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# Political Science 350: American Foreign Policy

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Office Hours:  
Tu/Th 1:30–3, W 1-4  
Or By Appointment or Skype

## Course Website

Visit Blackboard at

<http://blackboard.richmond.edu/>

## Course Objectives

Between 1945 and 1991, the international system was largely defined by the relationship between the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies and proxies. In this period of power politics, the two superpowers engaged in indirect and often clandestine conflict through their allies around the world while maintaining a nuclear stalemate. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the rise of non-state actors like Al Qaeda, and the rapid growth of powers like China, India, and Iran, the international system has changed dramatically. With such changes occurring in the international system, there is no better time than now to evaluate past and current themes in American foreign policy with an eye toward preparing for new and rising threats.

The first section of this class introduces central themes in American foreign policy since 1900. In the second section of the course, we will explore the complicated process through which Congress, the Presidency, the intelligence community, the military, and the public interact to form American foreign policy. While we will spend much of our time learning about the principles, the actors and the process behind American policy, at the end of the semester, we will examine foreign policy as it has been practiced in Europe, and we will use the comparison to explore alternatives to traditional American approaches. Finally, the capstone activity in the course will be a two-week, real time political simulation of the American foreign policy process in which working groups will cooperate to play the role of various actors in the policy community as they work to respond to a major national security crisis.

There are four main goals in this course:

- To train you to use an analytical rather than intuitive approach when thinking about American foreign policy,
- To provide you with a working knowledge of the most severe threats to the United States and the American system,
- To help you apply your new knowledge and skills to create, evaluate, and publicly defend foreign policy recommendations.
- To familiarize you with possible career paths in various parts of the foreign policy community through conversations with elite members from different areas of the community.

## Course Structure

### Interactive Lectures

While I will be giving lectures in this class to convey core content, I prefer to keep class as interactive as possible and encourage you to raise your hand when you have questions about anything I've said, when you want to know more about a particular aspect of the lecture, or when you have a contribution that you think could be valuable for the class.

### Discussions and Expert Skype Calls

In addition to lectures, we will spend time every week on discussion or debate of issues raised in class or in the readings. Some discussions will involve the whole class, while others will be small group discussions, sometimes with a written product or in-class presentation at the end.

On several days throughout the semester, we will also have the opportunity to speak with policymakers and experts in the foreign policy community via Skype calls in the classroom. I am arranging speakers to cover several topics and areas of the foreign policy community, including defense budgeting, the war in Afghanistan, and the intelligence community. In advance of each of these interviews, which I have scheduled for 30 minutes of our class time but will attempt to draw out for longer periods, you will need to come up with several questions for the speakers, and these questions will be part of your participation grade. I have encouraged speakers to be ready to discuss substantive policy issues, but also the career paths available in their part of the policy community, so feel free to ask career-related questions. The better the questions, the more time that we will be able to squeeze out of these very busy professionals, whose only reward for the exercise will be a small gift from the university and the smiles on your faces.

### Web Tools

- **Lecture Slides and Recordings Online:** At the start of each week, I will post the PowerPoint slides (in MS PowerPoint and Adobe PDF) for you to review. My

recommendation is that you print out the slides before class using “hand out” mode, which prints two or three slides on each page, along with lines on the right for your notes. The PDF version of the slides will be pre-formatted in this way. Alternatively, you may bring the slides on your laptop and take notes in that way, as long as you do not find yourself distracted by Facebook, Solitaire, and other technological distractions. If I observe students engaged in texting and other distractions, I will eject them from the class for the day and will require a face-to-face meeting before allowing them to return to classes. I will also be using an in-classroom recording system (AdobeConnect) to record the lectures each day and post those lectures on Blackboard. This will help you review difficult material, prepare for exams, or make up for a missed class.

- **Study Guide Google Doc:** In addition to your annotated PowerPoint slides, you will have access before exams to a collaborative study guide that the class will create together. The Google Doc will grow as students contribute information from their notes, summaries of reading assignments, etc. I will expect to see a degree of self-policing among you, but I will do my best to remove incorrect or misleading contributions.
- **Feedback Surveys:** I have created anonymous web feedback surveys that I will post to Blackboard every month or so. This is your chance to evaluate me, the lectures and assignments, and the class activities as we move through the semester. I hope that you will respond to most or all of the surveys, offering constructive criticism, positive feedback about things you liked, suggestions for new directions, etc. When possible, I will do my best to alter my direction to respond to your suggestions and interests *this semester*, which allows you to benefit directly from the changes.

### Availability Outside of Class

In addition to my posted office hours, I am usually available at other times in the week for scheduled appointments. This includes Skype video calls or chats. Prior to exams, I organize evening **“ask the prof” library hours** in which study groups can visit me in person to get a last minute refresher on important material, ask questions, etc. I am always happy to meet with you to discuss career paths in international relations, help you pursue specific interests, and provide help on internship cover letters, etc.

### Political Simulation: The Bureaucracy Responds to a Crisis

A less common feature of this class is the real-time political simulation that takes place near the end of the semester. In this simulation, each of you will play the role of an actor in the American foreign policy community and represent the interests of your actor in a simulated crisis scenario. I will play the role of the President, but I will have students serving as gatekeepers, so not all information will come directly to me during the simulation. I will also serve as moderator during the simulation.

#### *Simulation Purpose and General Structure*

The goal of the simulation is to explore in greater depth the challenges of forming coherent foreign policy through a democratic process involving actors with overlapping authorities and different organizational interests. Early in the semester, each of you will be assigned an actor. Throughout the rest of the semester, you will do research on your actor and prepare a thorough background report that will demonstrate a solid working knowledge of the organization's history and its position in policymaking, especially in the event of a security crisis. During the simulation, you will be tasked with responsibilities and asked to provide input on events as they unfold in the real-time scenario.

*Actor Background Paper (15 pages)*

To complete the actor background paper, you will need to conduct library research. Library sources include relevant books, policy magazines, major newspapers, government documents, and internet sources. You may not use *only* internet sources, and Wikipedia references are not acceptable. A bibliography must be included with your paper, but is not counted as a part of the length requirement. Citations for internet sources should include the appropriate URLs. You must also make an effort to determine that internet sources are credible and be mindful of ideologically-oriented news sources (such as reports and press releases from political advocacy organizations).

Your background paper will be divided into sections discussing:

- The creation and history of your organization or agency.
- The non-crisis role of your organization or agency in the foreign policy process. To whom do you report? Whom do you supervise? What cooperative or tense relationships with other organizations have developed over time? What are your quarterly, annual, or long-term responsibilities (reports to the President, reports to Congress, etc.).
- The role that your organization would play in a national security crisis. Does your authority change? From whom do you receive crisis information and commands? To whom do you give crisis information and/or commands?

Your background paper will be due by 5:00 p.m. on **March 25**.

*Responding to Tasks and Events*

Each of you will begin the simulation in a non-crisis state. Over the first few days of the simulation, intelligence agencies, military actors, diplomats, and journalists will begin to receive information about a growing crisis from sources on the ground. As they disseminate this information, chatter among the actors will increase as each of you steps into the appropriate crisis role, and priorities and decisions will begin to come down from the White House (me). You will need to be flexible, but respond in character so as not to overstep your authority or play your role incorrectly. For actors with Presidential access, there will be some formal National Security Council meetings involving me, but also many informal meetings between

you and other actors, most of which will take place outside of class. Actors without Presidential access will have other assignments and roles to play, such as crafting news articles, press releases, or tasking intelligence agencies with new jobs to obtain more information. In the past, intelligence has included satellite imagery, interrogation transcripts, and other information. As Moderator, I will control the timeline of the scenario, but the national policy response will be based on your output as a policy community, so the outcome of the crisis will depend largely on your choices.

At the end of the simulation, you will create an activity report that documents your informal efforts to influence policy, your meetings, emails, reports, etc. Your report should also document contact with other actors throughout the simulation. This activity report will be due by 5:00 p.m. on **April 28**.

## Evaluation

### Two Exams (25% each)

Two essay exams will be given during the course, each worth 25% of your course grade. Dates are listed on the course schedule below. The exams will consist of several fill-in-the-blank questions and short essay questions. The final exam will not be cumulative (it will only deal with material covered after the midterm). The exams will cover both the lecture material *and* the readings. Special scheduling of individual students' midterm exams will only occur in extreme circumstances (documented medical or family emergencies). Departing early for Spring Break does not constitute an emergency. For guidelines on rescheduling final exams, see the university's policy at:

[http://oncampus.richmond.edu/academics/registrar/policy/AS\\_final\\_exam\\_policies.pdf](http://oncampus.richmond.edu/academics/registrar/policy/AS_final_exam_policies.pdf)

### Attendance

Your attendance in this class is required. While PowerPoint slides and videos from the lectures will be available via Blackboard each week, I am providing this as a way for you to take notes in class, review the material and revisit any points that you may have missed in class, and prepare for the exams. These tools are *not* an alternative to being in class. Missing class frequently will affect your ability to do well on the tests and severely affect your participation grade. You will not be able to make up missed in-class work for unexcused absences.

### Participation (10%)

Since interaction during lectures and participation in discussions are key to the success of this course, I will assign participation grades for each week post those grades to Blackboard.

Most of the participation grade will be based on discussions, but students who are particularly engaged in lectures (asking meaningful questions, offering counterarguments, etc.) will benefit from this.

### Simulation (40% total)

As described above, the simulation activity includes a graded background paper (20%), in-simulation activities and reports (10%), and a simulation activity report (10%).

## Grading Policy

If the class average is reasonable on any particular exam, I reserve the right not to apply a grading curve of any kind. If the average is unusually low, however, I will take this as a sign that the test itself has issues and will adjust grades accordingly. Because questions can seem tricky or misleading to some students but not others during exams, **I allow all students to make margin notes on their exams to explain their confusion on such questions.** I then review all margin notes and make adjustments to grades as appropriate, sometimes even dropping a question that was phrased in a confusing way.

Letter grades for the course will be assigned along the following scale:

A+:	96.5% or greater
A:	93.5-96.4%
A-:	92.5-93.4%
B+:	86.5-89.4%
B:	83.5-86.4%
B-:	79.5-83.4%
C+:	76.5-79.4%
C:	73.5-76.4%
C-:	69.5-73.4%
D+:	66.5-69.4%
D:	63.5-67.4%
D-:	59.5-63.4%
F:	59.4% or below

## Additional Resources

If you experience difficulties in this course, do not hesitate to consult with me. There are also other resources that can support you in your efforts to meet course requirements.

- **Academic Skills Center** (<http://asc.richmond.edu> or 289-8626) helps students assess their academic strengths and weaknesses; hone their academic skills through teaching

effective test preparation, critical reading and thinking, information processing, concentration, and related techniques; work on specific subject areas (e.g., calculus, chemistry, accounting, etc.); and encourage campus and community involvement.

- **Career Development Center** (<http://cdc.richmond.edu/> or 289-8141) can assist you in exploring your interests and abilities, choosing a major, connecting with internships and learning experiences, investigating graduate and professional school options, and landing your first job. We encourage you to schedule an appointment with a career advisor during your first year.
- **Counseling and Psychological Services** (289-8119) assists students in meeting academic, personal, or emotional challenges. Services include assessment, short-term counseling and psychotherapy, crisis intervention and related services.
- **Speech Center** (<http://speech.richmond.edu> or 289-8814): Assists with preparation and practice in the pursuit of excellence in public expression. Recording, playback, coaching and critique sessions offered by teams of student consultants trained to assist in developing ideas, arranging key points for more effective organization, improving style and delivery, and handling multimedia aids for individual and group presentations.
- **Writing Center** assists writers at all levels of experience, across all majors. Students can schedule appointments with trained writing consultants who offer friendly critiques of written work: <http://writing.richmond.edu>.

## Required Book

- Jeffrey S. Lantis, *US Foreign Policy in Action*, 1st edition. 2013. ISBN: 978-1-4443-3100-4.

## Schedule

### *Values and Tensions in American Foreign Policy*

#### **January 12-16: Ideals, Imperialism, and Isolationism**

- Lantis Chapter 2 “The History of US Foreign Policy” and Chapter 8 “Grand Strategy: Then and Now”
- Washington, “Farewell Address”

**January 19-23: Conventional and Nuclear Deterrence**

- Lantis Chapter 3 “Foreign Policy in the Cold War and Post-Cold War Era”
- Graham T. Allison, “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis”
- Stephen D. Krasner, “Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)”
- Richard K. Betts, “The Lost Logic of Deterrence”

**January 26-30: Suspicion, Sponsorship, and International Institutions**

- W. Michael Reisman, “The United States and International Institutions”
- President Woodrow Wilson, “Declaration of Neutrality,” “The Fourteen Points,” and “War Message”
- “United Nations Charter”

**February 2-6: The Role of the U.S.**

- Fareed Zakaria, “The Future of American Power: How America Can Survive the Rise of the Rest”
- G. John Ikenberry, “The Illusion of Geopolitics”
- Richard N. Haass, “The Unraveling”

*The U.S. and the American System: Process***February 9-13: The Presidency and Congress**

- Lantis Chapter 4 “The President, Congress, and the Courts”
- Richard H. Kohn, “The Constitution and National Security: The Intent of the Framers”
- Louis Fisher, “The War Power: No Checks, No Balance”
- “The War Powers Act”

**February 16-20: Public Opinion and Interest Groups**

- *February 19: Expert Skype Call: Mark Lagon, Freedom House*
- Lantis Chapter 6 “Interest Groups and Political Parties” and Chapter 7 “Public Opinion and the Media”



- Michael Roskin, “From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms and Foreign Policy”
- Alexander L. George, “Domestic Constraints on Regime Change in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Need for Policy Legitimacy”
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby”

### **February 23-25: The Budgeting Process**

- Lantis Chapter 5 “Unelected Actors in the Foreign Policy Process”
- USCNS, “National Security Resource Allocation”
- Stuart E. Johnson, “The New PPBS Process to Advance Transformation”
- Eric V. Larson, David T. Orletsky, and Kristin Leuschner, “Defense Planning in a Decade of Change”
- Melvyn P. Leffler, “Defense on a Diet”

### **February 26: Midterm Exam**

- Study with your working group.
- Use the study guide wiki on Blackboard.
- See me during the “ask the prof” hours at the library.
- Email, come to my office hours, set up an appointment, or Skype me.

### **March 2-5: The Military and the Intelligence Community**

- Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, “The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians, and Their Mutual Misunderstanding”
- Michael Warner, “Wanted: A Definition of Intelligence”
- Loch K. Johnson, “The Church Committee Investigation of 1975 and the Evolution of Modern Intelligence Accountability”

### **March 16-20: Transforming the Military**

- Chris McKinney et al, “Why the U.S. Army Needs Armor”
- Jim Thomas, “Why the U.S. Army Needs Missiles”
- William Lynn, III, “The End of the Military-Industrial Complex”
- Barry Blechman and Russell Rumbaugh, “Bombs Away”

**March 23-27: Lessons from Iraq and Afghanistan**

- *March 26: Expert Skype Call: Michael O’Hanlon, Brookings Institution*
- Simulation Actor Background Paper Due March 25 by 5pm
- Film: Restrepo (on reserve in MRC, view with working group)
- Stephen D. Biddle, “Ending the War in Afghanistan”
- Fred Kaplan, “The End of the Age of Petraeus”
- Husain Haqqani, “Breaking Up is Not Hard to Do”

*Alternatives***March 30-April 3: Men, Machines, and Force Projection**

- Daniel Byman, “Why Drones Work”
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Why Drones Fail”
- Sarah Kreps and Micah Zenko, “The Next Drone Wars”

**April 6-10: The European Perspective**

- Stephanie Anderson and Thomas R. Seitz, “European Security and Defense Policy Demystified: Nation-Building and Identity in the European Union”
- P.H. Liotta and Taylor Owen, “Sense and Symbolism: Europe Takes on Human Security”

**April 13-17 and 20-24: In-Class Crisis Simulation**

- In-class meetings, press conferences, unofficial contacts.
- Expect activity outside of class during these two weeks.
- Simulation Activity Report Due April 28 by 5:00 p.m.

**May 1 from 7:00pm-10:00pm (really): Final Exam**

- Form a study group with classmates.
- Use the study guide wiki on Blackboard.
- See me during the “ask the prof” hours at the library.
- Email, come to my office hours, set up an appointment, or Skype me.