

PS 359: American Foreign Policy

University of Wisconsin-Madison
Monday and Wednesday 9:55-10:45
Van Hise 115

Instructor: Dr. Ann Rivlin
E-mail: rivlin@wisc.edu
Office Hours: Friday 9:45-11:45, or by appointment
Office: 411 North Hall

Course Description:

The purpose of this course is to gain a better understanding of U.S. foreign policy. The course is divided into three main sections. First, we will review the history of U.S. foreign policy since World War II. This will be an overview of key events and decisions made in the post war era until today. Second, we will explore the policy formation process and examine the institutions that influence foreign policy. This section will focus on three questions: Who is involved in making foreign policy? What do they do? What constraints do they face? In the final section, we will review foreign policy challenges facing the United States and its policymakers. We will learn about current foreign policy issues U.S. policymakers must address; some of the topics we will discuss have been long-standing dilemmas, but others have become prominent challenges only recently.

The overarching goal of the course is to answer three questions: (1) How do institutional arrangements complicate the policy process? (2) How do particular issue areas challenge decision makers? and (3) What general theoretical statements can be made about foreign policy?

Required Readings:

The required readings are available on the class's Canvas page. The readings include a number of memoirs written by foreign policymakers or accounts of the foreign policy process. These readings were selected to provide a glimpse of how the actors involved saw the foreign policy process. As you are reading each piece, please think about how the selection illustrates larger issues in the study of foreign policy. Also, frankly, I hope you will enjoy each of the assigned readings.

If you are interested in a particular topic and would like recommendations of additional readings, please don't hesitate to ask me.

Course Components:

Participation in section: 30%
Exams (2): 40%
Final paper: 30%

This 3-credit course will be a blend of lecture and discussion. My twice-weekly lectures will provide information about foreign policy history, actors and processes and background information on specific foreign policy issues. In addition, I will highlight analytic or theoretical issues in lecture. You will participate in a weekly discussion section led by Thomas Worth. Discussions will include how the required readings illustrate, supplement, or contradict the lecture material, as well as additional discussion topics. It is this portion of the class that determines your participation grade. Attendance is required at discussion section each week.

There will be two exams in this course. The first will be on October 23rd. I will discuss the format of the exam in class the week of September 16th. The second exam is the final exam, and it will occur at the time set by UW for our final exam, currently December 14th. As with the first exam, I will announce the format prior to the exam date, but you should plan that there will be at least one essay question on the final that requires you to tie together knowledge from across the semester.

In addition, you will write a final paper that is 5 pages in length. This paper will be in the format of an advisory memo on a foreign policy decision of your choice. You must analyze the reasons for a historical foreign policy decision and advocate for changing or maintaining the decision. I will provide more information about the memo in a future lecture. Please note that you must submit a one paragraph proposal describing your topic by November 4th. The final paper is due the last day of class (December 11th). All papers should be double-spaced using 12-point font. Please choose one citation format and use it consistently.

Course Policies:

If you stay enrolled in the course, I will assume that you have read, understood, and accepted these course policies.

1. Attendance: You must attend discussion section each week. It is in your best interest to attend lecture each week.
2. Late policy: No make up or late work is allowed unless you provide documentation of a medical or family emergency.
3. Political Science: We are here as political scientists, not as political partisans or social critics. Our goal is to better understand events and processes in an objective manner. We are going to talk about controversial issues, but we will always be respectful of each other's views and remain open to new ideas.
4. Current events: Please keep up with current events. Recent developments and ongoing foreign policy issues will be valuable contributions to our discussions.
5. Grades: Questions about grades are welcome, but I request that you wait 48 hours before meeting with me or Thomas in order to review your graded assignment. In case of a dispute about a grade, Thomas or I will review your entire graded assignment and reserve the right to increase the grade, leave the grade the same, or reduce the grade following the review.
6. Academic Conduct: By virtue of enrollment, each student agrees to uphold the high academic standards of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; academic misconduct is behavior that negatively impacts the integrity of the institution. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these previously listed

acts are examples of misconduct which may result in disciplinary action. Examples of disciplinary action include, but is not limited to, failure on the assignment/course, written reprimand, disciplinary probation, suspension, or expulsion.

<https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/syllabus-statement/>

7. Equal educational opportunity: The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform me of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. I will work either directly with the you or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA.
8. Diversity: Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals. The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff serve Wisconsin and the world. <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>

American Foreign Policy History, Institutions and Issues

September 4: Introduction

September 9 and 11: The Immediate Post War Era and Start of the Cold War

- Dean Acheson, Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department, New York: W.W. Norton and Company 1969, 217-225.
- X, The Sources of Soviet Conduct, Foreign Affairs, July 1947, 568-582.
- G. John Ikenberry, After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, 163-175 and 199-214.
- Anatoly Dobrynin, In Confidence, New York: Random House, 1995, 71-91.

September 16 and 18: Vietnam to the End of the Cold War

- Robert S. McNamara, In Retrospect, New York: Random House, 1995, 207-231.
- H.R. McMaster, Dereliction of Duty, New York: Harper Collins, 1997, 323-334.
- John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 308-318. Read Section I.
- Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith, Toronto: Bantam Books, 1982, 433-458.
- Justin Vaisse, “Thank You, Jimmy Carter”, Foreign Policy, July 2018, 16-17.

September 23 and 25: First Gulf War to the Present

- Lawrence Freedman, “Prevention, Not Preemption” The Washington Quarterly 26:2 (Spring 2003), 105-114.
- Cameron Abadi, “The Small War that Wasn’t,” Foreign Policy, Winter 2019, 10-11.
- Graham Allison, “The Myth of the Liberal Order,” Foreign Affairs, July/August 2018, 124-133.
- Michael Anton, “The Trump Doctrine,” Foreign Policy, Spring 2019, 40-47.

September 30 and October 2: The Presidency

- William G. Howell, Power Without Persuasion, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, 1-23.
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983, 57-78. Start at “Organizing Power”.
- Graham Allison, “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” American Political Science Review, September 1969 (62:3), 689-712.
- James A. Baker, III, Work Hard, Study, and Keep Out of Politics, New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2006, 122-141.

October 7 and 9: Congress

- Louis Henkin, “Foreign Affairs and the Constitution,” Foreign Affairs, Winter 1987/1988, 284-310.
- Randall Bennett Woods, Fulbright, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 561-580.

- Sarah B. Snyder, From Selma to Moscow, New York: Columbia University Press, 2018, 148-167.

October 14: The State Department

- Henry Kissinger, White House Years, New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1979, 24-33. Start at “The Uneasy Team”.
- James A. Baker, The Politics of Diplomacy, New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1995, 153-176.
- Mary Thompson-Jones, To the Secretary, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016, 81-89.
- William J. Burns, “The Lost Art of American Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019, 98-107.
- Howard J. Wiarda, “Beyond the Pale”, *World Affairs*, Spring 2000, 174-190.

October 16: Department of Defense

- Robert M. Gates, Duty, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014, 116-148.
- Caspar W. Weinberger, Fighting for Peace, New York: Warner Books, 1990, 45-79.
- Richard Kohn, “Coming Soon”, *World Affairs*, Winter 2008, 69-80.

October 21: Intelligence Agencies

- Richard Helms with William Hood, A Look Over My Shoulder, New York: Random House, 2003, preface and 375-388.
- Robert M. Gates, From the Shadows, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996, 135-143; 198-213.
- Jami Miscik, “Intelligence and the Presidency,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2017, 57-64.
- Amy Zegart and Michael Morell, “Spies, Lies, and Algorithms,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019, 85-96.
- Mike McConnell, “Overhauling Intelligence,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2007, 49-58.

October 23: Midterm

October 28: Public Opinion, Interest Groups and the Media

- A. Trevor Thrall and Erik Goepner, Millennials and U.S. Foreign Policy, Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 2015.
- Janice J. Terry, U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East, London: Pluto Press, 2005, 43-49.
- Jon Western, Selling Intervention & War, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005, 175-219.
- Morley Safer, “Vietnam,” Reporting America at War, Compiled by Michelle Ferrari, Hyperion: New York, 2003, 133-146

October 30: Use of Force

- Ash Carter, Inside the Five-Sided Box, New York: Dutton, 2019, 181-188 and 194-203.
- Melvin R. Laird, “Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2005.

- Jon Finer, “The Last War, and the Next?,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2019, 83-191.
- Tarah Wheeler, “Why the World Desperately Needs Digital Geneva Conventions,” *Foreign Policy*, Fall 2018, 34-41.

November 4: Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention

- Jon Western, “Sources of Humanitarian Intervention,” *International Security*, 26:4 (Spring 2002), 112-142.
- Samantha Power, “Kosovo: A Dog and a Fight,” *A Problem from Hell*, New York: Basic Books, 2002, 443-473.
- David Rieff, “The End of Human Rights?” *Foreign Policy*, April 2018, 16-19.

November 6: Proliferation

- Andrew Krepinevich, “The Eroding Balance of Terror,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2019, 62-74.
- Michael R. Pompeo, “Confronting Iran,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2018, 60-70.
- Nina Tannenwald, “The Vanishing Nuclear Taboo,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2018, 16-24.
- Defense Science Board, Task Force on Deterring, Preventing, and Responding to the Threat or Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction Executive Summary, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, May 2018.

November 11: North Korea

- Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, Robert C. Galluci, *Going Critical*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, 331-370.
- Victor Cha and Katrin Fraser Katz, “The Right Way to Coerce North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2018, 87-100.
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, “Why China Won’t Rescue North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2018, 58-66.

November 13: Missile Defense

- Richard Reeves, *President Reagan*, New York: Simon and Shuster, 2005, 141-147.
- Jeffrey Lewis, “Billion Dollar Baby,” *Foreign Policy*, March 20, 2013.
- Deverrick Holmes, “Congress is not asking the right questions about missile defense,” Central for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, June 25, 2019
<https://armscontrolcenter.org/op-ed-congress-is-not-asking-the-right-questions-about-missile-defense/>

November 18: Economic Statecraft

- Patrick J. McDonald, “Revitalizing Grand Strategy: America’s Untapped Market Power,” *The Washington Quarterly*, (30:3), Summer 2007, 21-35.
- Daniel W. Drezner, *U.S. Trade Strategy*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006, 1-39.
- Jacob L. Lew and Richard Nephew, “The Use and Misuse of Economic Statecraft,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2018, 139-149.

November 20: Environment

- Richard Elliot Benedick, “Protecting the Ozone Layer: New Directions in Diplomacy,” in Jessica Tuchman Matthews, ed., Preserving the Global Environment (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991), 112-153.
- Brian Deese, “Paris Isn’t Burning,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2017, 83-92.

November 25: Terrorism

- Robert Malley and Jon Finer, “The Long Shadow of 9/11,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018, 58-69.
- Lisa Monaco, “Preventing the Next Attack,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, 23-29.
- Peter Neumann, “Don’t Follow the Money,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2017, 93-102.
- Lawrence Wright, “The Agent”, *The New Yorker*, July 3, 2006.

November 27: No class today. I am holding office hours during our scheduled class time in case you have questions about your papers.

December 2: Defense Acquisition

- Elizabeth Braw, “The Manufacturer’s Dilemma,” *Foreign Policy*, Spring 2019, 28-31.
- Christian Brose, “The New Revolution in Military Affairs,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2019, 122-134.
- Ash Carter, Inside the Five-Sided Box, New York: Dutton, 2019, 10-22.
- Gordon Lubold and Warren P. Strobel, “Secret U.S. Missile Aims to Kill Only Terrorists, Not Nearby Civilians,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2019.

December 4: Russia

- Michael McFaul, “Russia as It Is,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018, 82-91.
- Mark Lawrence Schrad, “Vladimir Putin Isn’t a Supervillain,” *Foreign Policy*, March 2, 2017, available online at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/02/vladimir-putin-isnt-a-supervillain/>
- Philip Remler, *Russia and Cooperative Security in Europe: Times Change, Tactics Remain*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, August 1, 2019, available at: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/08/01/russia-and-cooperative-security-in-europe-times-change-tactics-remain-pub-79611>.

December 9: China

- Ethan B. Kapstein and Jacob N. Shapiro, “Catching China by the Belt and Road,” *Foreign Policy*, Spring 2019, 14-16.
- Michael Mandelbaum, “The New Containment,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2019, 123-131.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “A World Safe for Autocracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2019, 92-102.

December 11: Last day of class! Final paper is due!