

Rutgers University  
Political Science Department  
United Nations & Global Policy Studies UNMA

Fall 2019

Course: 16:790:633  
Saturday 1:00pm – 3:40pm  
Instructor: Ghaidaa Hetou Ph.D.  
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Office: On Sat. after class or by appointment only

**Note:** This is a 600 level course. Although no pre-requisite is listed for this seminar, the expectation is that you are familiar with basic concepts, theories and debates in AFP/IR fields. If you would like to refresh your knowledge, and in order to facilitate an even starting point for our discussions in class, I have posted three articles on Sakai which I encourage you to read over the Summer.

## American Foreign Policy

This seminar will cover the main historical patterns in American foreign policy making (AFP) from the Barbary Wars in 1801, to the contemporary currents in the 21 century, including American military and diplomatic history, and current practice in U.S. FP statecraft. In this seminar we focus on external as well as internal causal influences on American foreign policy making. We will strike a balance between theoretical and process-oriented literature on one hand, and substantive and interpretive readings. We will examine rational state actor, neoclassical realist, bureaucratic/organizational, and institutional models. We will look at leadership styles, government decision-makers, organization ,political parties, private interest, lobbying groups, and public opinion. We analyze the various interests, constraints, and limitations within which each actor operates, the nature of the interactions between different actors, and the process within which differences are resolved.

While covering major debates in American foreign policy, we will look in depth at what motivates foreign policy making in the United States, the main theoretical traditions, and the consequences in international politics. We will apply our understanding of American foreign policy making when we discuss AFP towards specific countries/regions, namely: China, Russia, and the Middle East & North Africa (MENA).

## Expectations

- Attend all class sessions, your attendance is graded.
- Participate in discussions during class. You are graded on the quality of your participation, especially on comments that show you have read the material.
- Be respectful of your classmates. Note that you are required to understand materials from contradictory viewpoints, state alternative positions, and use policy analysis (goals, alternatives, consequences and choice) to reach conclusions during some of our discussions and presentations.

## Grades

|                                                   |            |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Attendance, Participation and Leading Discussions | <b>30%</b> |
| 2 cumulative Essays (3p) / 2 book presentations   | <b>20%</b> |
| Paper                                             | <b>50%</b> |
| Literature Review (30p)                           | 40%        |
| Peer Review (2p)                                  | 10%        |

## Required Readings (Books)

Perry Anderson, American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers. Verso Press. 2015. ISBN: 978-1781686676

Richard Hass, A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order. (2018)

Stephen Walt, The Hell of Good Intentions: America's Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of US Primacy (2018).

Robert J. Lieber, Retreat and Its Consequences: American Foreign Policy and the Problem of World Order. Cambridge University Press. 2016. ISBN: 978-1316506714

Walter Russell Mead, Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World. Routledge. 2002. ISBN: 0415935369

## Required Readings Articles/Chapters/Reports ([provided/posted on Sakai](#))

### Academic Integrity

The consequences of scholastic dishonesty are very serious. Please review the [Rutgers' academic integrity policy](#) .

Academic integrity means, among other things:

- Develop and write all of your own assignments.
- Show in detail where the materials you use in your papers come from. Create citations whether you are paraphrasing authors or quoting them directly. Be sure always to show source and page number within the assignment and include a bibliography in the back.
- Do not fabricate information or citations in your work.
- Do not facilitate academic dishonesty for another student by allowing your own work to be submitted by others.

If you are in doubt about any issue related to plagiarism or scholastic dishonesty, please discuss it with your instructor.

All Rutgers students are expected to honor the following pledge, which is included in every assignment they are submitting in this course:

*"On my honor, I have neither received nor given any unauthorized assistance on this assignment".*

Other sources of information to which you can refer include:

- [Rutgers' Academic Integrity website](#) 
- [Code of Student Conduct](#) 
- [Eight Cardinal Rules of Academic Integrity](#) 

### Turnitin

Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com (directly or via learning management system, i.e. Sakai, Blackboard, Canvas, Moodle) for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the Usage Policy posted on the Turnitin.com site.

Students who do not agree should contact the course instructor immediately.

## Academic Support Services

- Rutgers has a variety of resources for academic support. For more information, check the [Academic Support website](#) .
- Rutgers has Learning Centers on each campus where any student can obtain tutoring and other help. For information, check the [Learning Center website](#) .
- Rutgers also has a Writing Center where students can obtain help with writing skills and assignments. Learn more at the [Writing Center website](#) .
- Many library resources are available online. Assistance is available through phone, email, and chat. For information, check the [Rutgers Libraries website](#) .

## Rutgers Health Services

- Rutgers Health Services is dedicated to health for the whole student body, mind and spirit. It accomplishes this through a staff of qualified clinicians and support staff, and delivers services at a number of locations throughout the New Brunswick-Piscataway area. For more information, check the [Rutgers Health Services website](#) .

## Counseling, ADAP, and Psychiatric Services

- Undergraduate and graduate students experience a great many stresses in their lives - sorting out one's identity, establishing and maintaining important relationships, coping with anxiety and depression, working on changing relationships with parents and other family members, dealing with losses, handling new academic demands, and dealing with reactions to one's differentness. To help with these tasks, [Counseling, ADAP &](#)
- [Psychiatric Services \(CAPS\)](#)  provides a variety of psychological counseling services for all students of Rutgers University in New Brunswick/Piscataway, undergraduate and graduate. Services are free, and confidentiality is guaranteed within legal and ethical guidelines.

## Veteran Services

- If you are a military veteran or are on active military duty, you can obtain support through the [Office of Veteran and Military Programs and Services](#) .

## Student Involvement

- The [Department of Student Involvement](#)  can connect you with student engagement opportunities on campus.

## Accommodations for Accessibility

### Requesting accommodations

Rutgers University welcomes students with disabilities into all of the University's educational programs. In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, a student with a disability must contact the appropriate disability services office at the campus where you are officially enrolled, participate in an intake interview, and provide documentation. More information

can be found in the

[Documentation Guidelines](#) section of the [Office for Disability Services](#) website. If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus's disability services office will provide you with a Letter of

Accommodations. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early in your courses as possible. To begin this process, please complete the [Registration Form](#) on the Office for Disability Services website.

Go to the [Student section of the Office of Disability Services](#) website for more information.

**Paper (50% of grade):** Each student is required to submit 2 assignments: Literature Review and a Peer review. The papers are double spaced, except for the critique which is single spaced. Format: Chicago style (in-text citation) for references (other styles are acceptable, but be consistent!).

**Class Structure:** Each seminar session is organized as following: in the first hour (or so) we will discuss theoretical and conceptual readings. After a short break (AB in class schedule), we will resume with case studies (focusing primarily on AFP re Russia, China and MENA) in addition to our book discussions.

## Class Schedule

### September 7

Introduction to AFP

Notes on Complex Systems

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," Foreign Policy, No. 145 (Nov.- Dec. 2004), pp. 52-62

Steve Smith, "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview." Review of International Studies, 12, 1 (January 1986), 13-29.

### September 14

Levels of Analysis Framework

The Agent-Structure Debate

G. John Ikenberry, David A. Lake, and Michael Mastanduno, "Introduction: Approaches to Explaining American Foreign Economic Policy." International Organization, 42, 1 (Winter 1988): 1-14.

Barry Buzan, "The Levels of Analysis Problem in IR Reconsidered." In Ken Booth and Steve Smith eds., International Relations Theory Today. London: Polity Press, 1994.

Alexander E. Wendt, "The agent-structure problem in international relations theory." International Organization 41 (Summer 1987):335-70.

David Dessler, "What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" International Organization, 43 (1989): 441-73.

AB: What is foreign policy?

How does FP configure as state power?

The Barbary Wars (1801-1815)

<https://www.uswars.net/barbary-war>

The Treaty of Wangxia (1844)

<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/dwe/82011.htm>

\* The final draft of this syllabus will be available in September 2019

## September 21 Paper Topic is Due

### System Level Explanations. Realist Theories of Foreign Policy. Neoclassical Realism

Colin Elman, "Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *Security Studies*, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 7-53.

Shibley Telhami, "Kenneth Waltz, Neorealism, and Foreign Policy," *Security Studies*, 11, 3 (2002), 158-170.

Giddens Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics*, 51, 1 (October 1998), 144-72.

Brian Rathbun, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism." *Security Studies* 17, 2 (2008), 294-321.

AB: Understanding Special Providence of AFP I  
Mead Ch.1-5

## September 28

### Government Level Explanations I

#### Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Processes

Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, 3 (September 1969): 689-718.

Jack S. Levy, "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (June 1986), 193-222.

Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, with Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2006.

AB: Understanding the Origins of AFP II  
Mead Ch.6-9 and presentations

## October 5

### Government Level Explanation II

#### Rational Institutionalism, Congress, US Constitution, Civil-Military Relations

Ronald Rogowski, "Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice." In David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Pp. 115-36.

Risa Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton University Press, 2008).

Peter D. Feaver, Christopher Gelpi, and Alfred H. Paddock, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil Military Relations and the Use of Force*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Mariah Zeisberg, *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

AB: Contemporary AFP re China and Russia: What are the interests, constraints, and limitations?

Defense Intelligence Agency, China Military Power [http://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_FINAL\\_5MB\\_20190103.pdf](http://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/China_Military_Power_FINAL_5MB_20190103.pdf)

Defense Intelligence Agency, Russia Military Power  
<http://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/Russia%20Military%20Power%20Report%202017.pdf>

## October 12

AB: Contemporary AFP re China and Russia

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-05-14/russian-chinese-partnership-threat-us-interests>

<https://nationalinterest.org/feature/russias-best-defense-against-americas-pressure-strategy-may-be-china-61692>

War Game Simulation    Triangular Game

Lieber

## October 19 Essay 1 is due

### Liberalism Societal Level Explanation I

#### Democratic Peace, Social Identity, Political Opposition

John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security*, 19, 2 (autumn 1994), 87-125.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith, "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review*, 93, 4 (December 1999), 791-807.

Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Politics and War." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, 4 (Spring 1988): 653-673.

John A. Vasquez, "Domestic contention on critical foreign-policy issues: the case of the United States." *International Organization* 39 (Autumn 1985): 643-66.

Leonie Huddy, "From Group Identity to Political Cohesion and Commitment." In Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 737-73.

AB: Lieber presentations

## October 26

### Societal Level Explanation II

#### Public Opinion, Media, Interest Groups, Audience Cost

Thomas Knecht and M. Stephen Weatherford, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly*, 50, 3 (September 2006), 705-2

Warren P. Strobel, *Late-Breaking Foreign Policy: The News Media's Influence on Peace Operations*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997.

Stephen Brooks, "Economic Actor's Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace." *International Organization* 67, 4 (October 2013): 863-88.

Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard, "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound." *American Political Science Review* 105, 3 (August 2011): 437-456.

Matthew S. Levendusky and Michael C. Horowitz, "When Backing Down is the Right Decision." *Journal of Politics* 74, 2 (April 2012): 323-38.

AB: Anderson

## **November 2**

### Leadership Style

#### Personalities and Decision-making

Margaret G. Hermann, Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy M. Shaw, "Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals," pp. 83- 132.

"Leaders, Groups, and Coalitions: Understanding the People and Processes in Foreign Policy Making." Special issue, International Studies Review, 3, 2 (Summer 2001).

AB: AFP towards MENA: Defining contemporary interests, constraints and limitations?

CATO Institute, Rethinking America's Commitment to the Middle East

<https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/articles/ashford-ssq-november-2018.pdf>

AB: Anderson presentation

## **November 9**

### Constructivism

#### Ideas, Ideology, and Culture

Bruce Kuklick, *Blind Oracles: Intellectuals and War from Kennan to Kissinger*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Alexander L. George, "Ideology and International Relations: A Conceptual Analysis." *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 9 (1987): 1-21.

Valerie Hudson and Martin Sampson, "Culture and Foreign Policy Analysis." *Special Issue, Political Psychology*, 20, 4 (December 1999): 667-896.

AB: Walt

## **November 16. Essay 2 is due**

### [Heuristics, Biases, and Perceptions in Foreign Policy decision-making](#)

Dominic D.P. Johnson and Dominic Tierney, "The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return." *International Security*, 36, 1 (Summer 2011): 7-40.

Bryan D. Jones, "Bounded Rationality." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2 (1999), 297-321.

Robert Jervis, "Understanding Beliefs." *Political Psychology* 27, 5 (October, 2006): 641-663.

AB: Walt Presentation

## **November 23**

AB: AFP in a multipolar international system, what are the constraints and advantages?

Haas presentation

## **December 7 Papers are Due**

General Discussions

## **December 14**

No Class, Peer Reviews are due



