

POLS 4351: US Foreign Policy
Spring 2022
Mr. Jeremy Schmuck

Classroom: Ras 239 Meeting Time: MWF 9:00-9:50 am	Email: jschmuck@angelo.edu Office Location: Ras 223 Office Hours: TR 9:00-11:00 am, MWF 2:00-3:00 pm, and by appointment
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Course Description and Objectives

This course introduces students to the complex interaction between statecraft and democratic government that produces US foreign policy. It begins with a quick look at statesmanship and international relations theory as the standard guides to American foreign policy before looking at a complementary understanding of the basis of US foreign policy—four traditions in American foreign policy thought. It then moves on to considerations of the Constitutional framework in which foreign policy is produced before finally looking at the different instruments of foreign policy available to the practitioner of statecraft. By the end of the course students should have developed a better sense of the challenges and tensions faced by practitioners of US foreign policy in navigating national interest and public opinion and be able to put that understanding in practice themselves through a foreign policy simulation.

Upon completion of this course the student should

Identify components and actors in the foreign policy establishment.

Distinguish and relate the different powers and roles each of the branches play in guiding US foreign policy.

Describe the different foreign policy instruments and assess their relative utility for different policy objectives.

Role-play a particular foreign policy actor and evaluate what motivations and interests influence decision-making in that role.

Summarize the four traditions in US foreign policy and construct policy recommendations that account for the positive and negative influences these will exert on policy.

ASU Student Learning Objectives

CT1: Gather, analyze, evaluate, and synthesize information relevant to a question or issue

CT2: Develop and demonstrate a logical position (i.e. perspective, thesis, hypothesis) that acknowledges ambiguities or contradictions.

CS1: Develop, interpret, and express ideas through effective written communication

CS2: Develop, interpret, and express ideas through effective oral communication

SR1: Demonstrate intercultural competence

Textbook and Readings:

Required Text:

Bacevich, Andrew. 2018. *Ideas and American Foreign Policy: A Reader*. Oxford University Press.

Mead, Walter R. 2002. *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*. Routledge.

Additional readings to the textbook will be linked and posted in Blackboard. These readings must be printed out and brought to class on the day they are assigned.

Students will need access to Blackboard to submit completed assignments and retrieve readings. Please contact ASU's Information Technology department for any issues with accessing the Blackboard online learning environment immediately to avoid falling behind in class work.

Course Policies

Electronic Devices

Use of electronic devices such as cell phones, tablets, and laptops is strictly prohibited. These devices should not be seen or heard by anyone. All cell phones should be stowed away before entering the classroom. Flagrant violators of this rule will be asked to leave and counted absent.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism or any form of cheating involves a breach of student-teacher trust. This means that any work submitted under your name is expected to be your own, neither composed by anyone else as a whole or in part, nor handed over to another person for complete or partial revision. Be sure to document all ideas that are not your own.

Cheating, plagiarism and other violations of the honor code will not be tolerated. See ASU's policies at <https://www.angelo.edu/forms/pdf/honorcode5.pdf>.

Course Grading

Grades in this course will be determined by the following components:

Class Participation Week 1-7	15%
Class Participation Week 8-16	15%
Response Paper	20%
Simulation	30%
Final Exam	20%

Class Attendance

This course works best when students come to class ready to participate. There is a minimum attendance ratio of 75% necessary for passing this course. Therefore, students who miss more than 7 class sessions will fail. Attendance is defined as being in class on time, prepared, and undistracted by electronic devices.

Being present is defined as being seated in the classroom when attendance is taken at the beginning of each class and remaining until class is dismissed. Students who are not present when attendance is taken or who leave class without permission prior to dismissal will be considered absent. Students are responsible for keeping track of their own attendance. Students who are failing or very near failing due to attendance, prior to the last day to drop the class, will be notified. No other inquiries regarding attendance will be answered by the instructor.

Being prepared is defined as bringing the reading material to class (printed out and ready for reference), along with a notebook and writing utensil for taking notes.

Students should be free of electronic distractions including but not limited to open laptop computers, cell phone use of any kind during the class period, smartwatch use of any kind during the class period. Except in the case of accommodations, students should take notes by hand and reference course materials on printed paper.

Please do not enter class if you are late because this is discourteous and disruptive. The same is true of leaving one's seat during class. This should be done in emergencies. If an emergency is expected (e.g., a car has a flat tire which will delay attendance) the instructor should be informed prior to class and the student should sit in a seat nearest the exit.

Excused absences for illness or family emergencies will be granted at the discretion of the instructor and consistent with University policy, on the condition that documentation is provided to verify the cause of the absence. Documentation for excused absences must be submitted to me by the day of the final exam. Special circumstances which affect attendance will always be considered if the instructor is informed ahead of time.

Course Assignments

Class Participation

Class participation is evaluated in several areas. These include: consistent attendance, contributions to class discussion (such as answering questions, raising relevant questions, referencing relevant ideas, or proposing original ideas), consistent notetaking, interactive feedback during the lecture or discussion (such as nodding or shaking a head, showing confusion).

At Week 8 students will need to meet individually with the instructor to discuss the student's participation in the class discussion. This will include areas of strength and weakness in the student's contribution. After the meeting the student will receive a written evaluation of course participation. See the evaluation form in Blackboard.

Response Paper

Students will complete and submit to Blackboard a response paper. Students will need to craft an argument in response to the prompt drawing on and citing information and ideas from the previous weeks. The prompt will be distributed to the class February 28 and will be due March 21. The response should be double-spaced and meet the word limit of 1,000 words. For each interval of 10% above or below this word limit a letter grade will be deducted: (e.g. 900/1,100 word count = essay begins with a B, 800/1,200 word count = essay begins with a C, etc.). Words found in parenthetical citations do not count against the word limit. (You'll need to count how many words are in these citations and subtract from the Word processor word count. Identify both numbers when you submit your response paper).

Simulation

During the final week in class students will participate in a simulation. The simulation will require them to role-play a foreign policy actor (US President, US senator, NSA, Joint Chiefs of Staff, DNI, etc.) and attempt to formulate or direct US foreign policy on a particular issue. Students will be assessed in the following areas: preparation for their role (how well do they consider the personal and official interests that they would possess and pursue were they to hold the actual office, how well have they researched the topic from that perspective and from other potentially important perspectives), interaction during the simulation, and assessment and debriefing after the simulation. Students will submit a brief outline of what they consider the best policy alternative from the point of view of their position and why they adopt this position. This will be due May 2 prior to the start of the simulation. Students will be expected to participate in each day of the simulation. Finally, students will participate in a group debriefing and submit a paper reflecting on what they learned from the simulation. This reflection paper will be due at the time of the final exam. More details on the briefing and debriefing papers, and instructions for preparing for the simulation will be provided via Blackboard.

Examination

This class will have a final examination. This exam will consist of a battery of multiple-choice questions and will be given in class. Please see reading schedule for exam date and time.

Assigned Readings

Week/Date	Topic	Reading(s)
Week 1	American Foreign Policy and Statecraft	
1/17	MLK Day	No Reading
1/19		Kissinger, Henry A. "The Convictions of an Apprentice-Statesman." 54-55. <i>The White House Years</i> vol. 1: 54-55. See attached excerpt.
1/21		Morgenthau, Hans J. 1950. "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy" edited excerpt in Nichols and Nichols <i>Readings in American Government</i> 8 th ed. 481-487. Mearsheimer, John. J. "Realism vs. Liberalism" in <i>Tragedy of Great Power Politics</i> : 14-27.
Week 2	Democratic Foreign Policy	
1/24		Mead, Walter R. "The American Foreign Policy Tradition" in <i>Special Providence</i> (hereafter <i>SP</i>): 3-29.
1/26		<i>SP</i> , "The Kaleidoscope of American Foreign Policy": 30-55.
1/28		<i>SP</i> , "Changing the Paradigms: 84-96.
Week 3	Hamiltonian	
1/31		<i>SP</i> , "The Serpent and the Dove," 99-131. Federalist 6-7, 11
2/2	Early Republic Mexican War Turn of 19 th Century	Hamilton. Federalist 24 Polk, James. "First Annual Address." Mahan, Alfred T. "The United States Looking Outward." 75-78. Hay, John. "First Open Door Note." (1899). 110-111.
2/4	Interwar/World War II Cold War	Roosevelt, Franklin D. "The Four Freedoms" 230-235. NSC 68: "United States Objectives and Programs for National Security." 268-286. Marshall, George C. "Speech at Harvard University."

		Post-Cold War	Krauthammer, Charles. "The Unipolar Moment." 404-409.
Week 4		Wilsonian	
2/7			<p><i>SP</i>, "The Connecticut Yankee in the Court of King Arthur," 132-173.</p> <p>Wilson, Woodrow. "Speech in Philadelphia." 136-137.</p> <p>Wilson, Woodrow. "War Message." 147-152.</p>
2/9		<p>Early Republic</p> <p>Mexican War</p> <p>Turn of 19th Century</p>	<p>Webster, Daniel. "Speech on the Greek Revolution."</p> <p>Whitman, Walt. "Our Territory on the Pacific." 59.</p> <p>Kipling, Rudyard. "The White Man's Burden." 90-91.</p> <p>Turner, Frederick J. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." 81-85.</p>
2/11		<p>Interwar/World War II</p> <p>Cold War</p> <p>Post-Cold War</p>	<p>Roosevelt, Franklin and Winston S. Churchill. "The Atlantic Charter."</p> <p>Truman, Harry S. "The Truman Doctrine." 248-250.</p> <p>Lake, Anthony. "From Containment to Enlargement." 431-435.</p> <p>Beinart, Peter. "A Fighting Faith." 487-492.</p>
Week 5		Jeffersonian	
2/14			<p><i>SP</i>, "Vindicator Only of Her Own," 174-217.</p> <p>Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, Second Inaugural Address, Third Annual Message 29-32.</p>
2/16		<p>Early Republic</p> <p>Mexican War</p> <p>Turn of 19th Century</p>	<p>Adams, John Q. "Speech on Independence Day." 32-37.</p> <p>Henry Clay, "The American System"</p> <p>Channing, William E. "A Letter to the Honorable Henry Clay." 47-53.</p> <p>Sumner, William G. "The Conquest of the United States by Spain." 272-297.</p>

2/18		<p>Interwar/World War II</p> <p>Cold War</p> <p>Post-Cold War</p>	<p>Tansill, Charles C. "The Case for American Isolation."</p> <p>X [Kennan, George F.], "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." 250-259.</p> <p>Eisenhower, Dwight. D. "Farewell Address to the Nation." 312-314.</p> <p>Bacevich, Andrew J. "Twilight of the Republic?" 492-499.</p>
Week 6		Jacksonian	
2/21			<p><i>SP</i>, "Tiger, Tiger, Burning Bright," 18-263.</p> <p>Jackson, Andrew. "Farewell Address."</p> <p>Jackson, Andrew. "On Indian Removal." 40-41.</p>
2/23		<p>Early Republic</p> <p>Mexican War</p> <p>Turn of 19th Century</p>	<p>Monroe, James. "The Monroe Doctrine." 37-40.</p> <p>O'Sullivan, John L. "Annexation." 56-58.</p> <p>Roosevelt, Theodore, "Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine." 112-114.</p> <p>Beveridge, Albert J. 1900. "In Support of an American Empire." In <i>Ideas and American Foreign Policy</i>.</p>
2/25		<p>Interwar/World War II</p> <p>Cold War</p> <p>Post-Cold War</p>	<p>Lindbergh, Charles. "Neutrality and War." 215-220.</p> <p>Roosevelt, Franklin D. Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War."</p> <p>Lippmann, US Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic 242-245.</p> <p>MacArthur, Douglas. "Farewell Address to Congress." 286-290.</p> <p>Bush, George W. "State of the Union Address." 441-444.</p> <p>Trump, Donald J. "Inaugural Address." 516.</p>

Week 7		Making US National Strategy	
2/28			Prompt Distributed Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt. "The Case for Offshore Balancing." 508-516. Lind, Michael. "A Concert of Power." In <i>The American Way of Strategy</i> : 171-188.
3/2			Allison, Graham. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis.": 689-718.
3/4			"Actors in the Policy-Making Process." In <i>Making US Foreign Policy</i> .
Week 8		Constitutional Framework: Presidency	
3/7			"Presidential Leadership and the Executive Branch". In <i>American National Security</i>
3/9			Article I and II, US Constitution Federalist 74-75
3/11			Selections from Pacificus and Americanus Selections from Helvidius War Powers Act
Week 9		Spring Break	
3/14		Spring Break	No Reading
3/16		Spring Break	No Reading
3/18		Spring Break	No Reading
Week 10		Constitutional Framework: Congress	
3/21			Prompt Due "Congress [and national security]" In <i>American National Security</i> "Congress [and foreign policy]" In <i>Making US Foreign Policy</i>
3/23			Federalist 64 TBA
3/25			TBA

Week 11		Constitutional Framework: The Courts	
3/28			Article VI, US Constitution Dunlap, Charles J. “Chapter 17: Lawfare” “Lawfare Waged by the U.S. Privat Sector and Non-Governmental Organization Attorneys” in <i>Lawfare</i> : 51-70.
3/30			<i>The Prize Cases</i> <i>US v. Curtiss Wright</i> <i>Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer</i>
4/1			<i>Crockett v. Reagan</i> <i>Korematsu v. United States</i> <i>Hamdi v. Rumsfeld</i>
Week 12		Instruments of Statecraft: Diplomacy	
4/4			“Techniques of Statecraft” in <i>Economic Statecraft</i> : 6-27.
4/6			“The Foreign Ministry” In <i>Diplomacy: Theory and Practice</i> : 1-21.
4/8			“Pre-negotiations” through “Packaging Agreements” In <i>Diplomacy: Theory and Practice</i> : 27-80.
Week 13		Instruments of Statecraft: Intelligence	
4/11			“The Intelligence Establishment” In <i>US National Security</i> : 177-195.
4/13			Covert Action and Clandestine Activities of the Intelligence Community: Framework for Congressional Oversight in Brief. CRS Report Waxman, Matthew. “Remembering the Bay of Pigs: Law and Covert War.” Memo: Constitutional and Legal Basis for So-Called Covert Activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.
4/15			
Week 14		Instruments of Statecraft: Military	
4/18			Clausewitz, Carl von. “Book 1, Chapter 1 and Book 8, Chapters 1, 2, and 6.” In <i>On War</i> .

4/20			"The Military Establishment" In <i>US National Security</i> : 159-175.
4/22			Art, Robert J. "To What Ends Military Power?": 3-14. "Coercion: An Analytical Overview" In <i>Coercion: The Power to Hurt in International Politics</i> : 3-32.
Week 15		Instruments of Statecraft: Economic	
4/25			"Sanctions Explained." Atlantic Council "What is Economic Statecraft?" In <i>Economic Statecraft</i> : 28-50.
4/27			"Foreign Trade" 214-225, 231-233, 272-289.
4/29			Last Day to Drop <i>China's Belt and Road: Implications for the United States</i> . Independent Task Force Report No.79. Read Executive Summary, Introduction, and Recommendations: 2-19, 88-113.
Week 16		Simulation	
5/2			Simulation "Putting the Pieces Together: National Security Decision-Making." In <i>American National Security</i>
5/4			Simulation
5/6			Simulation
Week 17		Exams Week	
5/11			Final Exam 8:00-10:00 am Simulation Debrief

University Policies

Students Needing Accommodations

Any student who, because of a disability, may require special arrangements in order to meet the course requirements should contact the instructor as soon as possible to make any necessary arrangements. Students should present appropriate verification from Student Disability Services during the instructor's office hours. Please note: instructors are not allowed to provide classroom accommodations to a student until appropriate verification from Student Disability Services has been provided. For additional information, please contact Student Disability Services in the Houston Hart University Center, Office Suite 112, or call 325.942.2047.

(See ASU OP 10.24, <https://www.angelo.edu/live/files/27350-op-1024-establishing-reasonable-accommodation-for>, emphasis added)

Title IX

Angelo State University (ASU) is committed to providing and strengthening an educational, working, and living environment where students, faculty, staff, and visitors are free from sex discrimination of any kind. Therefore, ASU prohibits discrimination based on sex and other types of sexual misconduct, including but not limited to sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking.

For more information on how to report, or to learn more about our policy and process, please visit <https://www.angelo.edu/current-students/title-ix/> and the ASU Student Handbook <https://www.angelo.edu/live/files/27603-student-handbook-2020-21>.

For more information on ASU's policy and compliant procedures regarding discriminatory harassment, see Angelo State University Operating Policy 16.02 (<https://www.angelo.edu/live/files/22689-op-1603-sexual-harassment-sexual-assault-sexual>).

Military Student Advisory

Veterans and active duty military personnel are welcomed and encouraged to communicate, in advance if possible, any special circumstances (e.g., upcoming deployment, drill requirements). You are also encouraged to visit the Veterans Educational and Transitional Services (VETS) Center, Houston Hart University Center, 113325-486-VETS (8387). <https://www.angelo.edu/active-duty-veterans/>

Student Absence for Observance of Religious Holy Day

"Religious holy day" means a holy day observed by a religion whose places of worship are exempt from property taxation under Texas Tax Code §11.20.

A student who intends to observe a religious holy day should make that intention known in writing to the instructor prior to the absence. A student who is absent from classes for the observance of a religious holy day shall be allowed to take an examination or complete an assignment scheduled for that day within a reasonable time after the absence.

A student who is excused under section 2 may not be penalized for the absence; however, the instructor may respond appropriately if the student fails to complete the assignment

(See ASU OP 10.19 <https://www.angelo.edu/live/files/14206-op-1019-student-absence-for-observance-of>, emphasis added.)

Additional ASU Student Policies

Students should reference the ASU Student Handbook for additional policies. The 2021-2022 Handbook can be found at <https://www.angelo.edu/live/files/27603-student-handbook-2020-21>.

The Convictions of an Apprentice Statesman

An Historian's Perspective

The moment of responsibility is profoundly sobering, especially for one trained as an academic. Suddenly forced to make the transition from reflection to decision, I had to learn the difference between a conclusion and a policy. It was no longer enough to be plausible in argument; one had to be convincing in action. Problems were no longer theoretical; the interlocutors were not debaters but sovereign countries, some of which had the physical power to make their views prevail.

Any statesman is in part the prisoner of necessity. He is confronted with an environment he did not create, and is shaped by a personal history he can no longer change. It is an illusion to believe that leaders gain in profundity while they gain experience. As I have said, the convictions that leaders have formed before reaching high office are the intellectual capital they will consume as long as they continue in office. There is little time for leaders to reflect. They are locked in an endless battle in which the urgent constantly gains on the important. The public life of every political figure is a continual struggle to rescue an element of choice from the pressure of circumstance.

When I entered office, I brought with me a philosophy formed by two decades of the study of history. History is not, of course, a cookbook offering pretested recipes. It teaches by analogy, not by maxims. It can illuminate the consequences of actions in comparable situations, yet each generation must discover for itself what situations are in fact comparable. No academic discipline can take from our shoulders the burden of difficult choices.

I had written a book and several articles on the diplomacy of the nineteenth century. My motive was to understand the processes by which Europe after the Napoleonic wars established a peace that lasted a century; I also wanted to know why that peace collapsed in 1914. But I had never conceived that designs and strategies of previous periods could be applied literally to the present. As I entered office I was convinced that the past could teach us some important lessons. But I was also aware that we were entering a period for which there was no precedent: in the destructiveness of weapons, in the speed of the spread of ideas, in the global impact of foreign policies, in the technical possibility to fulfill the age-old dreams of bettering the condition of mankind.

If history teaches anything it is that there can be no peace without equilibrium and no justice without restraint. But I believed equally that no nation could face or even define its choices without a moral compass that set a course through the ambiguities of reality and thus made sacrifices meaningful. The willingness to walk this fine line marks the difference between the academic's - or any outsider's - perception of morality and that of the statesman. The outsider thinks in terms of absolutes; for him right and wrong are defined in their conception. The political leader does not have this luxury. He rarely can reach his goal except in stages; any partial step is inherently morally imperfect and yet morality cannot be approximated without it. The philosopher's test is the reasoning behind his maxims; the statesman's test is not only the exaltation of his goals but the catastrophe he averts. Mankind will never know what it was spared because of risks avoided or because of actions taken that averted awful consequences - if only because once thwarted the consequences can never be proved. The dialogue between the academic and the statesman is therefore always likely to be inconclusive. Without philosophy, policy will have no standards; but without the willingness to peer into darkness and risk some faltering steps without certainty, humanity would never know peace.

History knows no resting places and no plateaus. All societies of which history informs us went through periods of decline; most of them eventually collapsed. Yet there is a margin between necessity and accident, in which the statesman by perseverance and intuition must choose and thereby shape the destiny of his people. To ignore objective conditions is perilous; to hide behind historical inevitability is tantamount to moral abdication; it is to neglect the elements of strength and hope and inspiration which through the centuries have sustained mankind. The statesman's responsibility is to struggle against transitoriness and not to insist that he be paid in the coin of eternity. He may know that history is the foe of permanence; but no leader is entitled to resignation. He owes it to his people to strive, to create, and to resist the decay that besets all human institutions.