

# **POLI 163: U.S. Foreign Policy**

## ***Instructor***

Dr. Andrea Everett ([anlevere@ucsc.edu](mailto:anlevere@ucsc.edu))  
Office: Merrill Annex 152  
Hours: TuTh 4:00-5:00 pm  
Sign up at <http://www.wejoinin.com/anlevere@ucsc.edu>

## ***Course Information***

Spring 2016  
Time: TuTh 2:00-3:45 pm  
Location: Cowell Classroom 131

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION and OBJECTIVES**

This course aims to give students an overview of how U.S. foreign policy is made, and to provide an introduction to some of the major foreign policy issues the U.S. has faced in recent decades and can expect to face in the future. During the quarter you will learn:

- To identify the major institutional and societal influences on U.S. foreign policy: Who has which formal roles and responsibilities? How do different actors within the government cooperate and compete to influence policy outcomes? What roles do the media, interest groups, and public opinion play?
- To think critically about key contemporary issues in U.S. foreign policy
- To evaluate the persuasiveness of theoretical and empirical claims using evidence
- To become more informed citizens and consumers of foreign policy debates

## **READINGS**

There is one required textbook for this course: *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (6<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2012), edited by James M. McCormick. It is available at the Bay Tree Bookstore. Additional readings are available on eCommons or online.

## **REQUIREMENTS and EVALUATION**

### **Participation & Reading Quizzes (20%)**

Attendance and active participation in class are mandatory. Although the course will be largely lecture-based, we will also spend time in classroom discussion and debates. Comprehension of the course material and active participation in class will depend on completing the assigned readings. Students are expected to complete all readings before the class meeting for which they are assigned, and to come to class ready to contribute. You should bring a paper or electronic copy of the readings to class in order to facilitate discussion and questions.

This course requires a substantial amount of reading, which is intended both to expose you to a wide array of arguments and historical material and to help you learn to become more efficient and critical

readers. To facilitate effective reading, you should try to answer the following questions as you go through each assigned piece: What is the author's main point or argument? What arguments or point of view (if any) is he arguing against? What evidence does she use to support her argument? Is it compelling? Are there other arguments or evidence that could be used to contradict her point of view? How does the author's argument relate to the other readings for the week, and for previous weeks? In addition, I recommend writing down questions and insights as you read in order to help foster active participation and discussion.

To encourage attendance and timely reading, an unspecified number of short, unannounced quizzes based on the readings will be administered at the beginning of class. These quizzes are designed to be very easy if you did the readings, and very difficult if you did not. There will be no excused absences from these quizzes, but your lowest grade will be dropped. Thus, you may miss one quiz with no penalty for any reason. They will be graded to reflect both attendance and reading. We will discuss this at greater length in class.

Participation grades will be based on both the quizzes / attendance, and on active participation in class discussions and activities. I am willing to define participation broadly, however, and interaction with me in office hours – if it concerns active discussion of course material – may qualify as well.

## **MIDTERM (40%) – May 5**

This will be a closed book, in-class exam, which will cover the readings, lectures and other in-class activities and discussions. Some of the material that we cover in class will not be in the readings, and vice versa. *All* of it is fair game. The exam will cover the entire course up until that point.

## **FINAL ANALYTICAL PAPER (40%) – Due June 8**

Students will be responsible for writing one 8-page double-spaced (1-inch margins) analytical paper in response to a prompt provided by me. The goal of this exercise is to demonstrate your ability to apply the concepts and theories that we will study throughout the course. You will have a choice between several questions, which you will receive on Thursday, May 19<sup>th</sup>. The paper will be due at 12 pm on June 8<sup>th</sup>, the time otherwise scheduled for a final exam. This gives you three weeks, which should be plenty of time to ask questions, attend office hours, and seek necessary help.

### **Grading Rubric for the Paper**

For the paper, you will be asked to make an argument and defend it using evidence based on materials from reading and lectures. Your grade will depend on the clarity of your argument and writing, the quality of your analysis (including the evidence you bring to bear in support of your claims), and the structure of your essay. I will be looking for a clear, logical argument that responds directly to the question prompt. A well-organized essay should begin by briefly stating your argument and then move on to explain the logic behind it (the *why*), and present the evidence you use to back up your claims. You should have clear transitions between paragraphs and between different sections of the essay, as well as a short conclusion. The more evidence you cite for your position (and to undermine alternative positions), the stronger your argument will be. Evidence may include statistics, examples, events, or anecdotes taken from the readings, lecture, or outside sources.

## **POLICIES**

### **Make-up Exams & Late/Missing Assignments**

Students are expected to attend all exams and to complete all assignments on time. There will be no make-up exams or paper extensions except in case of an appropriately documented family or medical emergency. Extension requests are more compelling if you contact me *in advance* about a potentially disruptive medical or family condition. You must also contact me during the first week of the quarter if there is a university-excused conflict that will prevent you from taking the exam in class on the scheduled date. For papers, assignments received within an hour of the deadline will receive a penalty of one-third of a grade reduction. Papers received within 24 hours of the deadline will be penalized two-thirds of a grade. An additional two-thirds of a grade will be deducted for each subsequent 24-hour period or portion thereof. Papers more than three days late will not be accepted. The clock stops when you *email* me a copy of the paper.

### **Technology and Etiquette in the Classroom**

Students are asked to follow basic etiquette in class by arriving and leaving on time, raising your hand before speaking in class, and refraining from insults or threatening behavior. Students are to ***turn off or silence all mobile devices*** prior to class. Students may use laptops to take notes during lecture or to refer to readings during class discussion, but not for web surfing/social networking/email, etc. If I find that use of student computers for non-course related purposes becomes a problem, I reserve the right to reduce students' final grades as a result. Finally, failure to abide by these policies may result in the student being asked to leave the classroom.

### **Citation and Documentation of Sources in Papers**

All courses in the Politics Department use one of two standard forms of citation: 1) parenthetical/in-text citations, or 2) footnotes. For the in-text system, the Department follows the Modern Language Association (MLA); for footnotes, the Chicago Manual of Style. Familiarize yourself with the style guides for the two systems provided on the Politics Department website at <http://politics.ucsc.edu/undergraduate/citation.html>. All sources must be cited appropriately.

### **Academic Integrity**

I take academic integrity very seriously and I expect all students to do the same. All written work you submit for this class must be your own. Cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and follow the university's policies on academic integrity and misconduct at [https://www.ue.ucsc.edu/academic\\_misconduct](https://www.ue.ucsc.edu/academic_misconduct). Lack of knowledge of the academic integrity policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the integrity policy should be directed to me. Suspected violations will be pursued according to university policy, and may lead to failing the course and suspension or dismissal from the university.

### **Grade Appeals**

Requests for re-grades may be made no less than 5, and no more than 14, days after receiving a graded assignment. This permits you to think about and compose a justification for the request, but also ensures that we address any grading concerns together in an expeditious manner. I will not consider requests for re-grades outside this window. All re-grade requests must explain why the original grade was inaccurate and include a copy of the original assignment. All requests will result

in the assignment being re-graded *in its entirety*, and I reserve the right to adjust the grade *either up or down*. Any computational errors, by contrast, should be brought to my attention immediately. Finally, students should keep copies of the assignments they turn in and retain graded assignments and exams until they receive their final course grade.

## **Accessibility and Disabilities**

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit an Accommodation Authorization from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me within the first two weeks of the quarter. You may submit these outside of class during office hours or by appointment. Contact DRC at [831-459-2089](tel:831-459-2089) (voice), by email at [drc@ucsc.edu](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu), or on the web at <http://drc.ucsc.edu> for more information on the requirements or process.

## **Email Policy**

I will respond to course-related emails within 48 hours during the week, but I may not check them over the weekend (*Exception: I will not answer paper-related questions by email during the 24 hours before they are due*). Students should plan accordingly, and contact me by Thursday morning with questions needing an answer by the weekend. I will not respond to questions that are answered in the syllabus. If you have administrative questions (Why can't I download this reading? When is the final paper due?), please review the syllabus and then ask a fellow student before contacting me. If you cannot find an answer after asking a classmate, of course I will be happy to help. Students who miss a class are responsible for obtaining lecture notes, instructions, and other information from a classmate.

## **Office Hours**

Normal office hours will be Tuesday and Thursday from 4:00 to 5:00 pm, but I may schedule other times as needed. You may sign up at <http://www.wejoinin.com/anlevere@ucsc.edu>. You may come without an appointment, but I will honor preexisting appointments before walk-ins.

Many students attend office hours only immediately before papers are due or after grades are returned. I am happy to answer questions about course material and papers up until the due dates, but I strongly encourage you to use office hours throughout the quarter and hope that you will visit whenever you think discussion on an individual basis would be helpful. If you are concerned about your class participation grade, speaking with me about course material during office hours can be a good way to boost your score. Finally, if you cannot attend office hours during the scheduled time, I will be happy to make an appointment for another time.

# **COURSE PLAN**

## **Section 1: Introduction**

### **Week 1**

#### **March 29 – Introduction and Course Overview (18)**

Course syllabus – Read carefully!

McCormick, Introduction

#### **March 31 – The Culture of U.S. Foreign Policy (67)**

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (London, UK: Rutledge, 2002): Chapter 1 (p.3-29) & part of Chapter 3 (p.79-98). (47)

Alexei Bogaturov, “The Sources of American Conduct,” *Russia in Global Affairs* Vol.3, No. 1 (January-March 2005). (8)

McCormick Chapter 3 (by Russell Mead). (12)

## **Section 2: The Sources of U.S. Foreign Policy**

### **Week 2**

#### **April 5 – Presidents & the Presidency (75)**

Alexander L. George and Eric Stern, “Presidential Management Styles and Models,” Chapter 6 in Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, *Presidential personality and performance*, Westview Press, 1998. Read p.199-222, p.241-263 (skip sections on Reagan and Bush, p.222-241). (46)

McCormick Chapters 9 (by Nelson) and 24 (by Lizza). (29)

#### **April 7 – Congress (29)**

McCormick Chapter 12 (by Lindsay). (16)

William Howell and Jon Pevehouse, “When Congress Stops Wars.” *Foreign Affairs* Vol.85 No.5 (Sept/Oct 2007), p.95-107. (13)

### **Week 3**

#### **April 12 – The Bureaucracy & Executive Branch Agencies (46)**

McCormick Chapters 13 (Clinton), 14 (Adams & Leatherman), and 15 (Jervis) (46)

#### **April 14 – What Role for Bureaucratic Politics? (67)**

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63 No.3 (1969): 689-718. (30)

Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy* Vol.7 (1972): 159- 179. (21)

McCormick Ch.19 (by Smith) (16)

#### **Week 4**

#### **April 19 – The Media (58)**

Robert M. Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Read Chapter 1, p.1-28. (28)

Matthew A. Baum, "Soft News and Foreign Policy: How Expanding the Audience Changes the Policies," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 8(1) (2007): 115-145. (30)

#### **April 21 – Public Opinion (64)**

McCormick Chapter 8 (by Miroslav Nincic). (17)

Thomas Knecht And M. Stephen Weatherford, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 50(3) (September 2006): 705-727. (23)

Zaller, John. "Coming to Grips with V. O. Key's Concept of Latent Opinion." In *Electoral Democracy*. Edited by Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003. P.311-334. (24)

#### **Week 5**

#### **April 26 – Public Opinion in WWII: FDR, the Public, & the Politics of Propaganda (50)**

Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Read Chapter 3, p.33-57. (25)

Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes to War: the Cultural Politics of Propaganda During World War II*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press. 2002. Read Chapter 2, p.41-65. (25)

#### **April 28 – Interest and Advocacy Groups (45)**

McCormick Chapter 4 (by McCormick). (22)

*Discussion of "The Israel Lobby":*

McCormick Chapter 5 (by Mearsheimer and Walt). (16)

Daniel W. Drezner. "Methodological Confusion: How indictments of The Israel Lobby expose political science's flaws." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 22, 2008. (4)

Noam Chomsky, "The Israel Lobby?" March 28, 2006. (3)

*Recommended:* Mearsheimer & Walt's response to their critics, "Setting the Record Straight."

### Week 6

#### **May 3 – Private Power: The Military-Industrial Complex and Corporate Influence (46)**

Andrew J. Bacevich, "The Tyranny of Defense Inc." *The Atlantic*, Vol.307 No.1 (Jan/Feb 2011), p.74-79. (6)

Charles J. Dunlap, Jr., "The Military-Industrial Complex." *Daedalus*, Vol.140 No. 3 (Summer 2011), p.135-147. (13)

Avant, Deborah D., and Renee De Nevers. "Military contractors & the American way of war." *Daedalus* Vol.140, No.3 (2011): 88-99. (12)

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Thad Kousser, and David G. Victor, "Lobbying at the Water's Edge: The Corporate Foreign Policy Lobby." July 2015. Unpublished Manuscript. (15)

#### **May 5 – Midterm**

### **Section 3: Contemporary Issues in U.S. Foreign Policy**

#### Week 7

**May 10 – Film Screening: *Wag the Dog* (1997)**

**May 12 – U.S. Energy Policy: Guest Lecture by Emily Meierding**

#### Week 8

**May 17 – Is America in Decline or Ascendancy, and Why Does it Matter? (72)**

McCormick Chapters 1 (by Joseph Nye) & 2 (Gideon Rachman) (22)

Michael Ignatieff. "American Empire: The Burden," *New York Times Magazine*. January 5, 2003. (13)

William Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), p.5-41 (37)

### **May 19 – Managing the Rise of China (58)** **(Paper Topics Handed Out)**

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West." *Foreign Affairs* Vol.87, No. 1 (January/February 2008), p.23-37. (15)

Yuen Foong Khong, "Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise – A Review Essay." *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Winter 2013/14), p. 153-175. (23)

Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015. (20)

### **Week 9**

#### **May 24 – Terrorism (68)**

"The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States" (2004). Read the Executive Summary. (25)

Richard A. Posner, "The 9/11 Commission Report: A Dissent," *New York Times Book Review*, August 29, 2004. (13)

John Mueller and Mark G. Stewart, "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11." *International Security* Vol.37, No.1 (Summer 2012), p.81-110. (30)

#### **May 26 – "Small" Wars (77)**

McCormick Chapter 18 (by Thompson) (12)

Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (Penguin, 2006). Read Chapters 5 & 6, p.58-110. (53)

Paul D. Miller, "Obama's Failed Legacy in Afghanistan." *The American Interest*, Feb.15, 2016. (12)

### **Week 10**

#### **May 31 – Trade & Globalization (41)**

McCormick Ch.17 (by Destler) (18)

Kenneth F. Scheve and Matthew J. Slaughter, "A New Deal for Globalization," *Foreign Affairs* Vol.86,

No.4 (July/August 2007), p. 34-47. (14)

Jeffrey E. Garten, "The TPP is Just Half a Loaf," *Foreign Policy*, October 21, 2015. (9)

**June 2 – Promoting Democracy & Human Rights Abroad (86)**

Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *International Security* 29, no.4 (Spring 2005): 112-156. (44)

Thomas Carothers, "Democracy Policy Under Obama: Revitalization or Retreat?" *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. 2012. Read p.7-48 (42)

**Final Paper Due Wednesday, June 8 at 12:00 pm**