CAREERS: Students often want information about jobs related to international affairs. Careers in International Relations is an essay about different kinds of positions in this area and appropriate ways to prepare for them; it may be purchased for fifty cents at the undergraduate Political Science Department office on the fifth floor of Hickman Hall, Douglass Campus and is also on the political science department web-page at www.polisci.rutgers.edu. A slightly revised web version with many links to other sites has been prepared by faculty at another school; its address is http://www.drake.edu/artsci/ir/ir_careers.html.

OFFICE HOURS:
Tuesday 12:30-1:00 and Thursday 4:15-4:45, first floor, Milledoler Hall, CAC
Also by appointment, 616 Hickman Hall, DC

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course focuses on the process by which American foreign policy is made rather than what American policy ought to be. (Students interested in the latter topic should note Political Science 319 Issues of American Foreign Policy and 323 Defense Policy.) The central purpose of the course is to suggest some patterns of behavior that will help you understand in the future why the American government behaves as it does in foreign policy, even though you may be interested in the behavior of different individuals working on problems we cannot now foresee. The central issue of the course is whether or not the United States can have an effective foreign policy and remain a political democracy in the nuclear age.

There are a number of different perspectives on how American foreign policy is made, and I have tried to select reading materials that represent them. Thus you should not be surprised to find different authors in the assigned reading contradicting one another. On the contrary you should be alert for such contradictions, since these issues are likely to be raised in class discussion and examinations.

BOOKS REQUIRED FOR PURCHASE (ordered at Rutgers University Bookstore at Ferren Mall and New Jersey Books, all paperbacks, abbreviated in the syllabus by their titles):

Jerel Rosati, The Politics of United States Foreign Policy (2nd edition only), abbreviated as Politics in the syllabus
Eugene Wittkopf and James McCormick, The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy, Insights and Evidence (3rd edition only), abbreviated as Domestic Sources
OPTIONAL BOOK FOR PURCHASE:
Christopher Felix, *A Short Course in the Secret War*, available only at the Rutgers University Bookstore (an excellent book, but we will only read about seventy pages; copies will be on reserve but not in a xerox packet if one is produced)

At least one copy of all other assigned materials will be on reserve at the undergraduate reserve desk in Alexander Library; most will also be available on electronic reserve. If you prefer not to use the reserve room, copies of all these reserve readings can be purchased as a package at New Jersey Books (not the Rutgers bookstore). Note that the purchase of the xerox package is not required. However, whether you buy them or use them on reserve, you are responsible for having read all assigned materials before the class when they are assigned. Material listed in the syllabus as optional will not be on reserve, will not be discussed in class, and will not be included on examinations; it is listed strictly for your own use in private reading or in connection with your research paper.

GRADING POLICY:

CLASS PARTICIPATION: one-quarter of your final grade. The grade will be based both on quantity and quality of participation, including demonstrating that you have done the assigned reading. An interim grade will be given several weeks into the semester to let you know how you are doing.

FINAL EXAMINATION: one-quarter of your final grade, to be given at the scheduled time.

RESEARCH PAPER: one-half of your final grade will be determined by a ten to fifteen page research paper. The paper topic must be submitted to me in writing a few weeks into the semester. Summaries will be presented around mid-terms, and the final paper is due a few weeks before the end of the semester, as noted in the syllabus. Select a recent foreign policy problem or decision in which you are interested; focus on a single decision or act at one particular time by the United States government. Your assignment is to discuss the relative impact of the president, presidential advisors, the National Security Council, the State Department, the military, and intelligence on this decision or action. Normally the topic should be something which occurred after the Vietnam War and before the current administration, to assure that it is relevant to current decisions and has a reasonable amount of public information available. Summarize the history of the event in a page or two as an introduction, but remember that this is an analytical paper, not a history.

You should examine at least four different sorts of information. (a) Start by reading general accounts about how the United States government reached this decision. This will tell you what informed outsiders believe the issue was (what the argument was about) and what actually happened; it is likely that they will disagree among themselves.
This process should involve reading several books and some periodical articles (scholarly as well as journalistic). Aside from books on the particular topic, histories of the foreign policy of the particular president are also often useful (see, for example, Bob Woodward’s *Veil* on covert actions during the Reagan Administration and *The Commanders* for the Gulf War). This material is available at Alexander Library, and a reference librarian will talk with the class about where such sources can be found. (b) Then focus on each institution (president, State Department, etc.) to determine what outsiders think it was doing about this issue before and while the decision was made and how this activity influenced the decision. Again, it will not be surprising to find disagreement. (c) Third, you should compare these accounts with the memoirs of the actual decision-makers, the people who were supposedly influenced, to see what impact they felt (or at least what impact they say they felt, which may not be the same thing) from these institutions; many of the participants write memoirs after they retire (although it’s a little early for the Clinton people). Compare these results with your earlier analysis to see if there is disagreement; if there is, explain it. (d) Finally, compare this case to the rest of the course. We will spend the first half of the term looking at the ways in which these institutions usually influence foreign policy and the circumstances under which each is likely to be effective. Were you surprised by the influence (or lack of it) by any institutions in your case? How does it compare to the others we have discussed? If there are differences, explain them.

Students will present ten-page written summaries of their papers on days noted in the syllabus in the middle of the semester. For each class during this time, each student who is not presenting will be required to read the summaries of the projects being presented, so authors must bring sufficient copies for me and the rest of the class. Late excuses will not be accepted; if you have schedule conflicts, plan around them, and if you get sick, have someone else submit your paper. Each student is expected to critique each paper separately in writing before each class; these critiques will be graded and count as 10% of your grade and also be given to the author for use in revision, so submit two copies. During the class we will discuss the projects for that day.

Papers will be due on the date specified in the syllabus. Late papers without a reasonable excuse will be reduced a full letter grade for each class period that they are late. Papers may be rewritten for credit if the original grade was C+ or below; the second version will be graded independently and averaged with the first to calculate the grade for that paper. However, before rewriting a paper, come talk to me during office hours.

NOTE: Students must complete at least one version of the paper and the final exam in order to pass the course.

9/4: Distribution of syllabus and discussion of course
I. DISAGREEMENT AND DEMOCRACY

9/6:  John Spanier and Eric Uslaner, *American Foreign Policy Making and the Democratic Dilemmas*, chapter 1
     *Politics*, chapter 1
     *Domestic Sources*, Introduction
     Roger Hilsman, *To Move A Nation*, pp. 3-13

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

9/11:  *Politics*, chapter 2
       *Domestic Sources*, chapters 21 (Krasner) and 17 (Cohen, Paul, and Blecker)

9/13:  *Politics*, chapter 3
       *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*, chapters 1 (Huntington) and 2 (Steel)

III. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

A. THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENCY

9/18:  *Politics*, chapter 4
       *Domestic Sources*, chapters 9 (Hastedt and Eksterowicz) and 10 (Fisher)
       TERM PAPERS TOPICS DUE

9/20:  *Politics*, chapter 5
       *Domestic Sources*, chapters 8 (Quandt) and 11 (Kemp)

9:25  *Politics*, chapter 6
     *Domestic Sources*, chapters 19 (Jones), 22 (Goldgeier), and 24 (Hermann and Preston)

B. STATE DEPARTMENT

9/27:  *Politics*, chapter 7
10/2: *Domestic Sources*, chapter 13 (Talbott)

George F. Kennan, “Diplomacy Without Diplomats?” *Foreign Affairs*, 76 (September/October 1997), pp. 198-212


OPTIONAL: Barry Rubin, *Secrets of State*, pp 19-205

Thomas Etzold, *The Conduct of Foreign Relations*, pp. 87-125

Robert Hopkins Miller, *Inside an Embassy: The Political Role of Diplomats Abroad*

C. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND THE MILITARY

10/4: *Politics*, chapter 8

Edward Luttwak, *The Pentagon and the Art of War*, pp. 17-58

*Domestic Sources*, chapter 20 (Smith)

OPTIONAL: Edward Luttwak, *The Pentagon and the Art of War*, remainder


10/9: *Domestic Sources*, chapters 20 (Smith) and 23 (Hybel)


OPTIONAL:


10/11: *Domestic Sources*, chapter 14 (Cohen)


Richard Kohn, “Threats to Civilian Control of the Military in the United States Today”

OPTIONAL:

Thomas E. Ricks, “The Widening Gap Between the Military and Society,” *Atlantic*
D. INTELLIGENCE, ESPIONAGE, AND COVERT OPERATIONS

10/16: "Christopher Felix" (James McCargar), *A Short Course in the Secret War or The Spy and His Masters* (same book), pp. vi-xiii, 5-46, and 99-130

OPTIONAL: Felix, remainder of part I

10/18: *Politics*, pp. 213-226

*Domestic Sources*, chapter 18 (Lowenthal)


OPTIONAL: Bruce Berkowitz and Allen Goodman, *Best Truth: Intelligence in the Information Age*

10/23: *Politics*, pp. 226-251


10/25: *Domestic Sources*, chapter 15 (Berkowitz)


OPTIONAL: Arthur Hulnick, *Fixing the Spy Machine: Preparing American Intelligence for the Twenty-first Century*

Craig Eisendrath, *National Insecurity: U.S. Intelligence After the Cold War*
10/30: TERM PAPERS SUMMARIES, GROUP A

11/1: TERM PAPERS SUMMARIES, GROUP B

11/6: TERM PAPER SUMMARIES, GROUP C

III. CONGRESS

11/8: Politics, chapter 12
    Domestic Sources, chapters 5 (Anton and Thomas) and 12 (Lindsay)

IV. SOCIETAL INFLUENCES

A. INTEREST GROUPS

11/13: Politics, chapter 16
    Domestic Sources, chapter 6 (Bernstein and Munro)
    OPTIONAL: Cecil Crabb and Pat Holt, Invitation to Struggle, pp. 93-132

    Wolfgang Reinicke, “The Other World Wide Web: Global Public Policy Networks,”
    Foreign Policy, 117 (Winter 1999), pp. 44-57
    OPTIONAL: Gary Gereffi, Roni Garcia-Johnson, and Erika Sasser, ”The NGO-Industrial Complex,”
    Foreign Policy (July/August 2001), pp. 56-65

B. MEDIA

    Politics, pp. 505-523
    Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy, pp. 54-69 and 89-104
    ASSIGNMENT: Bring two newspapers to class from the same day and take notes on at least one television or radio news broadcast. Be prepared to discuss the following questions:
    1. What are the "lead stories" of each? If they are different, what accounts for the difference? How many are foreign as opposed to domestic?
    2. Compare the number of stories related to foreign affairs in the different sources. Why is each of these stories "news"?
    3. How many stories seem to be "continuing" stories?
    4. Compare the total amount of foreign affairs information in the different...
sources.
5. Try to find at least three foreign affairs stories which are covered in all sources. Compare the coverage in length and editorial bias. What accounts for the difference?
6. How many stories seem to have started from leaks? What can you deduce about the source of the leaks?
7. How would you evaluate the credibility of the information in these stories?

OPTIONAL:

11/27: Politics, pp. 522-552
Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy, pp. 133-138 and 208-218
Domestic Sources, chapter 7 (Strobel)

OPTIONAL:

11:29: TERM PAPERS DUE

C. PUBLIC OPINION

12/4: Politics, chapter 14
Domestic Sources, chapter 4 (Mueller)

12/6: Politics, chapter 15
Steven Kull, "What the Public Knows that Washington Doesn't," Foreign Policy, 101 (Winter, 1995-96), pp. 102-115
Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, “Americans on the War on Terrorism,” November 7, 2001,
http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Terrorism/intro.html

OPTIONAL:
Patrick James and John Oneal, "The Influence of Domestic and

V. CONCLUSION

12/11: *Domestic Sources*, chapters 17 (Thomson) and 19 (Jones)
John Spanier and Eric Uslaner, *American Foreign Policy Making and the Democratic Dilemmas*, chapter 1

12/19: FINAL EXAMINATION (12:00-3:00 p.m.)