

**The University of Chicago**  
**Harris School of Public Policy Studies**

PPHA 42810: Winter 2015 SYLLABUS  
**U.S. Foreign Policy**

Professor: Dr. Felicity Vabulas  
Email: fvabulas@uchicago.edu  
Classes: Mondays and Wednesdays, 1:30pm – 2:50pm  
Office Hrs: Wednesdays from 2:50pm – 3:50pm in office 181

**Course Description**

This course explores contemporary relations between the United States and the world. The primary goal is to give students conceptual and critical tools to understand and analyze how international relations theory, U.S. foreign policy outcomes, and current events fit together, especially in the post 9/11 world. It is designed to develop students' capacity both to explain the foreign policy-making process in the United States, and to better understand the underlying patterns, logic, and implications of American foreign policy in the world at large. The course is divided into three main topics. First, we will discuss **International Relations theory** that grounds U.S. foreign policy focusing on American international power and the goals for which this power is employed. The second part of the class will examine the **institutions and processes** that guide foreign policy formation and implementation. Questions will revolve around who are the important people setting the foreign policy agenda and what are the important institutions attempting to implement this agenda. Finally, the last third of the course will review some of the more **salient foreign policy challenges** facing the U.S. in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including particular focus on geographic regions. Some of these issues include how the recent global economic crises may influence foreign policy, how terrorism and democracy promotion continue to shape U.S. foreign policy, and whether U.S. foreign policy towards Africa is undergoing significant change.

**Requirements**

The requirements of the class include:

**1) Subscribe to a daily digest of foreign policy news**

This class brings together International Relations theory and real world U.S. foreign policy decisions and outcomes. A primary goal of the course is to help students become critical consumers of current events and journalistic writing on these subjects. Students should therefore stay current with foreign policy developments by reading a major newspaper on a daily basis (including The Economist, The Financial, The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, or Washington Post). Second, students should subscribe to a daily digest of foreign policy news such as Foreign Policy Magazine's Editor's Picks. To sign up for this free e-newsletter, please go to

<https://id.foreignpolicy.com/identity/siteRegistration/addRegistration>

## 2) Foreign Policy in the News Presentation (15%)

In order to enable you to become an effective ‘consumer’ of foreign policy decisions and outcomes, you will present a “Foreign Policy in the News” article to the class. This will encourage you to critically assess whether historical theories work for current challenges. I want you to look at the complexities of foreign policy differently from here on out.

During the first week of the course, you will sign up for a class session (Week 2-10) when you will post a link to a foreign policy article (in the Chalk Discussion Board) that you have come across in the news (from 2014 on) that relates to the week’s readings. Use one of the sources (or one like it) listed above. The article can be a blog post or an Op Ed. Links should be posted by midnight before the class. During class, you will have 5 minutes to present the article:

- (1) Quickly summarize the article’s main points. Assume that members of the class have read the link (since you have posted it in the Discussion Board). Just highlight the main points to refresh everyone’s memories.
- (2) Critique the article. Do you agree with the findings? What makes this topic difficult (or maybe, not difficult, in your estimate)?
- (3) Does the article point out new challenges vis-à-vis the class readings?
- (4) What implications does the article have for future foreign policy research?

## 3) Two response paper (20% each)

Students should prepare a response paper for two class sessions (no more than 3 pages, 1 inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced). Papers are to be uploaded to Chalk as a Word document by midnight on the day before the class material is to be discussed (e.g., if you will critique readings for Wednesday January 7th, your paper is due by midnight on Tuesday January 6th). On the first day of class, you will sign up for two sessions that interest you so that we have coverage throughout the quarter. Papers are to demonstrate familiarity with and discuss critically the required readings for the next class. The best papers will establish some sort of relationship with other readings you have done for the course. Response papers should not summarize the reading but instead, the response paper should focus on analyzing the strengths and weakness of the chosen reading(s), discuss topics you think the author has ‘gotten wrong’ or left out, analyze current events vis-à-vis the theory presented, highlight questions that we might face on this topic in the near future (including things not discussed in the reading), and pose suggestions for research agendas that are motivated by the reading. Your goal is to use the required readings as a starting point for understanding the general themes of the class, but for you to go beyond this launching pad in your analysis.

## 4) Final policy memo (30%)

Students should write an 8-10 page policy memo to the next American president (1 inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced). Memos are to be uploaded to Chalk as a Word document by 1:30pm on Monday March 16. The memo should include a one page executive summary up front. In preparing the memo, you should assume the position of the head of the foreign policy transition team charged with helping the president-elect prepare for his or her new role in the foreign policymaking arena. Your memo should focus on advice and recommendations to the president-elect on how to manage the

policymaking process and deal with the politics of U.S foreign policy effectively. Thus, you should consider key policymaking problems and challenges and key structures, processes, and actions to meet those challenges. As you craft your analysis, consider key topics from class such as: presidents and advisers; the nature and challenges of bureaucracy; characteristics of structure and process; working with Congress; emerging threats and issues; nuances of geographic areas; and general issues about the foreign policy environment (societal and international). In other words, this memo is NOT a “what to do about the problems in [insert a country, region, etc.]” memo. Your memo must draw from and explicitly reference readings, class discussions, and other research as you see fit. The length constraints of the memo will force you to pick and choose from among the many things we discuss in class. Do not approach the memo with a “laundry list” mentality to try and check off every single area but instead, carefully consider the most critical things you wish to highlight to a president-elect. This may include (but are not limited to) issues that have historically been ignored but you think need more focus, creative ideas for handling status-quo policy inertia, and special attention to emerging threats and areas.

For examples on the style of writing, you might look to the Brookings “Memos to the President” series which contains a number of policy memos written in 2009 (at the time of presidential transition).

<http://www.brookings.edu/about/projects/presidential-transition/memos-to-the-president>

## **5) Participation (15%)**

I expect active participation from all students. Participation at the very least means attending all classes. Attendance will be taken and will be reflected in your grade. Please inform the Professor ahead of time if you will miss class due to an unavoidable conflict. In the rare case that you need to miss a class, you can ‘make-up’ your attendance by participating in a foreign policy-focused event either on campus (see the Center for International Studies’ World Beyond the Headline speaker series, for example) or downtown (see the Chicago Council on Global Affairs events, for example). If you attend one of these events and want credit, you must send a one page reflection write-up of the event (1 inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced) to the Professor (via email) by the last day of class. Please include information on the event, including a weblink. Also, take a step back and reflect on how (if) the event fits with the topics (and readings) discussed in class.

Participation also means being prepared for each class by having actively done the readings. This doesn’t mean passively skimming the writing but dissecting it and coming to class ready to critique it or ask questions on the content. Also, think about how you can relate the readings to real-world events. You can bring in (or email to the group/ Professor) relevant newspaper articles that discuss applications of the week’s reading.

On days that you have prepared a response paper, be prepared for the instructor to ask you to elaborate on the key ideas from your response paper in class, in order to kickoff discussions. You should not only come prepared to present your own material but actively participate in the Q&A sessions following the presentations, providing valuable feedback to your classmates.

During many classes, the Professor will present the class with a controversial topic related to the week's readings and I will ask you to "think-pair-share" with your neighbor. You will then be asked to present your consensus (or disagreement) on the topic with the class.

The purpose of class discussions is to allow students to freely exchange ideas. It is imperative to remain respectful of all viewpoints and positions and, when necessary, agree to respectfully disagree.

#### **6) Extra Credit:**

You can earn up to 1/3 letter grade boost on your final grade (i.e. the difference between a B+ and an A-) by participating in the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Day of Service on Monday January 19<sup>th</sup> (when class is cancelled). You must submit a two-page (1 inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced) "reflection" write-up to the Professor (as a Word Document via Chalk) by class time on Wednesday January 21<sup>st</sup> to be eligible for extra credit. Your reflection should include:

1. Information, including a weblink, on the event/ organization you volunteered with on the day. Please tell me about your actual service, how you think it impacts the community, and what difference you think you made. Feel free to be optimistic or critical; just be honest and real.
2. A photo (a selfie with your phone is perfect!) of you at the event.
3. Take a step back and conclude with a reflection on how you view the role of service in the life of a public policy professional.

If you are interested in participating, plan your program early!

<http://www.nationalservice.gov/special-initiatives/days-service/martin-luther-king-jr-day-service-0>

#### **Late Work**

Late work will be penalized by 1/3 letter grade (e.g., A lowered to A-) for every day that the work is late. Extensions due to an emergency or extenuating life circumstances are at the discretion of the Professor. In the event of an emergency or extenuating circumstances please notify the Professor via email as soon as possible, preferably a minimum of 24 hours prior to the assignment due date.

#### **Academic Integrity**

Students are required to comply with University regulations regarding academic integrity. If you are in doubt about what constitutes academic dishonesty, speak with the Professor before the assignment is due and/or examine the University Web site. Academic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, cheating on an exam, obtaining an unfair advantage, and plagiarism (e.g., using material from readings without citing or copying another student's paper). Failure to maintain academic integrity will result in a grade sanction, possibly as severe as failing and being required to retake the course, and could lead to a suspension or expulsion from the program.

## Readings

### I. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY FOUNDATIONS

#### Week 1

#### Monday January 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Introduction – What does theory teach us for policy?

Jentleson, Bruce. 2014. *American Foreign Policy, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton, Chapter 1, “The Strategic Context: Foreign Policy Strategy and the Essence of Choice.” 2-23.

Morgenthau, Hans. 1950. “The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy: The National Interest vs. Moral Abstractions.” *American Political Science Review* 44 (4): 833-854.

Steele, Ronald. 1994. “The Lure of Detachment.” *World Policy Journal* 11 (Fall): 61-69.

#### Wednesday January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015: American Power – Or Decline?

Zakaria, Fareed. 2008. “The Future of American Power: How America Can Survive the Rise of the Rest.” *Foreign Affairs*, 87, 18.

Haass, R. N. 2008. “The age of nonpolarity: what will follow US dominance.” *Foreign Affairs*, 44-56.

Nye Jr, J. S. 2010. “The Futures of American Power: Dominance and Decline in Perspective.” *Foreign Affairs*, 89, 2.

#### Week 2

#### Monday January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015: American Grand Strategy – Do we have one or need one?

Drezner, D. W. 2011. “Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy: Why We Need Doctrines in Uncertain Times.” *Foreign Affairs*, 90, 57.

Layne, C. 2012. “This time it’s real: The end of unipolarity and the Pax Americana.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(1) 203-213.

Brooks, Stephen, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. 2013. “Lean Forward: In Defense of American Engagement.” *Foreign Affairs*, January/ February.

### II. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS

#### Wednesday January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Presidential Power – Is Foreign Policy Different?

Wildavsky, Aaron. 1966. “The Two Presidencies Thesis,” *Transaction* 4: 7-14.

Howell, William G. 2011. "Presidential Powers in War." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14: 89-105.

Baum, M. A. 2004. "Going Private: Public Opinion, Presidential Rhetoric, and the Domestic Politics of Audience Costs in US Foreign Policy Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(5): 603-631.

### **Week 3**

#### **Monday January 19<sup>th</sup>, 2015: NO CLASS DUE TO MLK DAY – SEE EXTRA CREDIT**

#### **Wednesday January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015: Intelligence Community and NSC – Still need reform?**

Zegart, Amy B. 2005. "September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of the U.S. Intelligence Agencies." *International Security* 29: 78-111.

Mabee, Bryan. 2011. "Historical Institutionalism and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Origins of the National Security Council Revisited." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (1): 27-44.

National Journal Staff, December 9 2014. The Senate's Torture Report: What You Need to Know: <http://www.nationaljournal.com/defense/senate-democrats-cia-torture-report-what-you-need-to-know-20141209>

### **Week 4**

#### **Monday January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Congress – Check or Empty Vessel?**

Ornstein, Norman F. and Thomas E. Mann. 2006. "When Congress Checks Out." *Foreign Affairs*, November/December.

Howell, William G. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2007. "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power." *Foreign Affairs*, September/October.

Jacobs, L. R., & Page, B. I. 2005. "Who influences US foreign policy?" *American Political Science Review*, 99(01), 107-123.

#### **Wednesday January 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015: State Department – Directing or Second Fiddle?**

Clarke, Duncan. 1987. "Why State Can't Lead." *Foreign Policy* (Spring): 128-142.

Kopp, Harry and Charles Gillespie. 2008. *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 10-50.

Rosati, Jerel and James Scott. 2010. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, Chapter 5: The State Department at Home and Abroad, Wadsworth.

## **Week 5**

### **Monday February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2015: Department of Defense – Pentagon’s Assets Wasting?**

Rosati, Jerel and James Scott. 2010. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, Chapter 6: The Military Establishment.

Feaver, Peter D. and Richard H. Kohn. 2000. “The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians and Their Mutual Misunderstanding.” *National Interest* 61: 29-40.

Quadrennial Defense Review 2014

[http://www.defense.gov/pubs/2014\\_Quadrennial\\_Defense\\_Review.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/2014_Quadrennial_Defense_Review.pdf)

### **Wednesday February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Public Opinion – Do policy-makers care?**

Holsti, Ole R. 1992. “Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(4).

Gelpi, Chris. 2010. “Performing on Cue? The Formation of Public Opinion Toward War.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 54(1): pp. 86-116.

Smeltz, Dina and Ivo Daalder. 2014. *Foreign Policy in the Age of Retrenchment: Results of the 2014 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy*

[http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/2014\\_CCS\\_Report\\_1.pdf](http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/2014_CCS_Report_1.pdf)

## **Week 6**

### **Monday February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Interest Groups – Much Ado About Nothing?**

“FP Roundtable: The War Over Israel’s Influence.” *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2006, 56-66.

Pevehouse, Jon and Felicity Vabulas. 2013. “Foreign Lobbies and Foreign Aid”, Working paper, University of Wisconsin/University of Chicago.

Lindsay, James M. 2002. “Getting Uncle Sam’s Ear.” *Brookings Review* 20.

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/6429/getting\\_uncle\\_sams\\_ear.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/6429/getting_uncle_sams_ear.html)

### **Wednesday February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Media – Agenda setter or conduit?**

Osnos, Peter. “An Elegy for Journalism?” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2010.

Parks, Michael. 2002. “Foreign News: What’s Next?” *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February, 52-57.

Matt Baum, 2002, “Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the

Inattentive Public.” *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 91-109.

### III. SALIENT FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES

#### Week 7

#### **Monday February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2015: U.S. Foreign Economic Policy - Partners with Security?**

Dolan, Chris. 2003. “Economic Policy and Decision Making at the Intersection of Domestic and International Politics: The Advocacy Coalition Framework and the National Economic Council,” *Policy Studies Journal* 31 (2): 209-236.

Drezner, D. W. 2003. “The hidden hand of economic coercion.” *International Organization*, 57(03), 643-659.

Gelb, Leslie. 2010. “GDP Now Matters More than Force,” *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2010.

#### **Wednesday February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Energy and Environment – Strategic resources?**

Glaser, C. L. 2013. “How Oil Influences US National Security.” *International Security*, 38(2), 112-146.

Levi, Michael. 2013. “America’s Energy Opportunity. How to Harness the New Sources of U.S. Power.” *Foreign Affairs*, May/ June 2013.

Fountain, Henry, and John Schwartz. 2014. “Climate Accord Relies on Environmental Policies Already in Place.” *NY Times*, November 12.

[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/13/world/climate-pact-by-us-and-china-relies-on-policies-now-largely-in-place.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/13/world/climate-pact-by-us-and-china-relies-on-policies-now-largely-in-place.html?_r=0)

#### Week 8

#### **Monday February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2015: Democracy Promotion and International Human Rights**

Carothers, Thomas. 2006. “Backlash against Democracy Promotion.” *Foreign Affairs*, 85, 55.

Forsythe, David. 2011. “US Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Situating Obama.” *Human Rights Quarterly*, 33 (3): 767-789.

Lagon, Mark. 2011. “Promoting Human Rights: Is U.S. Consistency Desirable or Possible?” *Council on Foreign Relations Markets and Democracy Brief*.

<http://www.cfr.org/human-rights/promoting-human-rights-us-consistency-desirable-possible/p26228>



### **Wednesday February 25<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Asia Rising?**

Ikenberry, G. J. 2008. "The rise of China and the future of the west: can the liberal system survive?" *Foreign affairs*, 23-37.

Friedburg, Aaron. 2012. "Bucking Beijing: An Alternative U.S. China Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, September/ October 2012.

Burns, Nicholas. 2014. "Passage to India: What Washington Can Do to Revive Relations With New Delhi." *Foreign Affairs*, September/ October 2014.

### **Week 9**

#### **Monday March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2015: The Middle East – Failure or Promise?**

Layne, C. 2009. "America's Middle East grand strategy after Iraq: the moment for offshore balancing has arrived." *Review of International Studies*, 35(01), 5-25.

Haas, Richard. 2013. "The Irony of American Strategy: Putting the Middle East in Proper Perspective." *Foreign Affairs*, May/ June 2013.

Miller, Aaron. 2014. "Middle East Meltdown." *Foreign Policy*, October 30.  
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/30/middle-east-meltdown/>

#### **Wednesday March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Europe and Russia – A New Cold War?**

Legvold, R. 2014. "Managing the New Cold War." *Foreign Affairs*, 80-81.

Heritage Foundation Issue Brief 3858 on Europe. 2013. "John Kerry's Grand Tour: Priorities for Europe." <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2013/02/secretary-of-state-john-kerry-us-foreign-policy-for-europe>

### **Week 10**

#### **Monday March 9<sup>th</sup>, 2015: The Americas – Strategic Neighbors?**

Council on Foreign Relations Task Force Report. 2008. "U.S.-Latin America Relations: A New Direction for a New Reality." <http://www.cfr.org/mexico/us-latin-america-relations/p16279>

O'Neil, Shannon. 2013. "Mexico Makes It: A Transformed Society, Economy, and Government." *Foreign Affairs*, March/ April 2013.

Francis, David, John Hudson, and Yochi Dreazen. 2014. "Surprise Deal to Free American Subcontractor Heralds New Age in US-Cuba Relationship." *Foreign Policy*, December 17. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/12/17/surprise-deal-to-free-american-subcontractor-heralds-new-age-in-u-s-cuba-relationship/>

**Wednesday March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2015: Africa – Does the U.S. Finally Care?**

Kapstein, Ethan. "Africa's Capitalist Revolution." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2009.

Brookings Africa Growth Initiative. 2013. Top Five Reasons Why Africa Should Be a Priority to the United States

[http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Reports/2013/04/africa%20priority%20united%20states/04\\_africa\\_priority\\_united\\_states.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Reports/2013/04/africa%20priority%20united%20states/04_africa_priority_united_states.pdf)

**\*\*Monday March 16<sup>th</sup>: final policy memo due at 1:30pm\*\***