

**CALVIN COLLEGE**  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLS 308: Principles of American Foreign Policy

Fall Semester, 2007

[A] Monday & Wednesday, 1:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.

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Office Hours: Monday & Wednesday  
3:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course provides an introduction to the study of American foreign policy. Topics include the role of power, interests, and norms within the international system, interplay among the various foreign policy arms of the US government, the role of interest groups and public opinion in the making of foreign policy, changing beliefs and ideas regarding the United States and its place in the world, the US role in forming and managing international institutions, and current policy debates regarding issues of international security, political economy, and development.

The course consists of four parts. *Part I* introduces basic theoretical concepts and examines various structures and processes that impact the making of foreign policy. *Part II* places these in historical context by examining American foreign policy traditions and their impact on policy outcomes. *Part III* examines the US role in establishing and maintaining the existing, post-World War II economic and security order. *Part IV* examines emerging strands of American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era.

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

The course readings and writing assignments are intended to achieve three objectives. Firstly, they are intended to introduce students to the basic concepts and theoretical approaches that comprise the study of foreign policy. Secondly, they are intended to provide students with a basic understanding of American foreign policy past, present, and future. Thirdly, they are intended to assist students in developing analytical skills such that they can provide thoughtful and coherent arguments in oral and written form. The first and second objectives are necessary for careers in or continued study of foreign policy, while the third is essential to the idea of a liberal arts education. All three help to equip students for work as agents of redemption and renewal within the world. *SOLI DEO GLORIA.*

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Students must complete all assigned readings before each class period and must be active participants in each classroom session. The instructor will circulate a seating chart for students to sign, which will be used throughout the semester to record attendance and to facilitate classroom participation.

There will be two writing assignments. The first will be a short paper of four to five double-spaced pages in length, and the second will be a longer paper of twelve to fifteen double-spaced pages in length. Students will be called upon during appropriate class periods to discuss the topics they have selected for their papers.

In addition to the writing assignments, there will be a midterm examination and a final examination.

### **COURSE GRADES**

Course grades will be based on the course objectives listed above, as determined by students' classroom participation, writing assignments, and examinations.

## Classroom Participation

Classroom participation will be weighted as 20% of the final course grade. This is a real college course, and as such you will be expected to read all of the assigned readings. You will not necessarily be expected to agree with the readings, your fellow students, or the instructor, but you will be expected to be active and engaged participants, so as to learn from the readings and discussion each day. In doing so, you will become part of an ongoing conversation.

In addition to daily classroom participation, the instructor will call upon students to discuss the topics addressed in their writing assignments during appropriate class periods, as noted above.

Ideally, students would be so motivated by the intensity of the readings and the perspicacity of the instructor that attendance would not need to be required. But because these are not ideal times, attendance will be included in assessing classroom participation. Every student will be allowed two unexcused absences, after which a penalty of 5% per day will be deducted from the final course grade. Please see the instructor as early as possible if you know in advance of an absence due to an extracurricular activity or other excusable reason (at the instructor's discretion).

## Writing Assignments

There will be two writing assignments. The first assignment will be weighted as 15% of the final course grade. It will require analysis and application of concepts examined in one of the four class periods addressing domestic structures and processes (September 17, 19, 24, or 26; students' choice of which class period). Students must indicate at least two days in advance which class period they have selected and will be called upon during that period to discuss their topics. The assignment will be due one week following the selected class period.

The second assignment will be a term paper, which will be weighted as 30% of the final course grade. It will require analysis of an event or issue in American foreign policy from the last sixty years, using concepts and ideas from the first two parts of the course. Students must submit term paper proposals no later than October 22 and will be called upon during appropriate class periods to discuss their topics. In addition, students must submit draft outlines of their term papers no later than November 5. Completed term papers will be due at 9:00 a.m. on November 21.

Students must submit both printed and electronic versions of both papers. Printed and electronic versions must match exactly. The papers must be submitted in a serif font (such as **Times New Roman**) of size 11 or 12 with 1" margins on all sides. Grades will be based on analytical rigor, writing skill, and factual correctness, and will be determined as follows.

A	Excellent	C	Vague and unsupported; or wrong question
A-	Very good; or clear, but incomplete	C-	Very unclear; or no argument
B+	Clear, but with gaps; or very good, but somewhat unclear	D+	Generally poor; or unclear and misunderstood; or incorrect/missing citations
B	More gaps	D	Very poor
B-	Gaps and unclear parts	D-	Extremely poor
C+	Unclear throughout	F	Insufficient effort; or not submitted; or plagiarized

The instructor will not accept late papers in the absence of a medical or other substantial excuse. Students seeking to excuse a late paper should contact the instructor as soon as possible and may be required to provide appropriate documentation. Papers submitted electronically before the deadline will not be counted as late, provided a printed version is submitted to the instructor's office within 24 hours.

## Examinations

The mid-term and final examinations will be weighted as 10% and 25% of the final course grade, respectively. Each exam will be comprised of primarily of short answer questions. The mid-term examination will be given in class on October 22, and the final examination will be given at 9:00 a.m. on December 12.

The instructor will not administer makeup exams in the absence of a medical or other substantial excuse. Students seeking to excuse a missed exam should contact the instructor as soon as possible and may be required to provide appropriate documentation. No early exams will be given

## ACADEMIC HONESTY

The instructor expects that all work submitted in this course will be a product of students' own minds and efforts, and specifically that:

1. Students will not take words from any source without putting quotation marks around such words and giving credit to the source. This includes sentences and phrases, as well as significant single words, such as those that express opinion or judgment.
2. Students will not take findings or ideas from any source without giving credit to the source. In paraphrasing, students will not use words so close to those contained in the source that, if a student's work were placed next to the source, it would be obvious that the student could not have written what s/he did except by borrowing directly from the source with only superficial changes.
3. Students will organize their thoughts and ideas according to a plan of their own creation and will not simply appropriate the plan of organization contained within another source. To the extent that a student's plan of organization is based upon another source, s/he will give credit to that source.
4. Students will neither ask nor allow someone else to write, revise, or otherwise modify their work in any way.

Any violation of these guidelines and/or other rules contained within the *Student Conduct Guide* will result in an F for the course and/or other appropriate disciplinary action, at the instructor's discretion. If you are doubt about whether some form of assistance or use of materials constitutes academic dishonesty, please see the instructor.

## STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

The college will make reasonable accommodation for students with documented disabilities. Students seeking disability accommodation should notify both the instructor and the Coordinator of Services to Students with Disabilities.

## REQUIRED TEXTS

The following are required texts for this course and are available for purchase at the bookstore.

Jentleson, Bruce W. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century*. 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.

McDougall, Walter A. *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997.

Ikenberry, G. John, ed. *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*. 5th ed. New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.

Other supplemental journal articles and book sections are **on reserve** or available **online** as noted in the syllabus. Access to certain websites is available only via a Calvin College internet connection.

## COURSE READINGS

[Please note the page numbers listed below, as only selected pages of certain articles or book sections are assigned.]

### Part I: Structures and Processes

#### *September 5 – Course Overview*

Ikenberry, G. John. "Introduction." In *Theoretical Essays*, 1-11.

Holsti, Ole R. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." In *Theoretical Essays*, 14-34.

[WRITING ASSIGNMENT #1 WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AT THE END OF THE CLASS PERIOD.]

#### *September 10, 12 – The International System*

Jentleson, Bruce W. "The Context of the International System." In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 6-8.

Waltz, Kenneth N. "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power." In *Theoretical Essays*, 60-82.

Walt, Stephen M. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (1998). Read pages 29-44.  
Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

#### *September 17 – Interests, Norms, and International Law*

Jentleson, Bruce W. "The National Interest." In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 8-22.

Morgenthau, Hans. "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy." In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 176-9.

Waltz, Kenneth N. "America as a Model for the World? A Foreign Policy Perspective." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 32, no. 4 (1991): 667-70. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

Keohane, Robert O. "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics." *Harvard International Law Journal* 38, no. 2 (1997): 487-502. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

#### *September 19 – The President and the Congress*

*Constitution of the United States*. Read Art. I, Sec. 8 and Art. II, Sec. 2. Available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/usconst.htm>.

Schlesinger Jr., Arthur. "What the Founding Fathers Intended." In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 194-8.

Jentleson, Bruce W. "Pennsylvania Avenue Diplomacy." In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 27-35.

Zoellick, Robert B. "Congress and the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy." *Survival* 41, no. 4 (1999/2000): 20-41. Available online from [KnightVision](http://KnightVision).

#### *September 24 – The Bureaucracy*

Jentleson, Bruce W. "Executive-Branch Politics." In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 35-40 and 116-19.

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 404-37.

Krasner, Stephen D. "Are Bureaucracies Important?" In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 448-57.

#### *September 26 – Interest Groups and Issue Networks*

Jentleson, Bruce W. "Interest Groups." In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 40-9 and 294-6.

Frieden, Jeff. "Sectoral Conflict and US Foreign Economic Policy." In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 141-51.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Networks." In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 600-7.

Putnam, Robert D. "The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988). Read pages 434-7 and 440-8.  
Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

### *October 1 – Public Opinion and the News Media*

- Jentleson, Bruce W. “The Impact of the News Media” and “The Influence of Public Opinion.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 49–57 and 296–303.
- Holsti, Ole R. “Public Opinion and Foreign Policy.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 201–7.
- George, Alexander L. “Domestic Constraints in US Foreign Policy.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 333–55.
- Strobel, William P. “The Media and US Policies toward Intervention.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 585–92.

## **Part II: Traditions and Ideals**

### *October 3 –Exceptionalism*

- Winthrop, John. “A Model of Christian Charity.” Sermon delivered in 1630. Excerpt available online from <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/winthrop.htm>.
- Declaration of Independence*. Available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/declare.htm>.
- McDougall, Walter A. “Liberty, or Exceptionalism.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*, 15–38.
- Huntington, Samuel. “American Ideals vs. American Institutions.” In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 226–45.

### *October 8 – Unilateralism and Isolationism*

- McDougall, Walter A. “Unilateralism, or Isolationism.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*, 39–56.
- Washington, George. “Farewell Address.” Speech delivered on 17 September 1796. Available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm>.
- Mearsheimer, John. “The Offshore Balancers.” In *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. Read pages 234–9 and 250–61. Available [on reserve](#).
- Ruggie, John G. “The Past as Prologue?” *International Security* 21, no. 4 (1997). Read pages 93–111 and 117–20. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

### *October 10 – Continental Expansion and Hemispheric Defense*

- McDougall, Walter A. “The American System, or Monroe Doctrine” and “Expansionism, or Manifest Destiny .” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*, 57–98.
- Graebner, Norman. *Empire on the Pacific: A Study in Continental Expansion*. Read pages 217–28. Available [on reserve](#).
- Monroe, James. “Annual Message to Congress.” Speech delivered on 2 December 1823. Excerpts available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/monroe.htm>.
- Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia*, Opinion. 30 U.S. 1 (1831). Available online from <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/ Cherokee.htm>.

### *October 15 – Progressive Imperialism*

- McDougall, Walter A. “Progressive Imperialism.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*. Read pages 101–21 and 203–8.
- LaFeber, Walter. “The American ‘New Empire.’” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 217–23
- McKinley, William. “War Message.” Speech delivered on 11 April 1898. Available online from <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/mkinly2.htm>.
- Hay, John. “Open Door Note.” Submitted 6 September 1899. Available online from <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/opendoor.htm>.

### *October 17 – Liberal Internationalism*

McDougall, Walter A. “Wilsonianism, or Liberal Internationalism.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*, 122–46

Ruggie, John G. “The Past as Prologue?” Reread pages 93–8.

Wilson, Woodrow. “War Message.” Speech delivered on 2 April 1917. Available online from <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/ww18.htm>.

Wilson, Woodrow. “Fourteen Points.” Speech delivered on 8 January 1918. Available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wilson14.htm>.

### *October 22 – MID-TERM EXAMINATION*

[TERM PAPER PROPOSALS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CLASS PERIOD.]

### *October 24 – ACADEMIC ADVISING*

[NO CLASS]

## **Part III: Global Power and International Order**

### *October 29 – The UN Charter System of International Order*

*Charter of the United Nations*. Available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm>. Read Chapters I–VII.

McDougall, Walter A. “Containment.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*. Read pages 147–58.

Jentleson, Bruce W. “International Institutionalism and the United Nations.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 94–7.

Westra, Joel H. *International Law and the Use of Armed Force*. Read pages 6–7, 10–21 and 41–7. Available **on reserve**.

### *October 31 – Origins of the Cold War*

McDougall, Walter A. “Containment.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*. Read pages 156–61.

Leffler, Melvyn P. “The Beginnings of the Cold War.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 84–107.

Jervis, Robert. “Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?” In *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 1 (2001). Read pages 39–45 and 58–60. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

Kennan, George. “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 237–40.

### *November 5 – The Containment Order*

McDougall, Walter A. “Containment.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*. Read pages 161–9.

Jentleson, Bruce W. “Nuclear Deterrence and Containment.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 97–107.

Ikenberry, G. John. “The Origins of American Hegemony” and “America’s Liberal Grand Strategy.” In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 119–26, 268–75, and 280–3.

Weber, Steve. 1992. “Shaping the Postwar Balance of Power.” *International Organization* 46 (3). Read pages 638–57 and 669–77. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

[TERM PAPER OUTLINES DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CLASS PERIOD.]

### ***November 7 – From Containment to Anti-Communism and beyond***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “Ideological Bipolarity and the Third World” and “The Vietnam War.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 108–10 and 129–38.

McDougall, Walter A. “Global Meliorism.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*, 172–94.

Johnson, Lyndon B. “Message to Congress.” Delivered on 5 August 1964. Available online from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/tonkin-g.htm>.

Gelb, Leslie H. “Vietnam: The System Worked.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 241–4.

### ***November 12 – The Post-War Economic Order***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “Creation of the Liberal International Economic Order” and “1970s Economic Shocks.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 111–13 and 148–51.

Ikenberry, G. John. “The Origins of American Hegemony” and “America’s Liberal Grand Strategy.” In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 111–19, 126–31, 275–80, and 284–6.

Wade, Robert H. “The Invisible Hand of American Empire.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 200–11.

Kolko, Gabriel. “The United States and World Economic Power.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 185–8.

### ***November 14 – Globalization, Foreign Economic Policy, and the Strategy of “Openness”***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “The Globalization Agenda.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 469–78 and 482–4.

McDougall, Walter A. “A Delightful Spot.” In *Promised Land, Crusader State*. Read pages 208–22.

Bacevich, Andrew J. “Strategy of Openness.” In *Theoretical Essays*. Read pages 167–74 and 184–94.

## **Part IV: Contemporary Issues and Debates**

### ***November 19 – American Hegemony in the Post-Cold War Era***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “Post-Cold War Geopolitics.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 309–27 and 335–9.

Huntington, Samuel. “The Lonely Superpower.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 540–50.

Mandelbaum, Michael. “The Case for Goliath.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 568–70.

Walt, Stephen M. “The Problem of American Power.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 571–2.

### ***November 21 – THANKSGIVING BREAK***

[NO CLASS; TERM PAPERS DUE AT 9:00 A.M.]

### ***November 26 – The Role of International Institutions***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “Foreign Policy Strategy for a New Era.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 259–77.

Reisman, W. Michael. “The United States and International Institutions.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 40–57.

Spiro, Peter J. “The New Sovereignists: American Exceptionalism and Its False Prophets.” *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 6 (2000): 9–15. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

Krauthammer, Charles. “The Unipolar Moment Revisited.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 550–63.

### ***November 28 – Nonproliferation, Counterproliferation, and Counterterrorism***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “WMD Proliferation,” “9/11 and the War on Terrorism,” and “Terrorism, Homeland Security, and the Iraq War.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 339-47, 365-74, and 397-414.

Jervis, Robert. “Understanding the Bush Doctrine.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 76-92.

Ikenberry, G. John. “America’s Imperial Ambition.” In *Theoretical Essays*, 564-75.

### ***December 3 – Democratization***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “The Coming of a Democratic Century?” and “Strategies for Promoting Democracy.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 510-25 and 534-47.

Smith, Tony. “The Global Struggle for Democracy.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 189-93.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. “Democratization and the Danger of War.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*, 620-5.

Gause III, F. Gregory. “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?” *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2005): 62-76. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

### ***December 5 – International Development Assistance and Humanitarian Intervention***

Jentleson, Bruce W. “Genocide and Humanitarian Intervention” and “Global Poverty and Sustainable Development.” In *The Dynamics of Choice*. Read pages 421-54 and 479-84.

Mandelbaum, Michael. “Foreign Policy as Social Work.” *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 1 (1996): 16-32. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

Hoffmann, Stanley. “In Defense of Mother Theresa.” *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 2 (1996): 172-75. Available online from <http://library.calvin.edu/>.

### ***December 12 – FINAL EXAMINATION***

## ***GAUDEAMUS***