



**Department of Political Science
University of Hawaii at Manoa**

SYLLABUS

POLS 322: American Foreign Policy
Summer Session I, May 23 to July 1, 2011
Course Instructor: Subir Kole
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Class meets: M-F 10:30-11:45 AM
@ GRG 215; Office Hours@ Krauss
#19, TR 9:00– 10:00 AM and by
appointment. Phone: 808-942-0420

Course Objectives

This course focuses on the nature of US foreign policy and foreign policy-making, the foreign policy process in the US, and the challenges and themes the country faces abroad. By the end of this course, students should have acquired:

- A basic knowledge of the major issues and critical areas in US foreign policy.
- An understanding of the historic debates and their relevance in foreign policy making.
- A theoretical understanding of how foreign policy is made and the role of the major actors in shaping those policies; and
- A substantive knowledge of several US foreign policies and their major critiques in contemporary times.

Course Description

This course will address a series of key questions: 1) What are the most important factors that determine the contents of American foreign policies? 2) What are the major goals of American foreign policy in the most important issue areas? 3) Have the past policies been well-designed to achieve those goals, and are the current policies likely to help the United States achieve its foreign policy goals in future? 4) Could the past policies have been modified (or should current policies be modified) in ways to increase the probability that American foreign policy goals are achievable?

To answer these questions we will begin with a brief historical overview of American foreign policy, and then analyze some basic approaches to evaluating and understanding American foreign policies. No foreign policy process takes place in a vacuum — it always happens in relation to other states and the goal is to survive in the international system. We will therefore briefly examine international relation theories (2-3 classes devoted to this) and how foreign policy making can be understood from this perspective. This will be followed by an examination of fundamental foreign policies on key themes, such as human rights, health, democracy, environment, immigration, nuclear weapon, foreign aid, trade, globalization, war on terror, etc. Contrary to other “conventional” foreign policy courses that focus heavily on history, war, diplomacy, and regional policies, etc., in this course we will go by “themes” and “issues” that act as guiding principles of United States’ international relations with other states. The course will conclude with an examination of several contemporary and fundamental foreign policy problems. Finally, we will discuss various viewpoints regarding the future of American foreign policies.

Required Reading

The entire course would be delivered using electronic resources, scholarly journal articles, policy papers, and/or photocopied sections of a book in PDF format. **It means you DON'T need to buy ANY book.** All reading materials will be uploaded in your [UH Lailima Resources](#) section. You must download and print your copy; or you may bring your laptop/iPad in the classroom for reference and discussion.

Important: The course will be administered in seminar format, meaning you are required to do the reading beforehand and come to the class prepared to take part in discussion. You MUST have a copy of the reading in hand, in the class, either in electronic or print format. Please do not come to the class without carrying your reading in either format.

We will be using the following textbooks for this course besides scholarly journal articles, policy papers and research reports as outlined in the course schedule.

1. Schonberg, Karl. (2009). *Constructing 21st century US foreign policy: Identity, ideology, and America's world role in a new era*. New York: Palgrave-McMillan.
2. Jett, Dennis (2008). *Why American foreign policy fails? Unsafe at home and despised abroad*. New York: Palgrave-McMillan.
3. Mitchel, David. (2005). *Making foreign policy: Presidential management of the decision making process*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
4. Ambrose, Stephen. and Brinkley, Douglas. (2011). *Rise to globalism: American foreign policy since 1938*. New York: Penguin.
5. Zakaria, Fareed. (1998). *From wealth to power: The unusual origins of America's world role*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
6. Peleg, Ilan. (2009). *The legacy of George W. Bush's foreign policy: Moving beyond neoconservatism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Course requirements and grading

1. Attendance, classroom participation and discussion (20% of total grade):

You are required to attend the class regularly, do the assigned readings **beforehand**, and participate in class discussions. **Throughout the summer session (26 possible classes over six weeks), you are allowed to have only TWO unexcused absences.** Please keep these for emergencies -- you don't have to give me any reason for missing these two classes. Beyond these two classes, missing **every** class (**without** documented evidence or excuse) will count an "F" in 5% of your total grade. Meaning, if you miss four additional classes beyond the two allowed (without supporting documents/evidence), you will get an "F" in 20% (5x4) of your total grade. Please be advised that I maintain a roster and take attendance regularly.

2. Weekly Journal/ Response paper (15% of total grade):

Every student is required to submit **THREE weekly journals over this six weeks' course**. The weekly journals/ response papers should be of 1-2 pages critically summarising the readings for that particular week and the class discussion. The student should outline what they learnt from the discussion/ reading and express their opinion as to why they agree or disagree with a particular viewpoint. You will have the choice of selecting **ANY three particular weeks** that you would be writing your journals on (**you can NOT select the last week**).

3. Leading Class Discussion/ Individual Presentation (15% of total grade):

Every student is required to sign up for leading the class discussion at least **ONCE** in the semester. The discussion leader must prepare a concise review of the readings (and related readings at your own effort) for a particular day and come up with some leading questions on the issue for discussion. You can **NOT** take **ANY** part of your presentation from the weekly journal/ response paper that you will also be writing for a particular week. You may also prepare handouts for distribution in the class. Assistance for photocopy will be provided if handouts are mailed to me three hours before the class meets.

4. Mid-Term Exam (25% of total grade):

Take home mid-semester exam will consist of writing an essay on a given topic. **The essay MUST be at least 6 pages in length excluding references (double spaced), and should not exceed 8 pages in total.** You are **REQUIRED** to do outside research for writing the answer. Please substantiate your arguments with appropriate references and citations. **NO** make-up exam possible except under medical emergency. You have one week to submit the answer. **The deadline is June 13 at 4:30 PM business hours.** I will not evaluate any paper received after this date. You simply lose the grade.

5. Final Paper and Presentation (25% of total grade):

This is the final research paper on **ANY Foreign Policy issues** of your choice. The paper should ideally be 10 pages in length (excluding references), double spaced. The student is encouraged to select a topic for their own or alternatively, they could discuss their interest with me to arrive at a particular topic. **The final paper topic must be decided by June 20.** The student must also present his/her research paper before the class. You will get 5-7 minutes to share your paper with the class. Additional five minutes will be reserved for question/answering session after each presentation.

COURSE SCHEDULE

<p>Week 1 May 23-27 Monday- Friday</p> <p>Theme: Theoretical foundation of US foreign policy</p> <p><i>How to understand US foreign policy, What is America's national interest? How national interest influence policy making?</i></p>	<p>May 23, First day of instruction. Introduction to the class; discuss the syllabus, sign up for journals, assignments; share concerns/ feedbacks on the course design. Revise if any.</p> <p><i>Introduce the reading</i> – Stephen Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories,” <i>Foreign Policy</i>, Spring 1998, pp. 29-46.</p> <p>May 24, continue IR theories. Jack Snyder, “One World, Rival Theories,” <i>Foreign Policy</i> (November/ December 2004).</p> <p>May 25, Fareed Zakaria. (1998). “A theory of foreign policy” in the book <i>From wealth to power</i>, 1998, Princeton Univ. Press. Chapter 1 and 2, pp. 1-43.</p> <p>May 26, John Ruggie, “The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy,” <i>International Security</i> (Spring 1997).</p> <p>May 27, Samuel Huntington, “American Ideals Vs. American Institutions”. <i>Political science quarterly</i> 97 (1982). Question: How does Huntington believe “the American creed” affects foreign policy? Are preemption, unilateralism and the search for military hegemony consistent themes in American foreign policy?</p>
<p>Week 2 May 30- June 3 Monday- Friday</p> <p>Theme: The process of foreign policy making.</p> <p><i>National interest and identity in foreign policy making; Presidential management and advisory system framework. What are the levels of analysis? Are they useful or misleading?</i></p>	<p>May 30, No class, Holiday, Memorial Day.</p> <p>May 31, Continue discussion on Ruggie and Huntington. Introduce the “Sources of US foreign policy,” and the “Level of analysis” picture (circulated through email). Also read: Samuel Huntington, “The Erosion of American National Interests”. <i>Foreign affairs</i> 76 (1997).</p> <p>June 1, Constructivist theory and history of foreign policy analysis from Karl Schonberg’s (2009) book, <i>Constructing 21st century US foreign policy</i>, Palgrave-McMillan. Introduction and Chapter 1, <i>Theory and history</i>, pp. 1-68.</p> <p>June 2, David Mitchell (2005). <i>Making foreign policy</i>. Ashgate: USA. Read Chapter 1, “Presidents and foreign policy process,” pp. 1-31.</p> <p>June 3, “Advisory system framework and its effectiveness,” from the book David Mitchell (2005) <i>Making foreign policy</i>, Ashgate: USA. Chapter 8-9, pp. 199-236.</p>

<p>Week 3 June 6- 10 Monday-Friday</p> <p>Theme: Constructing foreign policy in the post cold war order.</p> <p><i>Regan Clinton, Bush, Middle East and the war on terror</i></p>	<p>June 6, Read Ambrose and Brinkley (2011) <i>Rise to Globalism</i>, Penguin: Chapter 15, Regan and the evil empire; and Chapter 16, The end of the Cold War” pp. 303-380. Also Watch Film: <i>1945-1989: The Cold War</i>, [Video]/ National Geographic Society’s Television Division.</p> <p>June 7, Ambrose and Brinkley (2011) <i>Rise to Globalism</i>, Penguin: Chapter 17-19, Bush, Gulf war, Clinton’s democratic engagement and post-cold war order, pp. 381-460.</p> <p>June 8, Mearsheimer, J. and Walt, S. (2005). The Israel lobby and US foreign policy, <i>Middle East Policy 13</i>; and Hudson, M. (1996). To play the hegemon: 50 years of US foreign policy in the Middle East. <i>Middle East Journal 50</i>;</p> <p>June 9, Read Chapter 3, “With us or against us” and “Conclusion” from Karl Schonberg (2009), <i>Constructing 21st Century US foreign policy</i>. Palgrave-McMillan, pp. 113-152; and 237-247.</p> <p>June 10, No class, Holiday, Kamehameha Day</p>
<p>Week 4 June 13-17 Monday-Friday</p> <p>Theme: Critically examining actual foreign policies.</p> <p><i>Morality and right to war; US strategic relations in Asia; America’s Trade policy; Environment as national security issue; US nuclear weapons policy</i></p>	<p>June 13, Take Home Exam question distributed in the class</p> <p>June 13, Noam Chomsky (2003). Moral truism, evidence and foreign policy, <i>Review of International Studies 23</i>; and Chomsky (2001), United states is a leading terrorist state, Interview, <i>Monthly Review</i>. Watch Film: <i>In whose interest? A revealing critique of US foreign policy since World War II</i>. Oley, PA: Bullfrog Films, 2002.</p> <p>June 14, Read Congressional Research Service (2007). <i>US strategic and defence relationship in Asia</i>. CRS Report for Congress. Washington DC.</p> <p>June 15, Ieknson, D. and Lincicome, S. (2009). <i>How President Obama can help restore the pro-trade consensus</i>. Cato Report, Trade Policy Analysis. Cato Institute; and Congressional Research Service (2010). <i>Free trade agreements: Impact on US trade and implications for US trade policy</i>. CRS report for Congress. Washington DC. (<i>Skim only</i>).</p> <p>June 16, Marc Levy (1995). Is the environment a national security issue? <i>International Security 20</i>; and Kristin Schafer (2006). <i>One more failed US environmental policy</i>. FPIF Policy Brief. Washington DC, Foreign Policy in Focus.</p> <p>June 17, Council on Foreign Relations. (2009). <i>US nuclear weapons policy</i>, Independent Task Force Report No. 62. New York.</p>

<p>Week 5 June 20-24 Monday-Friday</p> <p>Theme: Critically examining actual foreign policies, contd...</p> <p><i>US Immigration policy; promotion of democracy; promoting human rights; health as national security issue</i></p>	<p>June 20, Read Robert McNamara (2005). Apocalypse soon, <i>Foreign Policy</i>, May-June; Two readings from Council on Foreign Relations on <i>US-India nuclear cooperation agreement</i> by Jayashree Bajoria (2009), <i>Nuclear deal</i>; and Bernard Gwertzman (2008), <i>Symbolism tops...</i>; and James Wirtz and James Russel (2003), US policy on preventive war and pre-emption, <i>The Non-proliferation Review</i>, Spring.</p> <p>June 21, Council on Foreign Relations (2009), <i>US immigration policy</i>, Independent Task Force Report #63, New York.</p> <p>June 22, Democracy promotion: Cornerstone of US foreign policy? CRS Report for Congress, December 26, 2007; and Jennifer Windsor (2003), Promoting democratization can combat terrorism, <i>The Washington Quarterly</i> 26: 2003.</p> <p>June 23, David Fidler (2004). Fighting the axis of illness: AIDS human rights and US foreign policy, <i>Harvard Human Rights Journal</i> 17; and Roberta Cohen (2008). Integrating human rights in US foreign policy, Brookings, Foreign Service Institute.</p> <p>June 24, Jordan Kassalow (2001). Why health is important to US foreign policy? CFR and Milbank Memorial Fund. May; and Colin McInnes and Kelley Lee (2006), Health, security and foreign policy, <i>Review of International Studies</i> 32, pp. 5-23.</p>
<p>Week 6 June 27- July 1 Monday- Friday</p> <p>Theme: Why US foreign policy fails?</p> <p><i>Are they failing? Alternative framework and approaches to understanding US foreign policy; the future of US foreign policy</i></p>	<p>June 27, Read Dennis Jett (2009), <i>Why American foreign policy fails?</i> New York: Palgrave-McMillan, Chapter 1, Introduction; and Chapter 2, What's changed and why it's failing? pp. 1-42.</p> <p>June 28, Read Dennis Jett (2009), <i>Why American foreign policy fails?</i> New York: Palgrave-McMillan, Chapter 4, How it really works; and Chapter 5, A few case studies, pp. 69-142.</p> <p>June 29, Read Dennis Jett (2009), <i>Why American foreign policy fails?</i> New York: Palgrave-McMillan, Chapter 6, Why it won't change...?; and Ilan Peleg (2009), <i>The legacy of George W Bush's foreign policy</i>, Chapter 6, Lessons for future presidents, pp. 127-154.</p> <p>June 30, <i>Just security: An alternative foreign policy framework.</i> Foreign policy in focus, Institute for Policy Studies. June 2007.</p> <p>July 1, Student presentations. Final Research Paper Due <i>Summer Term I ends</i></p>