

P.S. 471/571 American Foreign Policy I Prof. Frank Wayman
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[100810]

COURSE CONTENT:

This course is the first semester of a survey of American foreign policy. The first semester provides a general overview, with some brief attention on events even up to the present, but with primary attention on the earlier period, i.e., pre-1990. This means a concern with (1) the Western Hemisphere, and (2) the relationship among the major powers, especially the Western major powers, such as France and Britain, and the two major powers in the communist and post-communist world, namely China and Russia.

This syllabus represents a full description of PS 471, but those taking graduate credit (PS 571) will need to meet with me personally about the further requirements for taking the course for graduate credit. Basically, graduate students will be responsible for the work in this syllabus, plus a substantial research paper focusing on U.S. interventions, wars, and militarized inter-state disputes. For graduate credit, 25% of the course grade will be based on each exam, and 25% will be based on the paper. Term papers are due Dec. 5th.

The Content of Our Course:

Topics in PS 471/571 include the emergence of the U.S. as a great power (including the role of Teddy Roosevelt in the era of the Spanish American war); U.S. domination of a sphere of influence in the Western hemisphere (the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine); the origins of the Cold War; the Korean War; the advent of the hydrogen bomb and the missile age; the Vietnam War; the rapprochement between the U.S. and China in the Nixon administration; the arms control process between the U.S. and the Soviet Union; wars and terror in the Middle East; the U.S. response to the war in Afghanistan, including the Reagan Doctrine of counter-insurgency against Communist regimes; the Iran-contra affair; the 1989 anti-communist revolution in Eastern Europe, the August 1991 coup against Gorbachev, the rise of Yeltsin, and the break-up of

the former Soviet Union into the Commonwealth of Independent States; the anti-Noriega invasion of Panama, the Gulf War, and the search for a New World Order and a post-Cold-War foreign policy for the United States under Bush the elder (1989-1993); Clinton's two terms (1993-2000), with "foreign policy as social work" in Somalia and Haiti in the first term, and more serious second-term initiatives such as the U.S. intervention in the Serbian-Albanian war; and continued Mideast peace efforts, including Clinton's end-of-term peace efforts and the subsequent Palestinian-Israeli violence. We will briefly consider foreign policies of George W. Bush, including his pre-Sept. 11th unilateral tone (Kyoto protocol), his war on international terrorism after Sept. 11th, and the war over Iraq.

THE SECOND SEMESTER (American Foreign Policy II):

The sequel to American Foreign Policy I is PS 472/572, American Foreign Policy II (last offered in spring 2005). American Foreign Policy II (Am. For. Pol. II) focuses on post-Cold War phenomena (i.e., 1990-present). Am. For. Pol. II also relies more on contemporary articles from academic journals, and is more topical. Its topics include recent problems in the Middle East and the war against terrorism. Topics of PS 472/572 (with some of their associated reading assignments) in 2005 included:

- (1) **How Recent U.S. Foreign Policy Is Made** (e.g., Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas," *International Security* 29, No. 1 (summer 2004): 5-48);
- (2) **Contemporary Problems in the Islamic World** (e.g., Stephen Kinzer, "Will Turkey Make It?," *New York Review of Books* LI, No. 12 (July 15, 2004): 40-42);
- (3) **Israeli Nuclear Weapons** (Zeev Maoz, "The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy," *International Security* 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003): 44-77);
- (4) **post-1990 Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations** (Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace* (N.Y.: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2004): 3-45);
- (5) **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy** (Ashton Carter, "How to Stop the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* 83, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 2004): 72-85);
- (6) **Terrorism** (Richard Clarke et al., *Defeating the Jihadists*.

N.Y.: The Century Foundation, 2004. ISBN 0870784919);

(7) **U.S. Military Intervention** (Benjamin Fordham and Christopher Sarver, "Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Use of Force," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, No. 3 (Sept. 2001): 455-466; David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, No. 1 (summer 2004): 49-91; Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War*. (N.Y.: Public Affairs, 2002; ISBN 1-58648-139-8): xix-45, 131-161, 417-461; Merrill McPeak and Robert Pape, "Hit or Miss," *Foreign Affairs* 83, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 2004): 160-163; and

(8) **Peacekeeping** (Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48, No. 2 (June 2004): 269-292).

I mention these topics and readings here to give a sense of the division of material between the two semesters. To avoid duplication, for instance, the majority of our discussion of the Mideast this semester will be about the pre-1990 period, when the Mideast (although important in its own right) was part of the Cold War bipolar struggle for power.

OTHER RELATED COURSES ON CAMPUS:

Students interested in pursuing further work in the field should also consider Mideast Politics (Prof. Stockton), Revolution (Prof. Stockton), The Arms Race (Prof. Wayman), International Politics (Prof. Wayman), Great Foreign Powers (Prof. Wayman), International Security Affairs (Prof. Wayman) and Peace and War (Prof. Wayman). The Arms Race (P.S. 260) and International Security Affairs (P.S. 473) examine changing technology from the Manhattan project to the present, with a focus on arms control to limit the risk of death from weapons of mass destruction. International Politics (P.S. 371) focuses on general principles of international behavior, such as the balance of power, nationalism, the causes of war, arms races, international law, international organizations, and means of peaceful conflict resolution. Peace and War (PS 451) examines the causes of war, especially interstate war in the past two centuries. Great Foreign Powers (P.S. 375) focuses on the objectives, capabilities, and actions of the major powers in their struggle for world mastery since the Renaissance; primary attention is paid to the major allies and adversaries of the United States, including the Soviet Union and China. American Foreign Policy

(PS 361), a one-semester treatment, concentrates on the development of American foreign and defense policy since World War II, with more emphasis on the 471 material than the 472 material. Beyond courses in the Social Sciences Department, there is an International Studies concentration available on campus, focused on combining foreign language training with a substantive area such as international relations and diplomacy (see brochures outside Humanities Dept. office).

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

The course is built around reading, lectures, and class participation (including a simulation of the Cuban missile crisis, as well as traditional class discussion). **Use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class.**

The following books are required of students and should be purchased in the bookstore:

Stephen Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy since World War II*, latest edition, CQ Press; 18th edition, ISBN 978-0-87289-969-8. ("Hook&S" below)

Robert Kennedy, *The Thirteen Days*, N.Y.: W.W. Norton; ISBN 0-393-31834-6.

Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750*. N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 1989; ISBN 0-393-95611-3 (pbk) or 0-393-02629-9 (hardback).

There is a course-pack, also required: from \$Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. \$Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at www.dollarbillcopying.com. At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and \$Bill ships next day UPS to your address.

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and lectures. Each exam will be half multiple choice and half essay. The multiple choice questions will be designed to test your knowledge of specific points in the readings and lectures. The essay portion of each exam will be 25 minutes long, and during that period you will answer one question, assigned to you from a set of three questions that

will be distributed at least one week before the exam. The three questions will attempt to give you the opportunity to integrate your knowledge into a broad perspective of your own on some aspect of foreign policy. You will have to answer the question on the exam without aid of notes, but the opportunity to prepare in advance will insure that you are not caught by surprise by the question. Each exam will have equal weight. In the case of students who contribute in a consistently meaningful way to the simulation or class discussion, a small upward adjustment of grades will be made to reflect their contributions to the class.

Any late assignment without a signed letter from an M.D. or equivalent authority will result in a two-notch reduction in grade for that exam (e.g., from B- to straight C). Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying): The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth in the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

THE INSTRUCTOR:

Prof. Wayman has been on the UM-D faculty since 1972. He has also taught courses on foreign policy at the University of Pennsylvania and on the Ann Arbor campus of this University. He has a B.A. from Cornell University and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He has published a monograph on what conditions produce military dictatorships (*Military Involvement in Politics*), a book on American presidential elections (*A Time of Turmoil*, co-authored with Ronald R. Stockton), and a number of articles on American, world politics and comparative politics. A long-time associate of the Correlates of War Project at the University of Michigan, he has especially written about the causes of war and the conditions of peace. Meredith Sarkees and Frank Wayman have just completed *Resort to War: Data, Trends, and Narratives Concerning All*

Inter-State, Extra-State, Intra-State and Non-State Wars, 1816-2008 (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010). This book has a one-page essay with supporting data on each U.S. international war since 1816. Civil wars, while included, receive briefer attention. He is also an active scholar in the fields of American public opinion and of the effect of interest groups on Congress. His articles have been reprinted in such compendia as *Classics of International Relations*, *Classic Readings in American Politics*, and *Classics of Interest Group Behavior*. He has won the prize for the best paper at the Midwest Political Science annual meeting, as well as grants from the National Science Foundation and Resources for the Future. One of his current projects is *Prediction: Breakthroughs in Science, Markets, and Politics*, a conference and forthcoming edited book on the prediction of global conditions, and, in that endeavor, the proper role of "consilience," the quest for reduction and unity of the sciences.

PURPOSES OF THE COURSE:

The course is designed to provide students with the information necessary (a) to comprehend the causes of U.S. foreign policy, and (b) to evaluate the quality of U.S. behavior in world affairs. The course will also be helpful in understanding the presidency, congress, the bureaucracy, the media and interest groups in our society, as well as the foreign cultures with which we interact.

LECTURE TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS:

N.B.: The below **page assignments in LaFeber** are keyed to the first (hardback) edition. If you have the second (paperback) edition, the page numbers change for the assignments of Sept. 9 and Sept. 16. On Sept. 9th, the assigned pages in the 2nd edition are pp. xix-39, 71-93, 193-284, 544-548, and 566-569. On Sept. 16th, the pages in the 2nd edition are pp. 580-604.

DUE

DATE:	TOPIC:	ASSIGNED READINGS:
Sep 9	Course description; Latin American policy of the U.S., 1820-1990	Hook&S, preface & ch. 1; LaFeber, p. xix-38, 69-90, 181-267, 517-519, 538-540 Hook&S, appendix A, & B; Kennedy, thru, pg. 80;
Sep 16	U.S.-SU strategic nuclear balance; Cuba, the U.S.,	Kennedy, remainder of book LaFeber, pp. 551-570

& Castro; Cuban crisis simulation--team mtgs.

- Sep 23 Cuban simulation (2nd & concluding hour); U.S. foreign policy decision making Allison, "Conceptual Model & the Cuban Missile Crisis" (electronic res.); Hook&S, ch. 2
- Sep 30 U.S. foreign policy decision making Handouts; to be assigned
- Sept 30 THE FIRST EXAM, SCHEDULED FOR SEPT. 30TH, WILL COVER THE ABOVE MATERIAL.

DATE	TOPIC	ASSIGNED READINGS
Oct 7	The U.S. & Soviet Union, 1917-45; class discuss. of Kennan article	Kennan, "Sources of Soviet Conduct" (Course-PAC) Schlesinger, "Origins of the Cold War" Course-Pac LaFeber, Chs. 12-14 Hook&S chs. 2 (reread) & 3
Oct 14	The shift of the Cold War to Asia; China, Korea, and Taiwan till 1953	Hook&S, ch. 3; LaFeber, ch. 15
Oct 21	The Eisenhower Years	Hook&S, ch. 3; Holsti, "Cognitive Dynamics & Images of the Enemy: A Study of John Foster Dulles" (Course-PAC); LaFeber, ch. 16; to p. 550
Oct 28	The Kennedy Years; the Continuing Cold War, & Vietnam; comparison of Vietnam then with Central America in '80s	Hook&S, chs. 4-5; LaFeber, ch. 17 Bronfenbrenner, "The Mirror Image" (Course Pack) & Festinger, "Cognitive Diss." (Sci. Am. 1962 electronic)
Nov. 4	Johnson, Nixon & Vietnam; compellance; the Nixon doctrine; the evolution nuclear affairs	Hook&S, chs. 5-6; LaFeber, ch. 18
Nov. 11	The Arab-Israeli conflict, OPEC, & the Mideast Reagan, '81-84, & 2nd Term	Hook&S, ch. 6. LaFeber, ch. 19 Hook&S, ch. 6
Nov. 18	THE SECOND EXAM, NOV. 18TH, WILL COVER THE ABOVE MATERIAL.	

large amount of what happens.) How important were the national interest, the organizational priorities and routines, and the political interests of individual actors (i.e., Models I, II, and III) in the crisis?

3. Discuss the role of nuclear weapons hardware, nuclear weapons strategy, and the command and control of nuclear weapons in American and Soviet foreign policy in the Kennedy and Khrushchev era, and show how these matters affected the struggle for dominance and peace in the Cuban missile crisis.

P.S. 471 Exam, American Foreign Policy
980606, Exam #2, Prof. Wayman

PART I. ESSAY.

One of the following questions will be on the exam. Prepare 25-minute answers to each question.

1. What caused the Cold War? More specifically, (1) how did it get started, (2) what kept it going, and (3) what things determined its varying intensity? Was it in part the result of peculiar American beliefs, interests, and actions, or would (as realists would argue) any nation with the same powers as the United States have quarreled in the same way with the Soviet Union?

2. Compare and contrast the doctrines of containment, massive retaliation, deterrence, and compellance. What assumptions do each of them make about the enemy? Which, if any, has a chance of being effective in the post-Cold War world (now that the enemy they were originally designed for, and the containment policy on which they were based, concerning Soviet communism, is history) and why?

3. Discuss the problems in applying the containment doctrine beyond Western Europe and Japan to the rest of Asia, to Africa, and to Central America. Under what circumstances, then, should the U.S. have attempted to contain communism in the third world in general, and in Vietnam in particular? What lessons, if any, do you find in the spread of communism to Afghanistan and Nicaragua (and almost El Salvador) in the Carter administration, and in the Reagan doctrine of rolling back communism?

P.S. 471 Exam, 990701, Exam #3, Prof. Wayman
American Foreign Policy

PART I. ESSAY.

The essay question will be collected after 25 minutes. Do it first. One of the following three questions will be selected for the exam.

1. What fundamental features of the international environment have changed since 1988 (the last full year of the Cold War)? Which features remain the same? How does the U.S. need to change to be secure and to have an effective foreign policy in our era? How does the foreign policy of the 1990s and 21st century differ from the foreign policy of the Cold War (Truman to Reagan)? How is it similar?

2. Analyze and critique the end of history, democratic peace, and clash of civilization arguments. Discuss both the points made by the advocates of these ideas (Fukuyama, Doyle, Huntington) and by their critics (e.g., Ajami).

3. What have been the successes and shortcomings of the U.S. in the war on terrorism and in Iraq & Afghanistan? What of the Reagan, first Bush, Clinton, and second Bush presidencies and their handling of this problem?