

Professor Kenneth Schultz  
Office: Encina West 312  
Office hours: Wed. 1-3 or by appt.  
e-mail: kschultz@stanford.edu

Political Science 110D/Y  
Spring 2015  
Classroom: Gates B1  
TTh 11am-12:15pm

## **War and Peace in American Foreign Policy**

### **Course Description**

This course examines the use of military force in American foreign policy. It considers both the international and domestic determinants of decisions to wage war and to intervene (or not) in humanitarian crises. Some of the questions we will consider include:

1. When and why does the United States choose to use military force as an instrument of foreign policy? To what extent is this decision driven by national interests or domestic political forces such as public opinion and Congress?
2. When the United States does use military force, what explains the size and strategy of the forces employed? To what extent are these decisions influenced by the goals of the operation, domestic political constraints, or the doctrine and preferences of military officers?
3. When is military force an effective instrument of foreign policy? What factors explain the success or failure of military operations?
4. What are the proper criteria for thinking about when the United States should use military force?

### **Which Class Should I Take? WIM vs. non-WIM**

There are different course numbers depending on whether or not you are taking the class to satisfy the Writing in the Major (WIM) requirement. For those who want WIM credit, you should enroll in POLISCI 110D or INTNLREL 110D. For those who do not want WIM credit, you should enroll in POLISCI 110Y. We will be holding separate discussion sections for WIM and non-WIM students, so please be sure to sign up for the right kind of discussion section.

Since these are considered by the Registrar as separate courses, switching between them requires that you drop one and then add the other. As a result, *you should make sure that you are enrolled in the right class before the add/drop deadline, which is April 17 at 5:00pm.*

## **Course Requirements**

1. You are expected to attend both lecture and section and do the required readings. Sections will provide an opportunity to discuss and debate the issues raised in the readings. Since the course will make frequent reference to current events, you should make a habit of reading a respectable newspaper on a regular basis.
2. Everyone writes two papers. Students enrolled in 110D and taking the course for WIM credit will turn in first drafts of both papers, and the final versions of these papers must take into account the comments on those drafts. Those enrolled in 110Y, for which there is no WIM credit, do not turn in first drafts. Paper deadlines are listed at the end of the syllabus. Additional information on the assignments will be distributed separately.
3. There will be an in-class, short essay final that covers the assigned readings. The exam will be Tuesday, June 9, 3:30-6:30pm. Please make your class selections and summer plans with this date in mind. Because of the large size of this class, alternative arrangements can not be made, except in the case of unforeseen circumstances such as illness or personal emergency.

## **Grading**

Grades will be determined as follows:

1. Paper #1: 30 percent.
2. Paper #2: 35 percent
3. Final exam: 20 percent
4. Section attendance and participation: 15 percent

For WIM students, the first draft of each paper counts for 1/3 of the paper grade, and the re-write counts for the remaining 2/3.

Incompletes will not be given except in extraordinary circumstances, and only if a substantial portion of the course material has been satisfactorily completed.

## **Readings**

The books listed below are available for purchase at the Stanford bookstore and are on reserve at Green Library. All other readings will be available electronically from the course web page ([coursework.stanford.edu](http://coursework.stanford.edu)).

W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz, eds., *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (University of Chicago Press, 1994). ISBN 0226042596

George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (McGraw Hill, 2015). ISBN 978-0-07-351325-6

Samantha Power, *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Basic Books, 2013). ISBN 0465061516

Terry H. Anderson, *Bush's Wars* (Oxford University Press, 2011). ISBN 0199975825

## **Students with Documented Disabilities**

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty dated in the current quarter in which the request is made. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations. The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, URL: <http://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/oae>).

## **Schedule of Classes and Readings**

### **I. War and the American Political System**

#### **1. Introduction (Mar. 31)**

#### **2. The President: Statesman, Chief Executive, Politician (Apr. 2)**

- Condoleezza Rice. "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79 (Jan./Feb. 2000), pp. 45-62.
- Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," *World Politics*, vol. 24 (1972), pp. 40-79.
- Bruce Russett, *Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), chapter 2: "Bashing the Foreigners."
- Syria readings, #1, #2, and #3.

#### **3-4. Public Opinion and the Media (Apr. 7, 9)**

- Robert Y. Shapiro and Benjamin I. Page, "Foreign Policy and the Rational Public," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 32 (June 1988), pp. 211-247.

- In Bennett and Palentz:
  - John Zaller, “Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion”
  - Robert Entman and Benjamin Page, “News before the Storm”
  - Timothy Cook, “Domesticating a Crisis”
- Syria readings, #4, #5, and #6.
- Recommended: William A. Dorman and Steven Livingston, “News and Historical Context,” in Bennett and Palentz

#### 5. Congress and War Powers (Apr. 14)

- John Samples, “Congress Surrenders the War Powers: Libya, the United Nations, and the Constitution,” *Policy Analysis*, no. 687 (October 2011), pp. 1-32.
- William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, “Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force,” *International Organization*, vol. 59 (Winter 2005), pp. 209-232. (skip the section on “Robustness Checks” on pp. 224-28).
- Syria readings, #7, #8, and #9.

### II. Cases

#### 6. The Vietnam War: Origins and Strategy (Apr. 16)

- George Kennan, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 25 (Summer 1947), pp. 571-82.
- Herring, chapters 4.

#### 7. The Vietnam War: “Peace with Honor”? (Apr. 21)

- Herring, pp. 225-61, 271-310.

#### 8. The Gulf War (Apr. 23)

- Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, “How Kuwait Was Won: Strategy in the Gulf War,” *International Security*, vol. 16 (Autumn, 1991), pp. 5-41
- In Bennett and Palentz:
  - Richard Brody, “Crisis, War, and Public Opinion”
  - John Zaller, “Strategic Politicians, Public Opinion, and the Gulf Crisis”

- Recommended: Power, chapter 8.

#### 9. Somalia (Apr. 28)

- James L. Woods, "U.S. Government Decisionmaking Processes during Humanitarian Operations in Somalia," in Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, eds., *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 151-172.
- Steven Livingston and Todd Eachus, "Humanitarian Crises and U.S. Foreign Policy: Somalia and the CNN Effect Reconsidered," *Political Communication*, vol. 12 (Oct.-Dec., 1995), pp. 413-429.

#### 10. Yugoslavia I: From Inaction to Intervention (Apr. 30)

- Power, chapters 9 and 11.
- Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78 (July/August 1999), pp. 36-44.

#### 11. Yugoslavia II: Kosovo (May 5)

- Power, chapter 12.
- Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78 (July/August 1999), pp. 36-44.

#### 12. Non-Intervention in Rwanda (May 7)

- Power, chapter 10.

#### 13. 9/11 and the War in Afghanistan (May 12)

- *The 9/11 Commission Report*, chapters 2, 4 and 6.
- Anderson, chapter 1.

#### 14. The Iraq War: Origins (May 14)

- Anderson, chapter 2.

- Jervis, Robert. 2003. "Understanding the Bush Doctrine." *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (3): 365-388.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security*, vol. 29 (2004), pp. 5-48.

#### 15. The Iraq War: Conduct and Outcome (May 19)

- Anderson, chapters 3-4 (through p. 191).

#### 16. Counterinsurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan (May 21)

- The United States Army and Marine Corps, *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), foreword by John A. Nagl and excerpt entitled "Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency Operations."
- Biddle, Stephen, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro. "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security*, vol. 37 (2012), pp. 7-40.
- Karl W. Eikenberry, "The Limits of Counterinsurgency Doctrine in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 92 (Sept./Oct 2013), pp. 59-74.
- Recommended: Austin Long, "The Anbar Awakening," *Survival* 50(2008), pp. 67-94.

#### 17. Libya, Syria, and ISIS (May 26)

- Power, Chapter 14.
- Helene Cooper and Steven Lee Myers, "Obama Takes Hard Line With Libya After Shift by Clinton," *The New York Times*. March 18, 2011.
- Frederic Wehrey and Wolfram Lacher, "Libya's Legitimacy Crisis," *Foreign Affairs Online*, October 6, 2014.
- J. Trevor Ulbrick, "Better Safe than Sorry," *Foreign Affairs Online*, November 12, 2014.
- Barak Mendelsohn, "Collateral Damage in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs Online*, June 15, 2014.

18. Force and Non-Proliferation: The Case of Iran (May 28)

- Matthew Kroenig, “Time to Attack Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* 91(Jan./Feb. 2012), pp. 76-86. Read also responses by Kahl, Debs and Montiero, and Fly and Schmitt.

III. Conclusion

19. The United States and the World (June 2)

- James M. Lindsay, “George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and the Future of US Global Leadership,” *International Affairs*, vol. 87 (July 2011), pp. 765-79.

**Paper Deadlines**

All papers are due at the start of class on the dates indicated below. Late papers will be penalized 1/3 of a grade per day. The paper deadlines depend on whether you are taking the course as WIM or not.

	<b>Length</b>	<b>WIM Due Dates</b>	<b>Non-WIM Due Date</b>
Paper #1	5-6 pages	First draft: April 21 Final version: May 5	April 28
Paper #2	9-10 pages	First draft: May 19 Final version: June 2	May 28

*Note for WIM students:* When turning in the re-write, you must also turn in the first draft with the grader’s comments. The WIM requirement involves re-writing papers in response to comments. This means that you cannot turn in a final draft without having turned in a first draft. The first version you hand in will be treated as the first draft.

*Extension policy:* All students may have **one** two-day extension for any paper due date. No additional extensions will be permitted.