

# **AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

Political Science 319, Fall 2020  
(Provisional Draft – Subject to Change)

## **Course Information**

**Virtual Office Hours:** Friday, 3:30

**Virtual Session Hours:** Th: 11:30AM-12:50 PM

## **Contact Information**

**Instructor:** Michael Kenwick

**E-mail:** michael.kenwick@rutgers.edu

## **Approach to Online Instruction**

As detailed in full below, this course will leverage a combination of synchronous and asynchronous instruction. Each week, pre-recorded lectures will be posted online—you should complete these lectures the same week they are posted. In addition, we will meet virtually every Thursday afternoon from 11:30-12:50. These sessions will be recorded and posted online and will feature a combination of lecture and classroom discussion and activities. All assignments, detailed below, will be turned in online.

Online instruction is suboptimal, especially in large courses. For many students (and instructors) it can be alienating, and temptations to procrastinate will be particularly strong. Frequent engagement with each other in virtual sessions and office hours will help us overcome these obstacles and build the semblance of community that we would otherwise experience in person.

## **Course Overview**

This course examines how U.S. foreign policy is made, bridging political science theory with the analysis of historic and contemporary challenges. The course is divided into three segments. The first provides an overview of which factors determine the nature of foreign policy and its prospects for success or failure. The second will sample some of the largest foreign policy issues facing the United States in the Cold War era. This will not be a comprehensive historic account, but instead a selection on some of the major issues and conflicts during this time with an emphasis on how political decision-making processes contributed to success and failure. The final segment will focus on contemporary issues including the promotion of democracy, terrorism, alliance politics, and border security.

## **Course Objectives**

This course will introduce students to the origins and major theories of U.S. foreign policy. By the end of the course, students should be able to do the following:

- Understand the relationships among major actors and influences affecting foreign policy decision-making.
- Comprehend and contextualize the major challenges facing the United States internationally since World War II.
- Critically evaluate the effectiveness of foreign policy decision-making upon multiple dimensions and identify which factors most often lead to ineffective or suboptimal policy.
- Effectively communicate these skills in writing.

## **Required Material**

James Lee Ray. 2013. *American Foreign Policy and Political Ambition, Second Edition*. Washington: CQ Press.

## **Pre-Recorded Lectures**

Every week, Canvas will be populated with one or several pre-recorded mini-lectures (approx. 5-35 minutes). Although these lectures will sometimes clarify and expand upon concepts from the reading, they will also contain additional information that you will be responsible for understanding.

### **Virtual Sessions**

These sessions will often a lecture component themselves, but will also solicit active engagement from students, including in-class discussions, debates, and other activities. The duration of these sessions will vary, but will never exceed the 80 minutes. Attendance is rewarded (see below) but not required.

### **Grading Scale**

- A = 89.5-100
- B+ = 84.5-89.49
- B = 79.5-84.49
- C+ = 74.5-79.49
- C = 69.5-74.49
- D = 59.5-69.49
- F = 0-59.49

### **Grade Composition**

Your final grade will be determined by your performance on the following four components:

- Midterm Exam (25%)
- Final Exam (30%)
- Two Short Papers (20% each)
- Discussion Board Participation (5%)
- Attendance in Virtual Sessions (*Extra credit*)

### **Assignment Categories**

#### **Exams**

There will be two exams, one midterm and one final. Both exams will feature a combination of multiple choice and short answer questions. Exams will cover material from both the reading and pre-recorded lectures.

The midterm exam will be **posted on Canvas at 9am on Oct. 19, and due by 5pm**. You may take the exam at any time in this window, but you must complete the exam within **90 minutes** of the time you start. It is your responsibility to ensure that you are in an area with a reliable internet connection during that time.

The final exam will be identical in terms of time and structure but will be cumulative and feature content from the entire semester. The date of the final exam is yet to be determined by the University at the time of writing this.

#### **Short Paper Assignments**

Throughout the semester you will be given three paper prompts. You must submit papers for only two of these three prompts, each of which will count toward 20% of your final grade. While the topics covered in each paper will vary, each will ask you to apply the concepts you learn in class to current or historical foreign policy issues. The core purpose of these assignments is to conduct an original analysis of political issues using the conceptual and theoretical tools discussed in the readings and lectures. As such, you are expected to cite course readings in these essays. Each essay should be approximately 4-6 pages, double spaced, in 12pt Times New Roman font.

### Discussion Board Participation

Each week, we will host discussion boards related to the content we are covering. These are places for you to: (1) post questions about the readings/lectures, (2) respond to the readings in some way, or (3) respond to other people's questions or comments. *The primary purpose of these discussion boards is to inform the topics we will cover in our virtual sessions.*<sup>1</sup> The content of these questions should therefore be squarely targeted at the subject-matter, rather than expressions of your political beliefs and opinions.

You are required to submit at least five posts over the course of the semester. Each will be graded pass/fail and you may receive a maximum of five points, total. Because these will be used to guide our virtual discussions, posts are due by **10pm on Tuesday evening of each week.**

### Participation in Virtual Sessions (Extra Credit)

Active participation is crucial for the success of any online class. While participation in virtual sessions is not mandatory, frequent engagement will be rewarded. There are seven virtual sessions prior to the midterm. Students who attend at least five of these sessions will receive two extra credit points on their midterm.

Midterm Extra Credit: Participate in 5-7 sessions (up to 2%) or 3-4 sessions (up to 1%)

Final Exam: Participate in 5-8 sessions (up to 2%) or 3-4 sessions (up to 1%)

The critical "participate in" and "up to" qualifications mean that **signing into a session does not guarantee extra credit.** If evidence emerges that a student has signed into a session but is physically absent from their computer (e.g., not participating in a class poll; blank screen and no response when called upon; not engaging in break-out sessions), then no extra credit will be rewarded regardless of attendance. Because this is an extra-credit component of the course grade, there is no such thing as an excused or unexcused absence.

### Email Policy

All substantive questions about the course must be asked either in discussion boards, in virtual sessions, or in office hours. **Please send emails sparingly and exclusively for issues that relate to you in a personal capacity.** Emails become much more frequent during online instruction and I currently have approximately 300 students enrolled in my courses. Regrettably, this means I will often lack the capacity to respond to emails in a timely fashion. As a general rule, I typically respond to emails during my weekly office hours.

### Respect and Politics

Our goal in this course is to scientifically analyze the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Instead of scrutinizing whether political preferences are morally or normatively desirable, we take these preferences as a given and evaluate their relationship to political processes. These tools we hone should be equally useful for individuals across the political spectrum. As a result, we will generally avoid the discussion of our own (normative) political opinions. Nevertheless, throughout the course we will be discussing topics that naturally lend themselves to differing interpretations, experiences, and analyses. Everyone should feel welcome to share their personal assessment in the classroom without fear of intimidation or discrimination.

### Plagiarism and Cheating

Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and are treated as such by both the university and the instructor. Be aware that the instructor is apt to impose the most severe penalty allowed by university rules, which includes but is not limited to issuing an automatic failing grade for the course. Judgements about plagiarism can be subtle. If students have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, or other matters of academic integrity,

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<sup>1</sup> Given the large size of the class I will not be able to respond to every question we receive in every virtual session. You are, however, always welcome to either (re-)raise the question yourself in these sessions or follow up via office hours if your question remains unresolved.

please ask the instructor directly or consult the Rutgers Academic Integrity Policy found here: <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/>

### **Special Needs and Wellness Services**

Many students at Rutgers face personal challenges or have psychological needs that may interfere with their academic progress, social development, or emotional wellbeing. The university offers a variety of confidential services to help you through difficult times.

#### **COVID-19 Hardship**

Virtually every member of the Rutgers community is being affected by COVID-19. If you and your family are facing financial difficulties resulting from Covid-19 or if you are trying to do your semester's work without a computer, Rutgers might be able to help. Email [deanofstudents@echo.rutgers.edu](mailto:deanofstudents@echo.rutgers.edu) for assistance getting appropriate technology. For other financial aid hardships visit <http://financialaid.rutgers.edu>

#### **Just In Case Web App** (<http://codu.co/cee05e>)

Access helpful mental health information and resources for yourself or a friend in a mental health crisis on your smartphone or tablet and easily contact CAPS or RUPD.

#### **Counseling, ADAP & Psychiatric Services (CAPS)**

(848) 932-7884 / 17 Senior Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 / [www.rhscaps.rutgers.edu/](http://www.rhscaps.rutgers.edu/)  
CAPS offers a variety of services that include: individual therapy, group therapy and workshops, crisis intervention, referral to specialists in the community and consultation and collaboration with campus partners.

#### **Violence Prevention & Victim Assistance (VPVA)**

(848) 932-1181 / 3 Bartlett Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 / [www.vpva.rutgers.edu/](http://www.vpva.rutgers.edu/)  
The Office for Violence Prevention and Victim Assistance provides confidential crisis intervention, counseling and advocacy for victims of sexual and relationship violence and stalking to students, staff and faculty.

#### **Disability Services**

(848) 445-6800 / Lucy Stone Hall, Suite A145, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Avenue, Piscataway, NJ 08854 / <https://ods.rutgers.edu/>  
Students with disabilities are welcomed in this class and will readily receive necessary accommodations. Doing so requires students provide the instructor with a letter of accommodation from the above office. To begin this process, please complete the Registration form on the ODS web site at: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/registration-form>.

#### **Scarlet Listeners**

(732) 247-5555 / <http://www.scarletlisteners.com/>  
Free and confidential peer counseling and referral hotline.

### **Schedule**

#### **Segment 1 – Who Makes Foreign Policy?**

##### **Week 1 (Sep 1 - Sep 4): Introduction**

**Synchronous Session (Sep 4)** Introduction + Q&A\*

\*For this week, points toward your extra credit will be assigned based on your completion of a syllabus quiz.

Reading:

- Ray, Chapters 1-2. Skim chapter 3.

##### **Week 2 (Sep 7 - Sep 11): The Executive**

**Synchronous Session (Sep 11)**

Reading:

- Ray, Chapter 5: “The President and Congress,” pg. 95-102
- Ray, Chapter 6 “Foreign Policy Processes within the Government”
- William Howell. 2005. “Unilateral Powers: A Brief Overview” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. pp. 417-439

##### **Week 3 (Sep 14 - Sep 18): Elites and Congress**

**Synchronous Session (Sep 18)**

Reading:

- Ray, Chapter 5: “The President and Congress,” pg. 102-116
- Elizabeth Saunders. 2017. “No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisors and Information in Group Decision Making” *International Organization*. pp. 219-247
- William Howell and Jon Pevehouse. 2007. “When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power” *Foreign Affairs*. pp. 95-108

#### **Week 4 (Sep 21 - Sep 25): Public Opinion**

##### **Synchronous Session (Sep 25)**

Reading:

- Ray, Chapter 7: “The Impact of Extra-Governmental Factors on American Foreign Policy”
- Piers Robinson. 1999. “The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy.” *Review of International Studies*. pp. 301-309

#### **Week 5 (Sep 28 - Oct 2): U.S. Civil-Military Relations, Part 1**

##### **Paper Option 1 Due Oct 2, Midnight**

##### **Synchronous Session (Oct 2)**

Reading:

- Richard Betts. 1977. *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*. Harvard University Press. Chapters 1-2
- Kenneth Campbell. 1998. “Once Burned, Twice Cautious: Explaining the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine.” *Armed Forces and Society* 24(3): 357-374.

#### **Week 6 (Oct 5 - Oct 9): U.S. Civil-Military Relations, Part 2**

##### **Synchronous Session (Oct 9)**

Reading:

- Christopher Gelpi and Peter Feaver. 2002. “Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force.” *American Political Science Review* 96(4): 779-793.
- Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler. 2006. “Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq.” *International Security* 30(3): 7-46.

## **Segment 2: Strategic Lessons from Historical Case Studies**

#### **Week 7 (Oct 12 - Oct 16): The Origins of the Cold War and Containment**

##### **Synchronous Session (Oct 16) Midterm Exam Review**

Reading:

- Graham T. Allison. 1969. “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis.” *American Political Science Review* 63(3): 689-718.
- Ray, Chapter 7, “The Cold War”

#### **Week 8 (Oct 19 - Oct 23): The Korean War**

##### **Exam 1 Posted on Canvas at 9am on Oct. 19, Due by 5pm (1hr 30min time limit)**

##### **Synchronous Session (Oct 16)**

Reading:

- Fog of War
- Thomas J. Christiansen. 1992. “Threats, Assurances, and the Last Chance for Peace: Lessons from Mao’s Korean War Telegrams.” *International Security* 17(1): 122-154.

#### **Week 9 (Oct 26 - Oct 30): Vietnam**

##### **Synchronous Session (Oct 30)**

Reading:

- Elizabeth Stanley. 2009. “Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace” *International Security* 34(1): 42-82.
- Kevin Mulcahy. 1995. “Rethinking Groupthink: Walt Rostow and the National Security Advisory Process in the Johnson Administration.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2: 237-250
- Matthew Kocher, Thomas Pepinsky and Stathis Kalyvas. 2011. “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55: 201-218.

## Week 10 (Nov 2 – Nov 6): The Iraq Troop Surge

### Paper Option 2 Due Nov 6, Midnight

#### Synchronous Session (Nov 6)

Reading:

- Peter D. Feaver. 2011. “The Right to be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision” *International Security* 35(4): 86-125.
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. “Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?” *International Security* 37(1): 7-40

## Segment 3: Contemporary Issues

### Week 11 (Nov 9 – Nov 13): Regime Type and Democracy Promotion

#### Synchronous Session (Nov 13)

Reading:

- Bruce Russett and John Oneal. 2000. “Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations” Norton & co., Chapter 3.
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder. 1995. “Democratization and the Danger of War” *International Security* pp. 620-626
- Sarah Bush. 2017. “Should we trust democracy ratings? New research finds hidden biases” *Monkey Cage*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/07/why-do-we-trust-certain-democracy-ratings-new-research-explains-hidden-biases/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.a0c859f11276](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/07/why-do-we-trust-certain-democracy-ratings-new-research-explains-hidden-biases/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.a0c859f11276)
- Sarah Bush. 2015. “Democracy promotion is failing. Here’s why.” *Monkey Cage*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/11/09/democracy-promotion-is-failing-heres-why/?utm\\_term=.c6e3fc927efe](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/11/09/democracy-promotion-is-failing-heres-why/?utm_term=.c6e3fc927efe)

### Week 12 (Nov 16 – Nov 20): Alliance Politics, Russia, and China

#### Synchronous Session (Nov 20)

Reading:

- Robert David English. 2017. “Russia, Trump, and a New Détente” *Foreign Affairs*,
- Oriana Skylar Mastro. 2018. “Why China Won’t Rescue North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs*.
- Matthew Kroenig. 2016. “A Strategy for Deterring Russian Nuclear De-Escalation Strikes.”

### Week 13 (Nov 23 – Nov 25): Terrorism, Counterinsurgency, and Policing

#### Synchronous Session (Nov 25)

Reading:

- Connor Huff and Joshua Kertzer. 2017. “How the Public Defines Terrorism” *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(1): 55-71.
- Peter Andreas and Richard Price. 2001. “From War Fighting to Crime Fighting: Transforming the American National Security State.” *International Studies Review* 3(3): 31-52.

### Week 14 (Nov 30 – Dec 4): Immigration and Border Politics

#### Paper Option 3 Due Dec 4, Midnight

#### Synchronous Session (Dec 4)

Reading:

- Jeremy Slack, Daniel E. Martinez, Alison Elizabeth Lee, and Scott Whiteford. “The Geography of Border Militarization: Violence, Death and Health in Mexico and the United States” *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 15 (1): 7-32.
- Council on Foreign Relations. 2019. Who Secures the US Border? <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/us-mexico-border-woes>
- Council on Foreign Relations. 2019. The U.S. Immigration Debate. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/us-immigration-debate-0>

### Week 15 (Dec 7 – Dec 10): Global Health

#### Synchronous Session (Dec 10)

Reading:

- Michael R. Kenwick and Beth A. Simmons. “Pandemic Response as Border Politics.” *International Organization*.

**Final Exam:** Time to be announced by RU