CAREERS: Students often want information about jobs related to international affairs. Careers in International Relations is a (somewhat outdated) essay about different kinds of positions in this area and appropriate ways to prepare for them; it is on the Rutgers political science department web-page at www.polisci.rutgers.edu/undergrad/careers. A slightly revised web version with many links to other sites has been prepared by faculty at another school; its address is http://www.d Drake.edu/artsci/ir/ir_careers.html.

OFFICE HOURS: Wednesday: 3:30-4:00

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course focuses on the process by which American foreign policy is made rather than what American policy ought to be. 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.

BOOKS REQUIRED FOR PURCHASE (ordered at Yale Bookstore, all paperbacks, abbreviated in the syllabus by their titles):
Jerel Rosati, The Politics of United States Foreign Policy (4th edition only), abbreviated as Politics in the syllabus
Eugene Wittkopf and James McCormick, The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy, Insights and Evidence (5th edition only), abbreviated as Domestic Sources

OPTIONAL BOOKS FOR PURCHASE (required pages will be available on reserve):
Morton Halperin and Priscilla Clapp with Arnold Kanter, Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy, (2nd edition only)
Christopher Felix (pen name) or James McCargar, A Short Course in the Secret War (2001 edition has useful updating but other editions are acceptable)

All other assigned materials will be on electronic reserve at the Yale Library. 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 quality rather than quantity of participation, including demonstrating that you have done the assigned reading.

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

RESEARCH PAPER: 40% 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. The “standard” paper topic for this course discusses the relative impact of the nine institutions discussed in this course (from the president to public opinion) on a single foreign policy decision or act at one particular time by the United States government. 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). (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 Bush 41 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 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. I am also receptive to different topics related to the course with a similar level of depth.

CRITIQUES OF FIRST DRAFTS: 10% of your final grade. Students will bring five copies of seven-page initial drafts of their papers on the day noted in the syllabus. At
this time the class will be divided into groups of three or four students; you should give one copy to each member of your group and one to me. 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. Part of your homework for the next week will be to write a short critique on each draft that you have received, making specific suggestions which will improve the finished product. In the next class period, you will be given time as a group to discuss each paper in your group and prepare for a class discussion focusing on common problems and issues of the papers. The critiques will be graded; the drafts will not.

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.

1/14: Orientation–what are we doing here?

I. DISAGREEMENT, DEMOCRACY, AND BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS

1/21: John Spanier and Eric Uslaner, *American Foreign Policy Making and the Democratic Dilemmas*, chapter 1
*Politics*, chapter 1
*Domestic Sources*, Introduction
*Bureaucratic Politics*, chapters 2-3 and 5
Roger Hilsman, *To Move A Nation*, pp. 3-13
*Politics*, chapter 10

NOTE: Chapters 2-3 of *Politics* are useful reviews of the history of U.S. foreign policy since 1945 for anyone not generally familiar with this material.

OPTIONAL READING:
*Domestic Sources*, chapter 16 (Lehrer)

II. THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENCY

1/28: *Politics*, chapter 4
*Domestic Sources*, chapters 9 (Nelson), 10 (Fisher), and 24 (Renshon)

**OPTIONAL:**
Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership*
Louis Fisher, *Presidential War Power*
Fred Greenstein, *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Clinton*
Stanley Renshon, *In His Father’s Footsteps: The Transformation of George W. Bush*

2/4: *Politics*, chapter 5

*Domestic Sources*, chapters 18 (Thomson), 21 (Goldgeier), and 23 (Hersh)

**TERM PAPERS TOPICS DUE**

**OPTIONAL:**
*Bureaucratic Politics*, chapters 4, 6-9, and 11-15

*Domestic Sources*, chapter 11 (Daalder and Destler)
John Prados, *Keepers of the Keys: A History of the National Security Council from Truman to Bush*
I.M. Destler, Leslie Gelb, and Anthony Lake, *Our Own Worst Enemy: The Unmaking of American Foreign Policy*
Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*
Ivo Daalder and I.M. Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the National Security Advisers and the Presidents They Served--From JFK to George W. Bush*

III. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

2/11: *Politics*, chapter 6

*Domestic Sources*, chapters 13 (Powell) and 19 (Smith) (50)
Justin Rood, “Analyze This,” *Washington Monthly* (January/February 2005), 18-21
Mark Landler and Helene Cooper, “Clinton Moves to Widen Role of State Department,” *New York Times*, December 23, 2008,

TERM PAPER DRAFTS DUE
VISITOR: Leslie Lebl, retired Foreign Service Officer

OPTIONAL:
George F. Kennan, “Diplomacy without Diplomats?” Foreign Affairs, 76 (September/October 1997), pp. 198-212
Steven W. Hook, “Domestic Obstacles to International Affairs: The State Department under Fire at Home,” PS (American Political Science Association), January 2003, 23-29
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
Shawn Dorman, Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America

IV. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND THE MILITARY

2/18: Politics, chapter 7
Edward Luttwak, The Pentagon and the Art of War, pp. 17-58
Domestic Sources, chapter 14 (Boot), 20 (Jones),
http://libraryautomation.com/nymas/blackwater%20kimball.html

GROUP DISCUSSIONS OF TERM PAPER DRAFTS

OPTIONAL:
Edward Luttwak, The Pentagon and the Art of War, remainder
http://www.comw.org/pda/fulltext/0708bm42.pdf
Richard Kohn, "Out of Control: The Crisis in Civil-Military Relations, The *National Interest* (Spring 1994), pp. 3-17
Walter Ulmer et. al., *American Military Culture in the Twenty-First Century,* Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, 2000

OPTIONAL:
Foreign Policy Research Institute, Mind the Gap Conference, October 2007 http://www.fpri.org/research/nationalsecurity/mindthegap/
Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi . *Choosing Your Battles : American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force.*

V. INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

*Politics*, chapter 8
*Domestic Sources*, chapter 15 (Pillar)
OPTIONAL: Felix/McCargar, *A Short Course in the Secret War*, rest of part I

Stewart A. Baker, "Should Spies Be Cops?" Foreign Policy, 97 (Winter, 1994-1995), pp. 36-52
VISITOR: WALTER BARROWS, DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OPTIONAL:
Bruce Berkowitz and Allen Goodman, Best Truth: Intelligence in the Information Age
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
Melissa Boyle Mahle, Denial and Deception: An Insider’s View of the CIA From Iran-Contra to 9/11

VI. CONGRESS

4/1: Politics, chapter 11
Domestic Sources, chapters 12 (Lindsay) and 20 (Jones)
Bureaucratic Politics, chapter 16

OPTIONAL:
George Crile, Charlie Wilson’s War: The Extraordinary Story of the Largest Covert Operation in History

VII. INTEREST GROUPS

4/8: Politics, chapter 15
Domestic Sources, chapters 4 (Brenner, Haney and Vanderbush), 17 (Krishner), and 5 (Mearsheimer and Walt)
VISITOR: VEENA SIDDHARTH, VICE PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL DIVISION, PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA (videoconference)
OPTIONAL:
*Domestic Sources*, chapters 6 (Feaver and Gelpi),
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
Gary Gereffi, Roni Garcia-Johnson, and Erika Sasser,”The NGO-Industrial
Complex,” *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2001), pp. 56-65

VIII. PUBLIC OPINION

4/15: *Politics*, chapter 12-14
*Domestic Sources*, chapter 7 (Mueller), 8 (Nincic), and 22 (Western)
*Politics*, chapter 17

OPTIONAL:
Patrick James and John Oneal, "The Influence of Domestic and
Resolution*, 35 (June, 1991) pp. 307-332
RAND Corporation
Philip Powlick, "The Attitudinal Bases for Responsiveness to Public Opinion among
American Foreign Policy Officials," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 35
(December, 1991), pp. 611-641
Steven Kull, "What the Public Knows that Washington Doesn't," *Foreign Policy*,
101 (Winter, 1995-96), pp. 102-115
John Aldrich, John Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida, “Foreign Affairs and Issue
Voting: Do Presidential Candidates ‘Waltz’ Before a Blind Audience?
*American Political Science Review*, 83 (March 1989), pp. 123-141
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](http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Terrorism/intro.html)
Daniel Cox and Diane Duffin, “Cold War, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy
Spending Decisions: Dynamic Representation by Congress and the
President,” *Congress & the Presidency*, 35, 1 (Spring 2008).
Scott Gartner, “The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An
Experimental Approach,” *American Political Science Review*, 102, 1
(February 2008), 95-106
IX. MEDIA AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Politics, chapter 16
*Bureaucratic Politics*, chapter 10
Glenn Greenwald, “CNN, the Pentagon's ‘military analyst program’ and Gitmo,” *Salon*, May 9, 2008
http://www.salon.com/opinion/greenwald/2008/05/09/cnn_abc/index.html
*Politics*, chapter 17
John Spanier and Eric Uslaner, *American Foreign Policy Making and Democratic Dilemmas*, chapter 1

VISITOR: SUSAN

ASSIGNMENT (dropped this semester because this session will have both a visitor and term papers due): 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:
Douglas V. Johnson, *The Impact of the Media on National Security Policy Decision Making*
Helen Thomas, *Watchdogs of Democracy? The Waning Washington Press Corps and*
How It Has Failed the Public