and the Constitution. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38 (1) 123-143.

II. STRATEGIC ALTERNATIVES AND DECISION-MAKING FRAMEWORKS

Isolationism (4/15)

Required Readings:

- Walt, Stephen, M. 1989. "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 10(1): pp. 5-10. (Note: Only pp. 5-10 are assigned).
- Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press, Harvey M. Sapolsky. 1997. "Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation." *International Security* 21 (4): 4-48.

Suggested Readings:

- Art, Robert J. 2003. *A Grand Strategy for America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Chapter 5.
- Bandow, Doug. 1994. "Keeping the Troops and the Money at Home." *Current History* 93 (579): 8-13.
- Fensterweald, Bernard. 1958. "The Anatomy of American 'Isolationism' and Expansionism. Part I." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2 (2): 111-139.
- Layne, Christopher. 1997. "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy." *International Security* 22 (1): 4-48.
- Lippmann, Walter. 1943. *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Nordlinger, Eric A. 1995. *Isolationism Reconfigured: American Foreign Policy for a New Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Posen, Barry R. and Andrew L. Ross. 1995. "Competing U.S. Grand Strategies." In *Strategy and Force Planning*, edited by the Strategy and Force Planning Faculty, 115-134. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995.
- Ravenal, Earl. 1991. "The Case for Adjustment," *Foreign Policy* 81: 3-19.
- Tucker, Robert W. 1972. *A New Isolationism: Threat or Promise?* New York: Universe Books.

Containment (4/17 and 4/19)

Required Reading:

- Gaddis, John Lewis, 1982. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security*. Oxford University Press, Ch. 1 and 2.

Suggested Readings:

- Dileo, David L. 1991, George Ball, *Vietnam, and the Rethinking of Containment*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Duiker, William J. 1994. *U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1991. "American Intervention in the Third World: Less Would Be Better," *Security Studies*, 1(1): 1-24.
- Walt, Stephen, M. 1989. "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grant Strategy," *International Security* 10(1): 5-49.

Rollback (4/22)

Required Readings:

- Burnham, James. 1954. *Containment or Liberation? An Inquiry into the Aims of United States Foreign Policy*, NY: John Day, pp. 217-254.
- Kaufmann, Chiam. 2002. "See No Evil," *Foreign Affairs*, 81(4): 142-149.

Suggested Readings (On Rollback and Genocide):

- Shattuck, John. 2003. *Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America's Response*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Power, Samantha. 2002. *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books.
- Walzer, Michael. 1977. *Just and Unjust Wars*, pp. 51-63, 86-108, 339-342.
- Refugees International and Brookings-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement Briefing. "The Crisis in Sudan: A Report from the Region." Event Transcript. Sep 14, 2004.
<https://www.brookings.edu/comm/events/20040914sudan.htm>
- Phillips, James. "Pressure Sudan to Halt Oppression in Darfur: Executive Memorandum #943." Heritage Foundation. Oct. 2, 2004. <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Africa/em943.cfm>
- Martin, Randolph. 2002. "Sudan's Perfect War." *Foreign Affairs*. (March/April.
- Kristof, Nicholas D. 2004. "Cruel Choices," *New York Times*. April 14.
- Evans, Gareth and Mohamed Sahnoun. "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs*. 81(6): 99-110.
- Dallaire, Romeo. 2004. "Looking at Darfur, Seeing Rwanda." *New York Times*. Oct. 4,
- Betts, Richard K. 1994. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73(6): 20-33.

Midterm Exam Today (4/24)

U.S. Preponderance (4/26)

Required Reading:

- Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth, 2005. "International Relations Theory and the Case against Unilateralism," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3 (1): 509-524.

Suggested Readings (On U.S Preponderance):

- Bush, George W. 2002. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. The White House, September.
- Clinton, William. 1995. *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*. The White House, February.
- DoD, 1992. Draft of "Defense Planning Guidance."
- Drezner, Daniel W. 2011. "Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy? Why We Need Doctrines in Uncertain Times," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90 (4): 57-68.
- Rice, Condoleezza. 2000 "Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79 January/February: 45-62.
- Snyder, Jack, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon, 2008. "Free Hand Abroad, Divide and Rule at Home," *World Politics*, 61: 155-187.

Retrenchment / Neo-Isolationism (4/29).**Required Reading:**

MacDonald, Paul K. and Joseph M. Parent. 2011. "Graceful Decline? The surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment. *International Security* 35(4): 7-44.

Suggested Readings (On the decline of U.S. Preponderance):

Barry R. Posen, 2011 "From Unipolarity to Multipolarity: Transition in Sight?" in Ikenberry and Wohlforth (editors), *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 317-341

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment" *International Security*, Vol. 31 (2006): 7-41;

Fallows, James. 2010. "How Can America Rise Again," *The Atlantic*, January.

Pape, Robert. 2009 "Empire Falls," *National Interest*, No. 99 (): 21-34.

Wohlforth, William C. 2008. "Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War," *World Politics*, 61: 28-57.

Deep Engagement (5/1).**Required Reading:**

Brooks, Stephen G., G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. 2012 "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment. *International Security* 37(3): 7-51.

Selective Engagement (5/3)**Required Reading:**

Art, Robert J. 1998/99. Geopolitics Updated: The Strategy of Selective Engagement. *International Security* 23(2): 79-113.

Suggested Readings (On Selective Engagement, Rollback and other Comparisons):

Posen, Barry R. and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing U.S. Grand Strategies," in Strategy and Force Planning Faculty, Eds., *Strategy and Force Planning*, New Port, RI: Naval War College Press, pp. 115-134.

Art, Robert J. 2003. *A Grand Strategy for America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lynn-Jones, Sean M. and Steven E. Miller, eds. 1992. *America's Strategy in a Changing World: An International Security Reader*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

David, Steven R. 1989. "Why the Third World Matters," *International Security*, 14(1): 50-85.

David, Steven R. 1992/93. "Why the Third World Still Matters," *International Security*, 17(3): 127-159.

Flexible Integration (5/6).**Required Reading:**

Rezvani, David A. 2013. "Flexible Integration: American National Security Policy and the Formation of Territorial Unions." Dickey Center Seminar Series, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

Research Paper Presentations (5/8 and 5/10)

****Draft Copy of Research Paper Due on 5/8****

III. FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES

Regional Challenges and Domestic Lobbies (5/13 and 5/15)

Required Readings:

Lindsay, James, "Getting Uncle Sam's Ear."

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy" *Middle East Policy* 13(3): 29-63.

Massing, Michael. 2006. The Storm over the Israel Lobby. *The New York Review of Books*. (May 11): 1-13.

Suggested Readings:

Smith, Tony, *Foreign Attachments: the Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Harvard University Press, 2000).

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) <http://www.aipac.org/>

Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) <http://www.canf.org/2004/principal-ingles.htm>

Ethics and Military Intervention (5/17 and 5/20)

Required Readings:

James Childress, "Just War Criteria," in *Moral Responsibility in Conflicts*, pp. 63-94.

Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, Ch. 11.

Singer, Peter. 2002. *One World*, pp.120-127, 137-144.

Suggested Readings:

Betts, Richard. 1994. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, 73(6): 20-33.

Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars*

Hoffmann, Stanley. 1995/96. "The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention," *Survival*, 37(4): 29-51.

Chopra, Jarat and Thomas G. Weiss. 1992. "Sovereignty is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics & International Affairs* 6: 95-117.

Moore, J. 1998. Hard Choices. *Moral Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention*. Rowman and Littlefield.

Barnes, Jonathan. "The Just War," in Kretzman, Kenny, Pinborg, *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*.

Howard, Michael, "Temperamenta Belli: Can War be Controlled?" in Howard ed, *Restraints on War*, pp. 1-15.

Addressing Terrorism (5/22 and 5/24)

******Final Research Paper Due 5/24******

Required Readings:

Walt, Stephen M. 2001/02. "Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security* 26(3): 56-78.

Pape, Robert. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Motives and Counterterrorist Strategy," *International Security* 32(4): 78-105.

Suggested Readings:

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2002/03. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, 27(3): 30-58.

Byman, Daniel L. 2003. "Al-Qaeda as an Adversary: Do We Understand Our Enemy?" *World Politics*, 56(1): 139-163.

Flynn, Stephen. "The Unguarded Homeland," in James F. Hoge, Jr. and Gideon Rose, eds., *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War* (Public Affairs, 2001).

Stern, Jessica. *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999). (Especially, pp. 1-10, 48-106, 128-160).

Rashid, Ahmed. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000). (Especially, pp. 128-40).

Carr, Caleb. 1996-7. "Terrorism as Warfare," *World Policy Journal* 13(4): 1-12.

Heymann, Philip B. 2001/02. "Dealing with Terrorism: An Overview," *International Security* 26(3) (), 24-38.

Pillar, Paul R. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution Press, 2001). (Especially, Ch. 3-6, 8).

Memorial Day Holiday (5/27)

Review and Reflections (5/29)

Final Exam (Time: (5/31) at 3:00pm. Location: Same room as regular class.)
