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Spring 2-1-2005

### PSC 335.01: Foreign Policy

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Political Science 335  
Spring 2005  
MWF 2:10-3:00  
LA 337

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Office Hours: MW 3:10 to 5:00 & by appt  
Office: LA 353

## American Foreign Policy

### Course Description and Objectives

In this course, we will explore the content, sources, and consequences of historical and contemporary US foreign policies. In addition to readings, lectures, films, and research and writing assignments, we will use a classroom simulation to illuminate the workings of the US foreign policy process. In the simulation, each student will be assigned a role in the US government or society, which s/he will "play" throughout the semester, both in classroom discussions and on the electronic discussion board. Thus, in addition to extending your knowledge of US foreign policy, this course will help you develop your proficiency in public speaking, policy formulation, diplomacy, negotiation, and conflict resolution.

The course has four parts. Part I provides an overview of the course and of contemporary US foreign policy. Part II examines the political structures and processes in which foreign policy is made and considers the effects of these structures and processes on policy outcomes. Part III explores historical US political, military, and economic doctrines and strategies, examines their sources in international and domestic politics, economics, ideology, and culture, and considers their effects on international and national security. Finally, Part IV explores contemporary US doctrines and strategies and considers the political, military, economic, social, and environmental challenges and opportunities the US will face in the coming years.

### Prerequisites

To enroll in this course, you must be at least a junior, and you must have taken PSC 130 (Introduction to International Relations).

### Course Texts

To do well in this class, you must complete all of the assigned reading before each lecture. On average, there are about 25 pages of required reading per day. This does not include the required current events reading described below. The readings are from the following texts. The first three are available for purchase at the bookstore.

G. John Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 2005).

Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *The 9/11 Commission Report* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2004).

Selected articles available online, denoted by a plus sign (+).

Reserve readings available in hard copy at the library and electronically through the library website. These readings are denoted by an asterisk (\*).

### Course Communications

Throughout the course, I will communicate with you by email and by posting announcements and materials on the Blackboard website for this course. To ensure that you receive my emails, you should either check your UM email account on a regular basis or have email from there forwarded to an account that you do check regularly. You may do the latter in Cyberbear. For instructions on accessing and using Blackboard, please consult the Blackboard handout.

### **Keeping Up With Current Events**

You are required to keep up with current events related to US foreign policy by reading the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* on a daily (Monday - Friday) basis. You may do so either by reading the hard copies at the library or by reading the electronic editions on the World Wide Web (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/> and <http://www.nyt.com>).

For details on the sections and articles I expect you to read, see the Course Materials section of the Blackboard website.

There are many ways to supplement your reading of these newspapers:

- Reading other national daily newspapers such as the *Los Angeles Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, as well as international papers such as the *London Times*, *Guardian*, and *Le Monde*.
- Reading weekly news magazines such as *The Economist*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report*.
- Listening to National Public Radio programs such as "Morning Edition," BBC World Service," and "All Things Considered" on KUFM 89.1 (for schedule, go to <http://www.mtpr.net/>).
- Watching national nightly and weekly television news programs. On PBS, these include "The News Hour," "BBC World," "Charlie Rose," "NOW," and "Frontline," which are available on both KUFM Channel 11 (<http://www.montanapbs.org/>) and KSPS Channel 32 (<http://ksps.org/>). The ABC, CBS, and NBC evening news, as well as ABC's "Nightline," can also be helpful.

Whenever possible I encourage you to consult these and other additional sources. Please note, however, that they will not substitute for daily reading of the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, which offer the most extensive national and international coverage and largest range of opinion, and upon which current event quizzes and exam questions will be based.

### **Course Requirements: Quizzes, Participation, Papers, and Exams**

You are expected to attend class regularly and complete all of the assigned reading, including the previous day's *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, before each class. To encourage you to do so, I will give several quizzes and short assignments. Together with your grade for simulation participation, these will constitute 20% of your course grade. The rest of your grade will be based on two research papers related to the simulation (the first worth 20% and the second worth 25%) and a final (35%).

Your grade for simulation participation will be based on my assessment of your discussion board entries and paper presentations; assessments of your participation by students with whom you collaborate in the simulation and presentations; and your own self-assessment. For information on the simulation, see the Course Materials page of the Blackboard website. For information on the papers, see the syllabus entries for 2/14, 3/9, 3/11, 4/11, and 4/18. Detailed paper and presentation assignments will be provided in class.

The final exam will test your understanding of and ability to analyze material from the readings, newspapers, lectures, and simulations. It will include multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions. Be prepared to recall what you have learned and to write clear, thoughtful, and well-supported answers to challenging questions.

Students with disabilities should apprise me of their needs at least two weeks before the first paper is due. Graduate students should consult with me about additional requirements.

### Extra Credit

Extra credit opportunities will be posted on the Announcements page of the Blackboard website.

### Make-Up Policy

Make-up quizzes and exams will be scheduled only for students directly involved in extreme, documented emergencies. Late papers will be accepted only in these conditions, as well. If you find yourself in the midst of an emergency, you must notify me as soon as possible (in advance of the exam or due-date if possible) that you will be unable to attend the scheduled exam or submit the work on time. To do so, call me or send me an email explaining the circumstances of your emergency and giving me a way to contact you. I reserve the right to deny any and all petitions for make-up work, and to administer makeup quizzes and exams substantially different from the regular ones.

### Grading

The plus/minus grading system will be used. Grades may be curved, but the following distribution is the lowest I will use (*i.e.*, if you earn 92% of all possible points you are assured of an A in the course):

|        |    |       |    |       |    |        |    |
|--------|----|-------|----|-------|----|--------|----|
| 92-100 | A  | 82-87 | B  | 72-77 | C  | 62-67  | D  |
| 90-91  | A- | 80-81 | B- | 70-71 | C- | +60-61 | D- |
| 88-89  | B+ | 78-79 | C+ | 68-69 | D  | 0-59   | F  |

Note: Since I accept make-up work only in the event of extreme, documented emergencies, if you miss an exam or fail to submit a paper for any other reason you will receive a 0 for the assignment. This will put you at risk of failing the course.

### Reading Questions

On the exams and in the papers, you will be asked to compare and contrast the arguments of various scholars and schools of thought. Doing so requires critical reading skills. To develop and practice these skills, consider the following questions for each item you read:

#### A. Overview

1. What is the central question or problem addressed by the author?
2. What is his or her answer or argument?

#### B. Evaluation of the Argument

3. What is the logic of this answer or argument? What school of thought, if any, does it represent?
4. Do you understand the author's argument? Do you agree with it? Why or why not?

#### C. Evaluation of the Evidence

5. What evidence does the author use to support his or her argument?
6. Does the evidence support the argument? Are you aware of other evidence that would support or weaken the argument?

#### D. Significance

7. Which of the authors we have read would agree and disagree with this argument, and why?
8. How does this article fit into the themes and arguments developed in lecture?

## Essay Grading

- 100 Superb. Develops an extremely well-written, clear, and convincing argument that answers the question and refers well to readings.
- 90-99 Excellent. Develops a generally well-written, clear, and convincing argument that answers the question and refers well to readings. Omissions or inaccuracies are few and detract little from the overall quality of the argument.
- 80-89 Good. The argument is generally good and answers the question, but the answer is disorganized, unclear, inaccurate, or unsupported in several important respects -- OR -- The argument is well-written, clear, and convincing but doesn't fully answer the question or refers to just a few readings.
- 70-79 Marginal. The answer has numerous shortcomings in organization, clarity, accuracy, or support -- OR -- The argument is fairly well-written, more or less clear, and somewhat convincingly but doesn't really answer the question AND refers to just one or two readings.
- 60-69 Completely unacceptable. The answer is very vague, completely wrong, has nothing to do with the question, and/or provides no evidence of reading.

## **Course Outline and Schedule**

Readings marked (+) are available online. Those marked (\*) are available on reserve. All other readings are either in the books by Ikenberry or the book by Wittkopf and McCormick (W&M).

To access the online readings (+), go to the U of M library homepage (<http://www.lib.umt.edu/>), click on "Journals," type in the name of the newspaper or journal, select the electronic index that contains the issue in which the article appeared, and search for the article using the title and/or author's name.

To access electronic copies of reserve readings (\*), go to the U of M library homepage (<http://www.lib.umt.edu/>), click on "Reserve Material," select course "U:PSC:335:American Foreign Policy," and select the item you would like to read. You will be asked to submit a password, which is Adams. The reserve readings are also available as hard copies which can be checked out for 2 hours at the Informational Center/Check-Out Desk at Mansfield Library.

Once you have accessed an electronic article or reserve, I recommend printing it out immediately or downloading it to a diskette or emailing it to yourself to print later. By printing it out, you can highlight and make notes on the text. To avoid computer problems later in the semester, I suggest accessing and printing all online articles during the first weeks of class. To minimize the number of pages you have to print, click on "Properties" and "Finishing" on the printer command screen, then select "2 pages per page" and "manual duplex."

## **Part I: Introduction**

### **A. Introduction to the Course (1/24)**

Discussion of syllabus, course requirements, and requirements for adding the course.

1. Either start reading your UM email regularly or go into Cyberbear and have your email forwarded to your UM account.
2. Access Blackboard and look around. Read about the simulation, and introduce yourself on the discussion board.
3. Start reading the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. By 11:59 pm on 1/25, post a 200-300 word response to Graded Question #1 on the discussion board, which will ask you to write a short (200-300 word essay) comparing and contrasting the *Post's* and *Times's* coverage of the same foreign-policy issue or event. If you have problems with Blackboard, send me your response by email.

### **B. Overview of Current Issues in US Foreign Policy (1/22, 33 pp.)**

Due to my attendance at the American Association of Colleges & Universities conference in San Francisco, class will not meet today. Instead, you are responsible for reading the following articles, writing a short (200-300 word) essay reacting to the readings, and responding to the comments of at least one other student. Enter your reactions and comments on Graded Question #2 of the discussion board by 11:59 pm on 1/27. If you have problems with Blackboard, send me your response by email.

- +President George W. Bush, "Inaugural Address," January 20, 2005, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/print/20050120-1.html> (2 pp.).
- +David Ignatius, "Winning a War for the Disconnected," *Washington Post*, December 14, 2004, page A27, available through Lexus Nexus (2 pp).
- +Thomas P.M. Barnett, "The Pentagon's New Map," *Esquire*, March 2003, available at <http://www.thomaspmbarnett.com/published/pentagonsnewmap.htm> (9 pp).
- +Seymour M. Hersch, "The Coming Wars: What the Pentagon can now do in secret," *New Yorker*, January 24, 2005, available through Lexus Nexus (10 pp).
- + Frank Rich, "Washington's New Year War Cry: Party On!," *New York Times*, January 2, 2005, p. Section 2, p. 1, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).
- +Andrew Sullivan, "Atrocities in Plain Sight," *New York Times*, January 13, 2005, Book Review section, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/13/books/review/books-sullivan.html?ex=1106578174&ei=1&en=db154b074b371aad> (7 pages).

### **C. Overview of the Situation in Iraq (1/28; 46 pp.)**

Due to my attendance at the American Association of Colleges & Universities conference in San Francisco, class will not meet today. Instead, you are responsible for reading the following articles, writing a 200-300 word reaction to the readings, and responding to the comments of at least one other student. Enter your reactions and comments on Graded Question #3 of the discussion board by 11:59 pm on 1/29. If you have problems with Blackboard, send me your response by email.

- +Dafna Linzer, "Search for Banned Arms in Iraq Ended Last Month," *Washington Post*, January 12, 2005, p. A1, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).
- +Mike Allen and Dana Priest, "Report Discounts Iraqi Arms Threat," *Washington Post*, October 6, 2004; Page A01, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).
- +Charles Duelfer, "Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD," September 30, 2004, read the "Key Findings" at the bottom of this website: [http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq\\_wmd\\_2004/](http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq_wmd_2004/) (15 pp).
- +John Judis, "Why are We in Iraq?," *Salon.com*, September 28, 2004, available at [http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2004/10/05/judis\\_excerpt/print.html](http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2004/10/05/judis_excerpt/print.html) (4 pp).

- +Michael R. Gordon, "The Strategy to Secure Iraq did not Foresee a 2<sup>nd</sup> War," *New York Times*, October 19, 2004, P. A1, available through Lexus Nexus (8 pp).
- +Michael R. Gordon, "Poor Intelligence Misled Troops about Risk of Drawn-Out War," *New York Times*, October 20, 2004, p. A1, available through Lexus Nexus (5 pp).
- +Michael R. Gordon, "Debate Lingering on Decision to Dissolve the Iraqi Military," *New York Times*, October 21, 2004, p. A1, available through Lexus Nexus (6 pp).
- +Michael R. Gordon, "For Training Iraq's Police, the Main Problem Was Time," *New York Times*, October 21, 2004, p. A13, available through Lexus Nexus (2 pp).

#### **D. Discussion of the Iraqi Elections (1/31; 20+ pp)**

Today we will discuss the conduct and outcome of yesterday's parliamentary elections in Iraq. Come to class having read the following articles and having followed the story for the past week in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, as well as in the Middle East/Arab World pages of Wordpress.org (<http://www.worldpress.org/mideast.htm>), the UN News Centre (<http://www0.un.org/apps/news/region.asp?Region=MIDDLE+EAST>), and al Jazeera (<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/54C8AFC7-8C97-4C4F-B38D-D41E6169C42E.htm>).

- +Dexter Filkins and David E. Sanger, "Amid Tensions, Iraqi Leader Affirms Jan. 30 Vote Plan," *New York Times*, January 6, 2005, p. A10, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).
- +Interview of Secretary of State Colin Powell, Newshour with Jim Lehrer, January 13, 2005, available at [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/fedagencies/jan-june05/powell\\_1-13.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/fedagencies/jan-june05/powell_1-13.html) (11 pp).
- +Steve Negus, "UN worried over monitoring of Iraq election," *Financial Times*, January 21, 2005, p. 10, available through Lexus Nexus (2 pp).
- +Rory McCarthy, "Violence will not stop poll, says UN official," *Guardian*, January 21, 2005, p. 19, available through Lexus Nexus, (2 pp).
- +Douglas Jehl, "U.S. Intelligence Says Iraqis Will Press for Withdrawal," *New York Times*, January 18, 2005, p. A10, available through Lexus Nexus (2 pp).

### **Part II: US Foreign Policy Structures and Processes**

#### **A. Introduction (2/2; 51+ pp.)**

Overview of foreign policy institutions. Discussion of simulation and simulation rules. Selection of journalists and think tank experts, division into parties, and preparation for party caucuses. By 11:59 pm on 2/3, journalists and think tank experts must post mission statements of at least 250 words on their discussion boards. Henceforth, by 11:59 pm on the Sunday after each week in which there were simulation activities, journalists and think tank experts must post items totaling at least 250 words. The first such deadline is this Sunday, 2/6.

- \*Amos Jordan, *et al.*, "The National Security Decision-making Process," *American National Security*, 5th edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1990), pp. 217-234 (17 pp).
- Michael Mastanduno, "The United States Political System and International Leadership: A 'Decidedly Inferior' Form of Government?," in Ikenberry, pp. 248-257 (9 pp).
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page, "Business Versus Public Influence in US Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, pp. 357-377 (20 pp).
- +David Shaw, "Foreign News Shrinks in Era of Globalization," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 2001, available in Lexus Nexus and at <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines01/0927-03.htm> (3 pp).
- +Daniel Sneider, "Renewing foreign coverage," *San Jose Mercury News*, July 9, 2000, available at <http://www.mercurynews.com/ml/d/mercurynews/6125671.htm?template=contentModules/printstory.jsp&1c> (2 pp.).
- +Skim the foreign policy sections of the websites for the following think tanks: Heritage Foundation (<http://www.heritage.org/>), Brookings Institution

(<http://www.brookings.edu/>), Cato Institute (<http://www.cato.org/>), Foreign Policy in Focus (<http://www.fpif.org/>).

#### **B. Presidents and Parties (2/4; 40 pp.)**

Although I will be in Washington, D.C., class will meet and attendance will be taken. During class, meet in the parties to which you were assigned on Wednesday, and prepare the following information to post on the discussion board by 11:59 pm on 2/5: a party platform of at least 250 words (with emphasis on foreign policy) and a list of the party's candidates for president, vice president, senate, and house (with platforms, bios, and credentials of at least 150 words per candidate). In preparing these documents, read the following articles and review the Democratic and Republican platforms from 2004, as well as the web sites of recent presidential and congressional candidates (see <http://www.cfr.org/campaign2004/>).

Michael Nelson, "Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy," in W&M, pp. 145-154 (9 pp).

Louis Fisher, "Presidential Wars," in W&M, pp. 155-170 (15 pp).

Fred I. Greenstein, "The Changing Leadership of George W. Bush: A Pre-and Post-9/11 Comparison," in W&M, pp. 353-362 (9 pp).

+Barbara Slavin, "Bush, Kerry have similar postwar strategies," *USA Today*, October 7, 2004, p. 15A, available through Lexus Nexus (4 pp).

+Michael Hedges, "Stopping nuclear proliferation is more than a topic for debate," *Houston Chronicle*, October 2, 2004, p. A1, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).

#### **C. Campaigns and Elections (2/7; 15+ pp.)**

Today the campaign will wrap up with public appearances by the candidates and the election. Come to class having read the party and candidate platforms, as well as the newspaper and think tank articles posted on the discussion board, so you can ask questions of the candidates and cast an informed vote. By 5:00 pm on 2/8, newly-elected senators and representatives must agree among themselves as to which committees they will chair, and they must post this information along with 150-word statements of their goals for the coming years on their respective party's websites. Also by 5:00 pm on 2/8, students who do not yet have simulation roles must post statements of at least 250 words on the discussion board ranking their cabinet preferences and summarizing their foreign policy philosophies and credentials.

Miroslav Nincic, "Elections and US Foreign Policy," in W&M, pp. 117-127 (10 pp).

+Robert Nolan, "Global Perspectives on the U.S. Election," *Global Views* (Foreign Policy Association), September 16, 2004, available at

[http://www.fpa.org/newsletter\\_info2583/newsletter\\_info\\_sub\\_list.htm?section=Global%20Perspectives%20on%20the%20U.S.%20Election](http://www.fpa.org/newsletter_info2583/newsletter_info_sub_list.htm?section=Global%20Perspectives%20on%20the%20U.S.%20Election) (3 pp).

+Greg Weston, "Bush? Kerry? It's all the same to us," *Toronto Sun*, October 31, 2004, p. 36, available through Lexus Nexus (2 pp).

#### **D. Cabinet Structure and Selection (2/9; 26 pp.)**

Before class, the president and vice president will review students' cabinet preferences. During class, they will interview candidates. By 11:59 tonight, the president must post his/her cabinet appointments on the discussion board. In preparation for class on 2/11 (when the Senate will hold confirmation hearings), journalists, think tank experts, and congresspersons will review and conduct interviews about potential cabinet members' credentials and philosophies.

Thomas Preston and Margaret G. Hermann, "Presidential Leadership Style and the Foreign Policy Advisory Process," in W&M, pp. 363-380 (17 pp).

+Janet Hook and Warren Vieth, "Bush Crafting Cabinet Out of His Inner Circle," *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 2004, p. A24, available through Lexus Nexus (4 pp).

- +Howard LaFranchi, "What makes a good secretary of State?," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 18, 2005, p. 1, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).
- +Ann Scott Tyson, "Pressure builds on Rumsfeld," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 20, 2004, p. 1, available at Lexus Nexus (2 pp).

**E. Congressional Confirmation of Cabinet Appointments (2/11; 38 pp.)**

Today, the Senate will hold hearings on the President's cabinet appointments. If appointees are not confirmed by the end of class, deliberations, interviews, and voting will continue on the discussion board. For information on which senators will lead the questioning of which candidates, see the discussion board.

- James M. Lindsay, "From Deference to Activism and Back Again: Congress and the Politics of American Foreign Policy," in W&M, pp. 183-196 (13 pp).
- Peter Trubowitz, "Political Conflict and Foreign Policy: A Geographical Interpretation," in Ikenberry, pp. 383-396 (13 pp).
- +Keith E. Whittington, "The Confirmation Process We Deserve," *Policy Analysis* (Hoover Institution), June 2001, available at <http://www.policyreview.org/jun01/whittington.html> (7 pp).
- +Dana Milbank and Charles Babington, "In 2nd Term, No Doubt About It; Bush and His Cabinet Nominees Concede and Explain Little," *Washington Post*, January 20, 2005, p. A4, available through Lexus Nexus (2 pp).
- +Richter and Richard B. Schmitt, "Cabinet Votes Stall in Senate," *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 2005, p. A1, available through Lexus Nexus (3 pp).

**F. Cognitive Limitations, Organizational Processes & Bureaucratic Politics (2/14-16; 76 pp.)**

The first paper assignment will be distributed and discussed in class today. It is due at the beginning of class on 3/9. If you are a policy-maker, you will have a choice of two topics: the role of your agency in the 9-11 attacks and its subsequent adaptation for the war on terrorism, or the role of your agency in planning, executing, and learning from the Iraq war. If you are a journalist or think tank expert, you should consult with me to develop a paper topic concerning the bureaucratic causes or consequences of 9-11 or the Iraq war. Regardless of your role in the simulation, you should begin reading the *9-11 Commission Report* and/or conducting research on the institutional background of the Iraq war now. A good place to start online is the website for the PBS show "NOW," <http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/911resources.html> and <http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/iraq.html>

- Philip E. Tetlock and Charles B. McGuire, Jr., "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, pp. 484-495 (11 pp).
- Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," in Ikenberry, pp. 402-441 (39 pp).
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important?," in Ikenberry, pp. 447-459 (12 pp).
- Steve Smith, "Policy Preferences and Bureaucratic Position," in W&M, pp. 303-317 (14 pp).

**G. The NSC, State, and Defense (2/18; 31 pp.)**

- Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, "How National Security Advisors See Their Role," in W&M, pp. 171-182 (11 pp).
- Strobe Talbott, "Globalization and Diplomacy: The View from Foggy Bottom," in W&M, pp. 197-206 (9 pp).
- Eliot A. Cohen, "A Tale of Two Secretaries," in W&M, pp. 207-218 (11 pp).

**H. Homeland Security and Intelligence (2/23-2/25; 26+ pp.)**

- Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, "Advisors, Czars, and Councils: Organizing for Homeland

Security,” in W&M, pp. 227-236 (9 pp).

John Deutsch and Jeffrey H. Smith, “Smarter Intelligence,” in W&M, pp. 219-226 (7 pp).

William Wechsler, “Law in Order: Reconstructing US National Security,” in W&M, pp. 271-281 (10 pp).

Additional readings will be assigned.

**I. Trade and Treasury (2/28; 3+ pp.)**

Bruce Stokes and Pat Choate, “Trade Policy Making: The Changing Context,” in W&M, pp. 237-234 (3 pp).

Additional readings will be assigned.

**J. Catch Up and Review (3/2)**

Today we will catch up and review for Paper #1, which is due next Weds. To prepare, finish reading the *9/11 Commission Report* and/or conducting research on the institutional background of the Iraq war.

**K. Film: “9-11: For the Record” (3/4-3/7; no new reading)**

I will be at the International Studies Association Conference on 3/4 and 3/7. Class will meet on 3/4. Attendance will be taken, and this film will be shown. Class will not meet on 3/7. Use the time to finish your paper.

**L. \*\*PAPER #1 DUE\*\* The Role of American Institutions in 9/11 and Iraq (3/9)**

Paper #1 is due at the beginning of class today. Come prepared to discuss your findings.

**Part III: Content, Sources, and Consequences of Historical and Contemporary US Doctrines and Strategies**

**A. International and Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy (3/11; 42 pp)**

The second paper assignment will be distributed and discussed today. For students other than the president and vice president, the paper is due at the beginning of class on 4/11. The president and vice-president’s papers are due at the beginning of class on 4/18. If you are a policy-maker other than the president or vice-president, your paper will summarize contemporary US doctrine and strategy in your area of expertise (political, military, or economic) and recommend areas of change for the coming years. If you are a journalist or think tank expert, consult with me to develop a paper topic on contemporary and future political, military, or economic doctrine and strategy. Regardless of your role in the simulation, begin now to do the readings in Part IV, Sections A, B, and C (focusing on those that lie within your interests and areas of expertise) and collect articles, read websites, and review documents relevant to your paper.

Ole R. Holsti, “Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy,” in Ikenberry, pp. 14-34 (20 pp).

Kenneth N. Waltz, “Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power,” in Ikenberry, pp. 60-82 (22 pp).

**B. Historical Political Doctrines and Grand Strategies (3/14-3/18; 91-103 pp.)**

In the following list, read both Huntington and Reisman. Then read either George or Ikenberry; Roskin or Thomson; and Goldgeier or Western.

Samuel P. Huntington, “American Ideals Versus American Institutions,” in Ikenberry, pp. 214-245 (31 pp).

W. Michael Reisman, “The United States and International Institutions,” in Ikenberry, pp. 40-57 (17 pp.)

Alexander L. George, “Domestic Constraints on Regime Change in US Foreign Policy: The Need

- for Legitimacy," in Ikenberry, pp. 333-355 (22 pp).
- G. John Ikenberry, "America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-War Era," in Ikenberry, pp. 268-286 (18 pp).
- Michael Roskin, "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms and Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, pp. 312-330 (18 pp).
- James C. Thomson, Jr., "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," in W&M, pp. 259-270 (11 pp).
- James M. Goldgeier, "NATO Expansion: The Anatomy of a Decision," in W&M, pp. 319-333 (14 pp).
- John Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in US Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia," in W&M, pp. 335-350 (15 pp).

**C. Historical Military Doctrines, Strategies, and Policies (3/28-4/1; 51+ pp.)**

- Melvyn P. Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-1948," in Ikenberry, pp. 84-107 (23 pp).
- Yuen Foong Khong, "Seduction by Analogy in Vietnam: The Malaya and Korea Analogies," in Ikenberry, pp. 501-510 (9 pp).
- Christopher M. Jones, "Roles, Politics, and the Survival of the V-22 Osprey," in W&M, pp. 283-302 (19 pp).
- Additional readings will be assigned.

**D. Historical Economic Doctrines and Strategies (4/4-4/8; 97 pp.)**

- Jeff Frieden, "Sectoral Conflict and US Foreign Economic Policy," in Ikenberry, pp. 138-162 (24 pp).
- Andrew J. Bacevich, "Strategy of Openness," in Ikenberry, pp. 167-194 (27 pp).
- G. John Ikenberry, "Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony," in Ikenberry, pp. 111-131 (20 pp).
- Robert Hunter Wade, "The Invisible Hand of the American Empire," in Ikenberry, pp. 200-211 (11 pp).
- Philip Brenner, et al., "Intermestic Interests and US Policy toward Cuba," in W&M, pp. 67-82 (15 pp).

**Part IV: Contemporary and Future Challenges and Opportunities**

**A. \*\*PAPER #2 DUE\*\* Contemporary and Future Political Doctrines and Grand Strategies (4/11; 51-102+ pp.)**

Paper #2 is due at the beginning of class today for all students other than the president and vice president. Papers must also be posted on the appropriate discussion board prior to class. Today, students playing primarily political roles in the simulation will collaborate to present their findings to the class. To determine the day of your presentation, see the "Simulation" page on the Course Materials section of Blackboard. To prepare for today's discussion, read the National Security Strategy document listed below, as well as at least five of the following articles:

+ "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," September 2002, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>

- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," in Ikenberry, pp. 540-550 (10 pp).
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment Revisited," in Ikenberry, pp. 550-563 (14 pp).
- G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," in Ikenberry, pp. 564-575 (11 pp).
- Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," in Ikenberry, pp. 576-592 (16 pp).
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Beyond 9-11," in W&M, pp. 25-31 (6 pp).
- Stanley Hoffmann, "Why Don't They Like Us?," in W&M, pp. 33-41 (8 pp).
- Michael Medved, "That's Entertainment?," in W&M, pp. 43-54 (11 pp).

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Erosion of American National Interests," in W&M, pp. 55-65 (10 pp).

Shoon Kathleen Murray and Christopher Spinosa, "The Post-9/11 Shift in Public Opinion: How Long Will It Last?," in W&M, pp. 97-113 (16 pp).

**B. Contemporary and Future Military Doctrines and Strategies (4/13)**

Students playing primarily military roles in the simulation will collaborate to present the findings of their second papers to the class.

Readings will be announced in class.

**C. Contemporary and Future Economic Doctrines and Strategies (4/15)**

Students playing primarily economic roles in the simulation will collaborate to present the findings of their second papers to the class.

Readings will be announced in class.

**D. SIMULATION: Day 1 (4/18)**

The president's and vice-president's papers must be posted on the discussion board by 11:59 pm on Sunday, 4/17 and submitted to me at the beginning of class today. Our week-long crisis simulation will begin with a presentation by the president and vice president in which they will lay out the political, military, and economic doctrines the president has decided to adopt in light of last week's recommendations from policy makers, journalists, and think tank experts. After their presentation, the details of the crisis and rules of the simulation will be distributed. Attendance and participation will be graded. To prepare for class, read the selections in Part IV, A that you did not read last week.

**E. SIMULATION: Day 2 (4/20)**

The simulation continues today. Attendance and participation will be graded, and readings may be assigned.

**F. SIMULATION: Day 3 (4/22)**

The simulation will end at the end of class. Attendance and participation will be graded, and readings may be assigned.

**G. Simulation Debriefing (4/25)**

Readings will be announced in class.

**H. Social Aspects of US Foreign Policy (4/27-4/29; 26+ pp.)**

Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, "The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians, and their Mutual Misunderstanding," in W&M, pp. 85-96 (11 pp).

+Eliot Cohen, "Why the Gap Matters," *The National Interest* 61 (Fall 2000), available through Academic Search Premier.

\*Jerome Karabel, "Class, Race, and the Military," in Harry Kreisler, ed., *Confrontation in the Gulf* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1992), pp. 127-142 (15 pp).

+David M. Halbfinger and Steven A. Holmes, "Military Mirrors a Working-Class America," *New York Times*, March 30, 2003, page A1, available through Lexis Nexus.

+Anthony Swofford, "Battle for Iraq (the unscripted Gulf War): A former frontline U.S. Marine spills the beans on the unseen side of the first Gulf War -- desert combat," *The Ottawa Citizen*, March 23, 2003, p. C5; available through Lexis Nexus.

+Bradley Graham and Dana Milbank, "Many Troops Dissatisfied, Iraq Poll Finds," *Washington Post*, October 16, 2003, p. A1; available through Lexis Nexus.

+Peter Amacher, "Civil Defense: You're on your own—again," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 59:3 (May/June 2003), pp. 34-37, 40-43; available through Academic Search Premier.  
Additional readings will be assigned.

**I. Environmental Aspects of US Foreign Policy (5/1-5/3)**

+Robert Dreyfuss, "Apocalypse Still," *Mother Jones* 25:1 (January/February 2000), pp. 42-51 and 90; available through Academic Search Premier.

\*Michael G. Renner, "Military Victory, Ecological Defeat," *World Watch*, July/August 1991, pp. 27-33.

\*Mike Edwards, "Chornobyl," *National Geographic* (August 1994), pp. 100-115.

+Linda Rothstein, "Nothing Clean About 'Clean Up,'" *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 51:3 (May/June 1995), pp. 34-41, available through Academic Search Premier.

**J. Conclusions (5/5)**

Readings will be announced in class.

**\*\*FINAL EXAMINATION\*\* Tuesday, May 10 from 3:20-5:20 in our regular classroom**