

Government 4142/6142 Spring, 2014
Causes and Consequences of US Foreign Policy

Instructor: Elizabeth Sanders
Time & Place: Monday 2:30-4:25 White B14
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Office Hours: M 4:30—5:30, Tuesday 4:30-5:30+ and Thurs 1:30-3:30+ or by appt.
(If you come after 4:30 and White is locked, just call me to let you in)

Overview

This course examines the twentieth and twenty-first century sources of American foreign policy decisions and the impact of those policies on the nation and world. What forces-- domestic, international, institutional, electoral, economic, cultural, or personal--drive US foreign policy? How is U.S. policy experienced by the rest of the world? What effects does US FP have on other peoples' lives and internal development, peace and the progress of democracy, and the state of the natural environment? These are the broad questions to be addressed this semester, in readings, class discussion, weekly short essays, and a longer substantive/research paper. This is an upper-level seminar that relies on scholarly books and articles from some of the leading scholars of U.S. foreign policy. It will help you to develop your analytical and writing skills as well as your ability to deftly manage a set of distinct and diverse weekly readings and to tease out common themes and contrasting assumptions and arguments.

Requirements. Students are required to attend every class (unless there is documented illness or other emergency communicated to me), to have done the required readings in advance of class, and to participate in class discussions. The course requires brief weekly (2pp, ds) essays on the readings, which are intended to show that you have done the reading, and provide practice in writing cogently and concisely about theoretical, historical, and current aspects of U.S. foreign policy. At least once during the semester, each student will be responsible for introducing the class discussion. This involves highlighting a few key arguments/themes in the reading, focusing mainly on points that particularly interest or provoke you. You are also encouraged to provide a critique of the authors' assumptions, methods, and evidence, and compare/contrast these authors with others. These skills will improve over the semester.

The essays on readings are due by email attachment by 5 pm Saturday (earlier is fine, of course!) They should be sent to me by then, and later to the rest of the class (by 6 pm Sunday), so they can be read by your fellow students before class (you will, of course, write your essay without reading the others). Reading over the papers of your fellow students on Sunday will facilitate a lively class discussion. You should feel free to quibble with their arguments (always in a polite and scholarly way, of course!)

Needless to say, this system precludes late papers except in case of non-minor illness.*

Read the **paper writing pointers** and the essay "Concision" (on BB under "course documents") carefully, and often! You will be responsible for knowing the rules of essay writing. Note that papers raising questions about sources or authorship may be analyzed with plagiarism-detection software. Avoid any whiff of plagiarism. There is a powerpoint on Course Documents that, along with the Writing Pointers, should make the rules for quoting and citing clear.

Undergraduates are expected to complete, by the first day of exams a 12-13 pp paper reflecting their understanding of a particular debate, case, or issue in US foreign policy. [Graduate students will write 15-20 pp]. The sooner you decide on a topic, and discuss it with me, the more I can help you develop it into a strong paper.

The topic of the final paper **must** be discussed with me and approved by the fourth week of class so that you can get started. **Before** our first office meeting on your final research paper, please send me a paragraph on the topic. The weekly short papers will count for 30% of the final grade, the long paper 50%, and the remainder is based on class participation, including class presentation. Failure to submit all weekly papers in a timely fashion, or to adequately fulfill the essay part of the course requirement will necessitate taking a final exam. Those meeting the weekly paper requirement will NOT have to take a final exam.

*You are permitted ONE late paper submission with no penalty (but let me know when you are taking your "late day"). If you are ill, and notify me before class, eventually bringing a Gannett (or other medical) certification that you have been seen there for treatment, you can be excused to turn in the paper within one week (or upon recovery, in case of serious illness).

If you are having a serious problem, psychological or physiological, and do not receive a quick email response from me, call me at home. I generally check email only once or twice a day, and due to a very large volume of email, may miss your first message. Don't give up! I need to know if you are having problems that interfere with your doing well in the course.

Readings. The book chapters and articles required will be in the weekly folders on Blackboard. Major books will also be put on reserve at Uris.

There are some optional readings also available on Blackboard. The "optional" readings may be helpful for your final papers, but as the name implies, they are not required for undergraduates. Graduate students read at least one optional reading per week.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Introduction

Week 1 (reading for Feb. 3)

Critical Perspectives on the U.S. in the World: Is the U.S. an "exceptionally good" hegemon? What is the impact of US foreign policy on the world? Can a democracy sustain an empire? (Can an empire sustain democracy at home, and spread it abroad?)

- Marilyn Young, "After the American Century" (Cornell talk, Sept. 23, 2013; video avail)
- Chalmers Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire*, 1-37
- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*, 1-6 (we'll read pages 111-46 of Kinzer's book wks 3-4)
- Michael J. Boyle, "The Costs and Consequences of Drone Warfare," *International Affairs* 89, 1 (2013), 1-29
- Micah Zenko, "The True Forever War," *Foreign Policy*, Jan. 24, 2014
- Stephen Van Evera, "A Farewell to Geopolitics," in Leffler and Legro, eds., *To Lead the World*, 11-33
- Stephen Walt, "The Myth of American Exceptionalism," Foreign Policy, Nov. 2011

- Polls: Read one and browse another of the polls on BB, focusing on the summaries, scanning the tables:
 - “Public Sees U.S. Power Declining as Support for Global Engagement Slips”
 - “World View of U.S. Goes from Bad to Worse”
 - “World Publics Reject US Role as the World Leader,”
 - “Views of US Continue to Improve in 2011 BBC Poll”
 - “Negative Attitudes on the U.S. in the Muslim World: Do They Matter?”

II Consequences of U.S. Foreign Policy

Week 2 (February 10) Domestic Consequences of Militarized Foreign Policy

- Peter Jan Honigsberg, *Our Nation Unhinged*, xvi-xix, 1-11, 31-37
- Bob Herbert, “War’s Psychic Toll,” NYT May 17, 2009; Rand Corp Report ’08
- Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red* 171-92
- Jeffrey A. Smith, *War and Press Freedom*, 169-94
- James Pfiffner, *Power Play*, 1-12, and mid 67-83
- Neil M. Richards, “The Dangers of Surveillance,” *Harvard Law Review* v. 126, 2012 Symposium, 1-mid 14, 27-28
- Gregory Hooks, *Forging the Military Industrial Complex* 1-7, 229-57, 264
- Paul Verkuil, *Outsourcing Sovereignty*, 1-30 [A video of a Verkuil talk at the Miller Center can be watched at <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/forum/detail/3954>]
- Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes, “The True Cost of the Iraq War,” WAPO 9-5-10
And glance at graph: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_public_debt

Short Winter Break Feb. 15-18

Week 3 (February 24) International Consequences 1

- Tony Smith, *America’s Mission*, 1-33 [Opt: 113-307, 311-26]
- Robert E. Wood, “From the Marshall Plan to the 3rd World,” in Leffler and Painter, eds., *Origins of the Cold War*, 201-13
- Mary Anne Glendon, *A World Made New*, preface, 3-20, 235-41
- Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, “When Democracy Assistance Works”
- Minxin Pei and Sara Kasper, Lessons from the Past: The American Record of Nation Building, Policy Brief No. 24, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2003 (on BB or <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1240&prog=zch&proj=zusr>)
- James Dobbins, *America’s Role in Nation-Building: Germany to Iraq*, xxIII-xxix
- Andrew Bacevich, “Forays into the Islamic World Have Had Bad Consequences”

- Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: How to Create an Insurgency*, 149-76

Week 4 (March 3) International Consequences 2

- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*, 111-47
- John M. Collins, *America's Small Wars* 1-39 (skim)
- Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop*, 1-23
- Leslie Gill, *The School of the Americas*, 1-21, 78-89
- David Zierler. *The Invention of Ecocide: Agent Orange, Vietnam, and the Scientists Who Changed the Way We Think about the Environment* (HD review)
OR substitute Fred A. Wilcox, *Scorched Earth*, 1-5, 9-23, 135-45
- Eric Lipton, "U.S. Arms Sales Rising Sharply," NYT 9-14-08, + 2013 update
- William W. Keller, *Arm in Arm: The Political Economy of the Global Arms Trade*, 8- 15, 84-94. (Institutional reasons for increased US weapons sales)
- Michael Byers, *War Law*, 2-11, 127-35
- Matthew Evangelista, *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror*, 103-15, 121-29
- Mark Boal, "The Kill Team," Rolling Stone, March 27, 2011
- "The Torture Archive" (Read Mora Interview at http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/torturingdemocracy/interviews/alberto_mora.html#constitution OR watch "Torturing Democracy" at <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/program>)

III. Causes

A. Culture, Ideology, Economics: Perspectives on Outward Expansion

Week 5 (March 10) A Missionary impulse?

- (Skim) James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 1-33, 277-mid 283, 328 (bottom)-331 (top)
- Anatol Lieven, *America, Right or Wrong*, 1-18
- John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War*, 1-29
- Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, 124-46

Week 6 (March 17) Historical Antecedents of Isolationism and interventionism

UNILATERALIST EXPANSIONISM

- Warren Zimmerman, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country World Power*, 3-39
- Harold Faulkner, *The Decline of Laissez-Faire, 1897-1917*, 68-91

- Stephen D. Krasner, *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy* 5-34, 346-52

ISOLATIONISM

- Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, 1-23
- Republican Opposition to Wilson's War Message 1917 (speeches by Senators George W. Norris and Robert LaFollette)

WILSONIAN INTERNATIONALISM

- David Steigerwald, *Wilsonian Idealism in America*, 3-38; [Opt: 113-65, 204-43]; and Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars*, 271-76]
- Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men*, 17-35

Week 7 (March 24)

Contemporary Ideological Variants

ISOLATIONISM

- Pat Buchanan, "Whose War?" *The American Conservative*, 24 March 2003 http://www.amconmag.com/03_24_03/cover.html (on BB)
- Ron Paul, "Neo-conned," Address to U.S. House of Representatives, July 10, 2003
- Rand Paul, "Why I'm Voting No on Syria" *Time Magazine*, Ideas, Sept. 4, 2013

UNILATERALIST INTERVENTION

- Elizabeth Drew, "The Neocons in Power" in *New York Review of Books*, 12 June 2003, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/16378> (and BB)
- Justin Vaisse, *Neoconservatism: the Biography of a Movement*, H-Diplo review, 1-12. OR, you can watch Vaisse talk about his book at the Wilson International Center for Scholars: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/neoconservatism-the-biography-movement> (On BB there are several opt, reviews of Vaisse, as well as the video).

WILSONIAN INTERNATIONALISM

- G. John Ikenberry, "Why Export Democracy? The 'Hidden Grand Strategy' of American Foreign Policy" *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 23, no.2 (Spring 1999); OR substitute his "Liberal Order Building, in Leffler and Legro, eds., under opt. readings.
- Emily Goldman and Larry Berman, "Engaging the World," in Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman, eds., *The Clinton Legacy* (London: Chatham House, 2000), 226-53.

Spring Break March 29- April 6

B. Institutional Determinants of Foreign Policy

Week 8 (April 7) The President, pt. 1: Executive Power and Electoral Effects

- William Grover, *The President As Prisoner: A Structural Critique of the Carter and Reagan Years*, 1-13, 63-87
- Andrew D. Preston, *The War Council*, pp. 8-10, 36-53
- Philip J. Cooper, *By Order of the President*, ix-xi, 15-27, 33-36, 44-47, 86-88, 143-62
- James Pfiffner "Executive Power in the Bush and Obama Admins" + Update to 2013

- Benjamin Fordham, "Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and U.S. Uses of Force", 1949-1994, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (August 1998), 418-39
- Jane K. Cramer, "Just Cause" or Just Politics? U.S. Panama Invasion and... Diversionary War," *Armed Forces & Society*, Jan. '06, 178-20

OPT: *Elizabeth Sanders and Caroline Emberton, "The War Lovers;" and Elizabeth Sanders, "Presidents and Diversionary War"*

Week 9 (April 14) The President, pt. 2: Personality, Psychology, Ideology

- Bruce Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions: Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy*, 35-85.
- Beth Fisher, "US Foreign Policy under Reagan and Bush," ch 13 in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 3
- Thomas Langston and Elizabeth Sanders, "Explaining Ideological Intensity in the 20th Century Presidency" (APSA paper, 2003 rv)
- Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side* (rev. by Alan Brinkley)
- Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War : The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*, 382-99; Opt for grads; chapters 1, 9-12.
- Irving L. Janis, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2nd ed., 1-13, 40-42, 48-71. (also on BB as optional: 1-13, 174-75, 178-9)

Week 10 (April 21) The National Security and Intelligence Bureaucracies

- Douglas A. Stuart, "Ministry of Fear: The 1947 National Security Act in Historical and Institutional Context," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 4 (Aug 03), 293-313.
- Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: ...the Politics of Intelligence*, 1-35, 142-62, 198-205
- James Bamford, *Body Of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra-Secret National Security Agency*, 1-6, 64-91
- Bamford, *The Shadow Factory*, 1-4, 12-21, 28-29, and 112-23
- Michael Riesman and James E. Baker, *Regulating Covert Action*, 116-35
- Amy Zegart, *Spying Blind*, 1-13, 96-100

Week 11 (April 28) Legislative-Executive Interactions

- Rebecca K.C. Hersman, *Friends and Foes: How Congress and the President Really Make Foreign Policy*, 1-52, 85-116.
- Stephen R. Weissman, *A Culture of Deference: Congress's Failure of Leadership in Foreign Policy*, 10-32, 137-184.
- Daniel Wirls, *Buildup: The Politics of Defense in the Reagan Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 56-78, 102-5, 109-12 [Opt: 112- 32, 198-226]
- Julian E. Zelizer, "Détente and Domestic Politics," *Diplomatic History*, vol 33, No. 4 (September, 2009), 651-670
- William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, "When Congress Stops Wars," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2007
- Juan Cole, "Iran Breakthrough a Triumph for Pragmatists..." Jan. 22, 2014

C. Societal Influences: Media, Public Opinion, Groups and Movements

Week 12 (May 5)

- "Global Views 2010: Constrained Internationalism" (US opinion survey)
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 3-40, 258-62
- Tom Hamburger and Jim Vandehei, "How Israel became a Favorite Cause of the Conservative Christian Right," *Wall Street Journal* May 23, 2002
- Jonathan Mermin, *Debating War and Peace*, 1-16
- Jon Western, *Selling Intervention and War*, 189-215
- Sean L. Malloy, *Atomic Tragedy*, 138-42, 158-69
- Matthew Evangelista, "Transnational Organizations and the Cold War," cptr. 19 in Melvin Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War*
- Steven Kull, Clay Ramsey, Evan Lewis, "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War," *PSQ* v. 118, #4 (Winter 2003-4)

Research papers due by the first day of exams (May 12). Final papers must be on approved topics, discussed with me in at least two office visits. Any changes in topic must also be approved. Please read the Writing Pointers on BB more than once, and adhere to those guidelines. It is suggested that you also get the Kate Turabian writing guide. Mastery of grammar, spelling, and a standard footnote form are assumed. Useful International Affairs web sites (Opt): <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>; http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/static/links_ann.html; <http://thediplomat.com>; <http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy>; <http://www.foreignpolicy.com>