

Government 4142/6142 Spring, 2012  
Causes and Consequences of US Foreign Policy

*Instructor:* Elizabeth Sanders  
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Overview

This course examines the twentieth and twenty-first century sources of American foreign policy decisions and the impact of those policies on the nation and world. What forces-- domestic, international, institutional, electoral, economic, cultural, or personal--drive US foreign policy? How is U.S. policy experienced by the rest of the world? These are the broad questions to be addressed this semester, in readings, class discussion, weekly short essays, and a longer substantive/research paper. This is an upper-level seminar that relies on scholarly books and articles. It will help you to develop your analytical and writing skills as well as your ability to deftly manage a set of distinct and diverse weekly readings and to tease out common themes and contrasting assumptions and arguments.

Requirements. Students are required to attend every class (unless there is documented illness or other emergency communicated to me), to have done the required readings in advance, and to participate actively in discussions. The course requires brief weekly (2pp, ds) essays on the readings, which are intended to provide practice in writing cogently and concisely about theoretical, historical, and current aspects of U.S. foreign policy. At least once during the semester, each student will be responsible for leading the class discussion. This involves a very minimal summary of key arguments/themes in the reading, focusing mainly on points that particularly interest or provoke you, providing a critique of the authors' assumptions, methods, and evidence, and comparing/contrasting these authors with others.

The weekly papers are designed to demonstrate that you have done ALL the reading for the week, reflected on it, and can put your arguments succinctly—all skills that will evolve over the semester. The essays are due by email attachment by 5 pm Saturday (earlier is fine, of course!) They should be sent to me by then, and to the rest of the class by 6 pm Sunday, so they can be read by your fellow students before class (you must, of course, write your essay without reading the others). Reading over the papers of your fellow students on Sunday will facilitate a lively class discussion. You should feel free to quibble with their arguments (always in a polite and scholarly way, of course!)

Needless to say, this system precludes late papers except in case of non-minor illness.\*

Read the **paper writing pointers** (on BB under “course documents”) carefully, and often! You will be responsible for knowing the rules of essay writing. Note that papers raising questions about sources or authorship may be analyzed with plagiarism-detection software. Avoid any whiff of plagiarism. There is a powerpoint on Course Documents that, along with the Writing Pointers, should make the rules clear.

Undergraduates are expected to complete, by the first day of exams a 12-15pp paper reflecting their understanding of a particular debate, case, or issue in US foreign policy. [Graduate students will write 15-20 pp]. The sooner you decide on a topic, and discuss it with me, the more I can help you develop it into a strong paper.

The topic of the final paper **must** be discussed with me and approved by the fourth week of class so that you can get started. **Before** our first office meeting on your long paper, please send me a paragraph on the topic.. The weekly short papers will count for 30% of the final grade, the long paper 50%, and the remainder is based on class participation, including service as discussion leader. Failure to submit all weekly papers in a timely fashion, or to adequately fulfill this part of the course will necessitate taking a final exam. Those meeting the weekly paper requirement will NOT have to take a final exam.

\*You are permitted ONE late paper submission with no penalty (but let me know when you are taking your “late day”). If you are ill, and notify me before class, eventually bringing a Gannett (or other medical) certification that you have been seen there for treatment, you can be excused to turn in the paper within one week (or upon recovery, in case of serious illness).

If you are having a serious problem, psychological or physiological, and do not receive a quick email response from me, call me at home. I generally check email only once or twice a day, and due to a very large volume of email, may even miss your first message. Don't give up. I need to know if you are having problems that interfere with your doing well in the course.

Readings. The book chapters and articles required will be in the weekly folders on Blackboard. Major books will also be put on reserve at Uris.

There are some optional readings also available on Blackboard. The “optional” readings may be helpful for your final papers, but as the name implies, are not required for undergraduates. Graduate students should try to read one optional reading per week.

## ***COURSE SCHEDULE***

**Introduction** (January 23))

Week 1 (January 30)

A. Fred Logevall, “Water’s Edge” (pp 1-11 may be skimmed; concentrate on mid-12-21 for an introduction to the importance of domestic factors in foreign policy)

B. \_Critical Perspectives on the U.S. in the World: Can a Democracy Sustain an

## Empire?

- Chalmers Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire*, 1-37
- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*, 1-6 (NB: pages 111-46 of Kinzer's book will be read in Weeks 3-4)
- Gary Dorrien, "Imperial Designs: Neoconservatism, Militarization, and American Empire" [http://www.evangelische-akademie.de/admin/projects/akademie/pdf/material/062528\\_90.pdf](http://www.evangelische-akademie.de/admin/projects/akademie/pdf/material/062528_90.pdf) (
- Stephen Van Evera, "A Farewell to Geopolitics," in Leffler and Legro, eds., *To Lead the World*, 11-33
- Stephen Walt, "The Myth of American Exceptionalism," *Foreign Policy*, Nov. 2011
- PIPA polls: Read one and browse another of the polls on BB, focusing on the summaries and scanning the tables:
  - "World View of U.S. Goes from Bad to Worse"
  - "World Publics Reject US Role as the World Leader,"
  - "Views of US Continue to Improve in 2011 BBC Poll"
  - "Negative Attitudes on the U.S. in the Muslim World: Do They Matter?"

### Optional (also on BB)

*National Security Strategy (NSS) 1994 (Clinton)*

*NSS 2002 2002 (Bush)*

*NSS 2010 (Obama) all 3 found on line at:*

<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/nss/nss-95.pdf>

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>

[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)

*Progenitors of the "Bush Doctrine" include: (1) Defense Policy Guidance 1992 (Wolfowitz)*

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/wolf.html>

*(2) William Kristol and Robert Kagan, Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy (Foreign*

*Affairs Jul/Aug 1996. Vol. 75, # 4; pg. 18; and (3) Project for a New American Century, Statement of Principles, July 3, 1997. The optional Dorrien reading reviews neoconservative doctrine and influence. For one of the key documents, see:*

<http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm>.

NSS 2002 may be compared with the 1950 statement of cold war "containment" principles and strategy, NSC68, at <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/nsc-68/nsc68-1.htm>

## II Consequences

### Week 2 (February 6) Domestic Consequences of a Militarized Foreign Policy

- Peter Jan Honigsberg, *Our Nation Unhinged*, xvi-xix, 1-11, 31-37
- Bob Herbert, "War's Psychic Toll," NYT May 17, 2009; Rand Corp Report '08
- Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red* 171-92
- William W. Keller, *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover*, 160-75, 28-36
- Jeffrey A. Smith, *War and Press Freedom*, 169-94

- James Pfiffner, *Power Play*, 1-12, mid 67-83; and Pfiffner's 2011 update, "Executive Power in the Bush and Obama Administrations"
- Gregory Hooks, *Forging the Military Industrial Complex* 1-7, 229-57, 264
- Paul Verkuil, *Outsourcing Sovereignty*, 1-30  
 [A video of a Verkuil talk at the Miller Center can be watched at <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/forum/detail/3954>] You can **either** read the article or watch the video].
- Linda Bilmes and Joseph Stiglitz, "The Iraq War Will Cost Us" (Wash. Post, 1-6);  
 And glance at the two graphs at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_public\\_debt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_public_debt)
- Stephen Van Evera, "Bush Administration, Weak on Terror," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 2006): 28-38, BB  
 or online at [http://web.mit.edu/ssp/people/vanevera/faculty\\_vanevera.html](http://web.mit.edu/ssp/people/vanevera/faculty_vanevera.html)

[Optional readings on BB: Susan Brewer, *Visions of War*; Mary Ellen O'Connell, "Why Obama's Targeted Killing is Worse than Bush's Torture," *The Guardian*, January 20, 2012; Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers* (review) Louis Fisher, *Testimony to the US Senate*, September, 2011; Eric T. Dean, *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress...and...War*, 1-25; *Iraq Veterans Against the War*, "Why We are Against the War" <http://www.ivaw.org/faq>; Michael Massing, "Iraq: The Hidden Human Costs," *NYRB*, Dec. 20, 2007 <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/20906> (and BB); Alfred McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*, 3-14.

#### Weeks 3-4 (Two Weeks: February 13-20) International Consequences

- Tony Smith, *America's Mission*, 1-33 [Opt: 113-307, 311-26]
- Robert E. Wood, "From the Marshall Plan to the 3<sup>rd</sup> World," in Leffler and Painter, eds., *Origins of the Cold War*, 201-13
- Mary Anne Glendon, *A World Made New*, preface, 3-20, 235-41
- Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, "When Democracy Assistance Works"
- Minxin Pei and Sara Kasper, Lessons from the Past: The American Record of Nation Building, Policy Brief No. 24, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2003 on BB or at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1240&prog=zch&proj=zusr>
- James Dobbins, *America's Role in Nation-Building: Germany to Iraq*, xxIII-xxix
- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*, 111-47
- John M. Collins, *America's Small Wars* 1-39

- Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop*, 1-23
- Leslie Gill, *The School of the Americas*, 1-21, 78-89
- David Zierler. *The Invention of Ecocide: Agent Orange, Vietnam, and the Scientists Who Changed the Way We Think about the Environment* (HD review)
- Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: How to Create an Insurgency*, 149-76
- Eric Lipton, "U.S. Arms Sales Rising Sharply," NYT 9-14
- Michael Byers, *War Law* 2-11, 127-35
- Matthew Evangelista, *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror*, 103-15, 121-29
- Julie Watson, "Marine's Iraq killings trial resumes," AP, Jan. 20, 2012.
- Mark Boal, "The Kill Team," Rolling Stone, March 27, 2011
- "The Torture Archive" (Read Mora Interview at [http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/torturingdemocracy/interviews/alberto\\_mora.html#constitution](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/torturingdemocracy/interviews/alberto_mora.html#constitution) OR watch "Torturing Democracy" at <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/program>)

[Optional: David F. Schmitz, *Thank God They're on Our Side*, 3-8, 144-57, 293-303; \*Thomas M. Franck, "What Happens Now? The UN after Iraq," *Am J Int Law*, 97 #3 (July 03), 607-20; John Prados, *Presidents' Secret Wars*, 9-11, 92-107, 315-24 (top), 396-418, 480-87; Nick Cullather, *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*; Susan Waltz, "US Small Arms Policy," *World Policy Journal*, SU 2007, 67-80; Richard J. Barnett, *Intervention and Revolution: America's Confrontation with Insurgent Movements Around the World*, 264-97; Nuno Monteiro, *Unrest Assured*.

### III. Causes

#### **A. Culture, Ideology, Economics: Perspectives on Outward Expansion**

Week 5 (Feb 27)

##### The Missionary impulse

- James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 1-33, 277-mid 283, 328 (bottom)-331 (top)
- Anatol Lieven, *America, Right or Wrong*, 1-18 (or read the review by Brian Urquhart, also on BB as an optional reading)
- John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 1-29
- Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, 124-46

OPT: Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 3-37, 229-34  
 John P. Judis, *The Chosen Nation: the Influence of Religion on U.S. Foreign Policy* on BB and at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=16668&prog=zgp&proj=zusr>; Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, cptr. 1, 1-

18;\* "Moral Values, Politics, and the Faith Factor," *Brookings*, Jan. 18, 2005, 1-19, 29-35 (Wallis v. Land) <http://www.brookings.edu/comm/events/20050118.htm>

## Week 6 (March 5) Historical Antecedents of Isolationism and interventionism

### UNILATERALIST EXPANSIONISM

- Warren Zimmerman, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country World Power*, 3-39
- Harold Faulkner, *The Decline of Laissez-Faire, 1897-1917*, 68-91
- Stephen D. Krasner, *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1978), 5-34, 346-52\*

### ISOLATIONISM

- Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, 1-23
- Republican Opposition to Wilson's War Message 1917 (speech by Senator George W. Norris)

### WILSONIAN INTERNATIONALISM

- David Steigerwald, *Wilsonian Idealism in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 3-38; [Opt: 113-65, 204-43; and Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars*, 271-76]
- Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men*, 17-35 (Opt: Beisner, *Acheson*, ch. 7)

## Week 7 (March 12 ) Contemporary Ideological Variants

### ISOLATIONISM

- Pat Buchanan, "Whose War?" *The American Conservative*, 24 March 2003 [http://www.amconmag.com/03\\_24\\_03/cover.html](http://www.amconmag.com/03_24_03/cover.html) (on BB)
- Ron Paul, "Neo-conned," Address to the U.S. House of Representatives, July 10, 2003

### UNILATERALIST INTERVENTION

- Elizabeth Drew, "The Neocons in Power" in *New York Review of Books*, 12 June 2003, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/16378> (and BB), OR read Justin Vaisse, *Neoconservatism: the Biography of a Movement*, HD review, 1-12 (also of interest: the Vaisse web site: <http://neoconservatism.vaisse.net>)

## WILSONIAN INTERNATIONALISM

- G. John Ikenberry, "Why Export Democracy? The 'Hidden Grand Strategy' of American Foreign Policy" *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 23, no.2 (Spring 1999); OR substitute his "Liberal Order Building, in Leffler and Legro, eds., under opt. readings.
- Emily Goldman and Larry Berman, "Engaging the World," in Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman, eds., *The Clinton Legacy* (London: Chatham House, 2000), 226-53.

[Opt: Justin Vaisse, *Neoconservatism: Biography of a Movement* (HDiplo rev); William Kristol and Robert Kagan, *Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy* (Foreign Affairs); John Ehrman, *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs 1945-1994*; Shadia B. Drury, *Leo Strauss and the American Right*; Robert Devigne, *Recasting Conservatism*]

*Spring Break March 17- 25*

### **B. Institutional Determinants of Foreign Policy**

Week 8 (March 26) The President, pt. 1: Executive Power and Electoral Effects

- William Grover, *The President As Prisoner: A Structural Critique of the Carter and Reagan Years* (Albany, NY: State University Press of New York, 1989), 1-13, 63-87
- Andrew D. Preston, *The War Council*, pp. 8-10, 36-53
- Philip J. Cooper, *By Order of the President*, ix-xi, 15-27, 33-36, 44-47, 86-88, 143-62
- Theodore Lowi, *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*, 20-21, 57-66, 103-17, 140-48, 165-73.
- Benjamin Fordham, "Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and U.S. Uses of Force", 1949-1994, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (August 1998), 418-39
- Jane K. Cramer, "Just Cause" or Just Politics? U.S. Panama Invasion and... Diversionary War," *Armed Forces & Society*, Jan. '06, 178-201

[Opt: Bruce Russett, "Economic Decline, Electoral Pressure, and the Initiation of International Conflict," in *Prisoners of War* ed. by Charles S. Gochman and Alan Ned Sabrosky, 123-40; Michael Hunt, *The American Ascendancy*, 1-10]; James Meernik and Peter Waterman, "The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents," *Political Research Quarterly* 49 (1996): 573-90; Karl DeRouen Jr., "Presidents and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Research Note," *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (2000): 317-28; Ryan C. Hendrickson, "Clinton's Military Strikes in 1998: Diversionary Uses of Force?" *Armed Forces & Society* 28, no. 2 (Winter 2002): 309-32.

Week 9 (April 2) The President, pt. 2: Personality, Psychology, Ideology

- Bruce Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions: Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy*, 35-85.
- Beth Fisher, "US Foreign Policy under Reagan and Bush," ch 13 in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 3
- Thomas Langston and Elizabeth Sanders, "Explaining Ideological Intensity in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Presidency" (APSA paper, 2003 rv)
- Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side* (rev. by Alan Brinkley)
- Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War : The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*, 382-99; *Opt for grads; chapters 1, 9-12.*
- Irving L. Janis, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1-13, 40-42, 48-71. (also on BB as optional: 1-13, 174-75, 178-9)

[Opt: Charles Kupchan review of Robert Kagan book/thesis on American primacy; Peter J. Spiro, "The New Sovereignists," *Foreign Affairs* Nov-Dec., 2000; Elizabeth Sanders and Caroline Emberton, "The War Lovers;" Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy*, chaps. 1-3; James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans*, 261-93; Michael Lind, "A Tragedy of Errors," *The Nation*, Feb. 23, 2004; and Thomas Blanton, "Annals of Brinkmanship," *The Wilson Quarterly*, Su 1997 (reprinted at the NSArchive); Mark White, *Against the President; on the Cuban Missile Crisis*: [http://www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv/nsa/cuba\\_mis\\_cri/](http://www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/)

Week 10 (April 9) The National Security and Intelligence Bureaucracies

- Douglas A. Stuart, "Ministry of Fear: The 1947 National Security Act in Historical and Institutional Context," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 4 (Aug 03), 293-313.
- James Bamford, *Body Of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra-Secret National Security Agency* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 1-6, 64-91
- Bamford, *The Shadow Factory*, 1-4, 12-21, 28-29, and 112-23
- Michael Riesman and James E. Baker, *Regulating Covert Action*, 116-35
- Amy Zegart, *Spying Blind*, 1-13, 96-100, 178-93
- Robert Dreyfuss and Jason Vest, "The Lie Factory," *Mother Jones*, Jan/Feb 2004
- William W. Keller, *Arm in Arm: The Political Economy of the Global Arms Trade*, 8-15, 84-94. (Institutional reasons for increased US weapons sales)
- [OPT: Michael C. Desch, "Bush and the Generals," *Foreign Affairs* May 29, 2007 (P.W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*, preface-18, 230-42; Tim Wiener, *Legacy of Ashes*; Matthew Evangelista, "Issue-

*Area and Foreign Policy Revisited,*” *International Organization*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Winter 1989); William Greider, *Fortress America: The American Military and the Consequences of Peace*, 97-171. Robert Buzzanco, *Masters of War*, 1-23, 341-51; Alfred McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire*, introduction; Gregg Jones, *Honor in the Dust: Theodore Roosevelt, War in the Philippines, and the Rise and Fall of America’s Imperial Dream* (rev. by Candice Millard in NYT Book Rev)]

#### Week 11 (April 16) Legislative-Executive Interactions

- Rebecca K.C. Hersman, *Friends and Foes: How Congress and the President Really Make Foreign Policy*, 1-52, 85-116.
- Stephen R. Weissman, *A Culture of Deference: Congress's Failure of Leadership in Foreign Policy*, 10-32, 137-184.
- Daniel Wirls, *Buildup: The Politics of Defense in the Reagan Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 56-78, 102-5, 109-12 [Opt: 112- 32, 198-226]
- Julian E. Zelizer, “Détente and Domestic Politics,” *Diplomatic History*, vol 33, No. 4 (September, 2009), 651-670
- William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, “When Congress Stops Wars,” *Foreign Affairs* , Sept/Oct 2007
- Mark Oppenheimer, “A Strongman Found Support in Prominent U.S. Conservatives,” NYT April 11, 2011

### C. Societal Influences: Media, Public Opinion, Groups and Movements

#### Week 12 (April 23)

- “Global Views 2010: Constrained Internationalism” (US opinion survey)
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 3-40, 258-62
- Tom Hamburger and Jim Vandehei, “How Israel became a Favorite Cause of the Conservative Christian Right,” *Wall Street Journal* May 23, 2002
- Jonathan Mermin, *Debating War and Peace*, 1-16
- Jon Western, *Selling Intervention and War*, 189-215
- Sean L. Malloy, *Atomic Tragedy*, 138-42, 158-69
- Steven Kull, Clay Ramsey, Evan Lewis, “Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War,” *PSQ* v. 118, #4 (Winter 2003-4)
- Matthew Evangelista, “Transnational Organizations and the Cold War,” cptr. 19 in Melvin Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War*

*Opt:* Robert M. Entman, *Projections of Power :Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*; Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page, “Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?” *American Political Science Review* 99 (February, 2005), 107-24; Jeff Sharlet, *The Family: The Secret Fundamentalism at the Heart of American Power*, 18-27, 214-18, 222-24, 254-56, 280-83, 304-7; Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Pol. Issues*, ch. 5 (Iran-Contra)

Week 13 (April 30) Wrap up and Discussion of Papers, with Pizza

**Research papers due by the first day of exams (May 9).** Papers must be on approved topics, discussed with me in at least two office visits. Any changes in topic must also be approved. Please read the Writing Pointers on BB more than once, and adhere to those guidelines. It is suggested that you also get the Turabian writing guide. Mastery of grammar, spelling, and a standard footnote form are assumed.

International Affairs web sites (Opt): <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>;  
[http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/static/links\\_ann.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/static/links_ann.html)