

University of Toronto
Syllabus
POL326Y summer 2019
U.S. Foreign Policy

Instructor: Dr. Arnd Jürgensen, Office: Sidney Smith Bldg. 3112; Office Hours: Monday to Wednesday 2 to 3 PM (by appointment) e-mail: arnd.jurgensen@utoronto.ca

Course Objectives

This course will introduce students to the main themes, issues and controversies in the making and execution of U.S. foreign policy. The course will be divided into two sections. The first section will examine the institutional context, traditions and history of U.S. foreign policy making as well as the interactions between foreign and domestic politics in the U.S.. The second half of the course will explore U.S. foreign policies with respect to a number of specific regions and issues in the world.

Format and Requirements

The course will meet for a two hour class every Monday. Each class will begin with a lecture, followed by class discussions and questions. Participation is strongly encouraged. Students will be responsible for the materials covered in the lectures as well as the readings (which will not always cover the same material). An effort will be made to link class discussions to current events, wherever possible. It is therefore recommended that students keep themselves informed of current developments by reading the New York Times or Washington Post as well as Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy etc..

Mid-term test:	20% (one hour in class May 23)
Research Paper	40% (Due at the beginning of class June 6)
Final Examination	40% (TBD)

Topics for research papers can be chosen by students but must be related to some aspect of the making or implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Students are encouraged to submit a proposal including a topic, research question, a tentative hypothesis and bibliography in class May 16 (no more than 250 words) in order to receive early feedback on their research projects. If you choose not to take advantage of this opportunity, such feedback can not be guaranteed later. The length of the paper should not exceed 3500 words (not including references). Late papers will be penalized at the rate of 2% per day including weekends. Extensions will be granted only with documentary evidence of illness or other emergencies. Students are required to keep a copy of all submitted work.

Required Texts

James M. McCormick; American Foreign Policy and Process, 6th Ed.; Wadsworth-Thompson Learning 2014

Course Reader: Posted on the course Blackboard/Portal site

The book is available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore. Additional readings may be announced in class and posted on the course portal site.

Recommended readings are identified by *

Lecture Topics and Readings for Fall Term by Week

May 6: **Introduction**
Readings: none

May 7: **Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy**
Readings: McCormick: chapter 1

May 8: **The Constitution and U.S. Foreign Policy**
Readings: McCormick, chapter 8
 U.S. v. Curtis Wright Export Co.
 Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer

May 9: **American Political Culture and U.S. Foreign Policy**
Readings: Loren Baritz, Backfire, chapter 1

May 13: **Historical Patterns I: From Colony to Great Power**
Readings: Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy", In
 Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American
 Foreign Policy, 1951.
 Jeffery A. Frieden; "Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic
 Policy, 1914-1940", International Organization, 42:1 (Winter 1988),
 pp.59-90

May 14: **Historical Patterns II: From Superpower to Global Hegemon**
Readings: McCormick, chapter 2

William Appleman Williams; "Introduction: History and the Transcendence of the Tragic" in A.W.Williams; The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, W.W. Norton, 1972, Pg. 1-16
Fred Block, "Economic Instability and Military Strength: The Paradoxes of the 1950 Rearmament Decision", Politics and Society, 10:1, 1980, pp.35-58

May 15: **The President and the making of U.S. Foreign Policy**
Readings: McCormick: chapter 7

May 16: **Bureaucracy I: The National Security Council and the State Department**
Readings: McCormick: chapter 9

May 20: **Victoria Day**

May 21: **Bureaucracy II: The Military Establishment**
Readings: McCormick: chapter 10
Gordon Adams & Shoon Murray; "An Introduction to Mission Creep" in Adams and Murray eds. "Mission Creep: the Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy", Georgetown University Press, 2014, Pg.3-21

May 22: **Bureaucracy III: The Intelligence Community**
Gabriel Kolko, "The Limits of Intelligence", in World in Crisis, Pluto Press 2009, Pg. 126-46

May 23: In Class Midterm Examination

May 27: **Bureaucracy IV: The N.E.C. and Foreign Economic Bureaucracy**
Readings: Ashley J. Tellis; The geopolitics of the TTIP and TPP

May 28: **Groups, Elections & Mass Media**
Readings: McCormick: chapter 11 &12
Sherry Ricchiardi, "Missed Signals" American Journalism Review, Aug./Sep. 2004

May 29: **Decisionmaking Theory and U.S. Foreign Policy**
Readings: Edward N. Luttwak; "The Three China Policies of the United States", chapter 21 in "The Rise of China vs. The Logic of Strategy; Harvard
Edward N. Luttwak; "Why We Need an Incoherent Foreign Policy" and "Free Will and Predestination in U.S.-China Strategic Relations" chapters 2&3 in "The Virtual American Empire: War, Faith, and Power"; Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick and London 2009, Pg.11-23.
Howard Wiarda, "Beyond the Pale: The Bureaucratic Politics of United States Policy in Mexico" World Affairs 162, No.4 Spring 2000

- May 30: **Implications of U.S. Foreign Policy on Domestic Politics: the war on terrorism**
- Readings: Michael C. Desch; America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy; International Security, Vol 32, No.3 (Winter 2007/08) 7-43
- June 3: **United Nations, Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention and the International Criminal Court**
- Readings: Charles A. Kupchan, Peter L. Turbowitz; Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States; International Security, Vol.32, No.2, 7-44
David Kaye, America's Honeymoon with the ICC: will Washington's Love for International Law Last?; Foreign Affairs, April 2013
- June 4: **Nuclear Deterrence and High Tech Warfare**
- Readings: Mark Selden; A Forgotten Holocaust: U.S. Bombing Strategy, The Destruction of Japanese Cities, and the American Way of War from the Pacific War to Iraq; in Tanaka and Young eds. Bombing Civilians: a twentieth century history; New Press, New York, 2009, 46-77
Michael S. Gerson; No First Use: The Next Step for U.S. Nuclear Policy; International Security, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Fall 2010) 7-47
*David Rhode; The Obama Doctrine: How the Presidents Secret Wars are Backfiring; Foreign Policy, March/April 2012, 65-69
- June 5: **U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America: Promoting Democracy?**
- Readings: Arturo Valenzuela; Beyond Benign Neglect: Washington and Latin America, Current History, Feb. 2005, pp.58-63
Katherine E. McCoy; Trained to Torture? The Human Rights Effects of Military Training at the School of the Americas, Latin American Perspectives, Issue 145, Vol.32, no.2, Nov.2005, pp. 47-64
James Petras; U.S. Venezuelan Relations: Imperialism and Revolution, The Peoples Voice, Jan. 2010
*Christopher I. Clement; Confronting Hugo Chavez: United States Democracy Promotion in Latin America, Latin American Perspectives, Issue 142, Vol.32, no.3, May 2005 pp.60-78
*Lars Schoultz; Blessings of Liberty: The United States and the Promotion of Democracy in Cuba; Journal of Latin American Studies, 34 (2002) 397-425
*Louis A. Perez Jr.; Fear and Loathing of Fidel Castro: Sources of U.S. Policy toward Cuba: J.of Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002) 227-254
- June 6: **U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East**
- Readings: John B. Judis; Imperial Amnesia, Foreign Policy, July/August 2004, John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt; The War Over Israel's Influence, ForeignPolicy, July/August 2006, pp.57-

Research Papers Due at the beginning of Class

June 10&11:

Readings:

U.S. foreign policy toward Asia: Beyond Vietnam

Nina Silove; The Pivot before the Pivot: U.S. Strategy to Preserve the Power Balance in Asia, *International Security*, Spring 2016, Vol.40 No.4, Pg.45-88

Victor D. Cha; The Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia; *International Security*, Winter 2010, Vol. 34, No. 3, 158-196

Yuen Foong Khong; Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise- A Review Essay; *International Security*, Vol. 38, no.3, (winter 2013/14), pp.153-175.

*Henry M. Paulson Jr.; A Strategic Economic Engagement; *Foreign Affairs*, October 2008

June 12:

Readings:

U.S. foreign policy toward Europe, Russia and the Soviet Successor States

Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin; Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion; *International Security*, Vol.40, No.4 (Spring 2016) pp.7-44

*Ronald D. Asmus; Europe's Eastern Promise: Rethinking NATO and EU Enlargement; *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2008

George Kennan; The Sources of Soviet Conduct, *Foreign Affairs*, 25.4 July 1947

Graham Allison and Owen Conte Jr. et. al.; Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy, excerpt pg 3-17, 1996

Mary Elise Sarotte; Perpetuating U.S. Preeminence: The 1990 Deal to "Bribe the Soviets Out" and Move NATO In; *International Security*, Summer 2010, Vol. 35, No.1:110-137

*Andrei Schleifer & Daniel Treisman; Why Moscow Says No, *Foreign Affairs*, 90.1 Jan./Feb. 2011

*Robert Legvold; The Russia File: How to Move toward a Strategic Partnership; *Foreign Affairs* 88.4, July-August 2009, p.78

June 13:

Readings:

Conclusions

McCormick: Conclusion and chapter 13

Patrick Porter; Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment; *International Security*, Vol 42, No.4, Spring 2018, pp 9-46

*Michael Beckley; The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts; *International Security*, Vol.39, no.4, Spring 2015, pp-7-48.

A WARNING ABOUT PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. In essence, it is the theft of the thoughts or words of others, without giving proper credit. You must put others' words in quotation marks and cite your source(s). You must give citations when using others' ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words. Plagiarism is unacceptable in a university.

The University of Toronto provides a process that faculty members must initiate when they suspect a case of plagiarism. In the Department of Political Science, suspected evidence of plagiarism must be reported to the Chairman.

A faculty member may not mark an assignment or assess a penalty if he or she finds evidence of plagiarism – the matter must be reported. The Chairman, or Dean, will assess the penalty.

The following are some examples of plagiarism:

1. Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.
2. Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.
3. Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author. **Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!**
4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.
5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

If you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty.

Plagiarism is **cheating**. It is considered a **serious offence** against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Penalties for an undergraduate can be **severe**.

At a minimum, a student is likely to receive a "0" mark for the assignment or test in question. But a further penalty is often assessed, such as a further reduction from the course mark or placing a permanent notation of the incident on an academic record.

Some website listed below on avoiding plagiarism:

'How to Use Sources and Avoid Plagiarism' - available at:

<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>

and <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/document.html>

Other Advisory Material available at:

www.utoronto.ca/writing