

**BOSTON UNIVERSITY**  
**Department of International Relations**

**IR 380 – United States Foreign Policy: Principle, Practice and Process**

**Spring 2007 –Tuesday and Thursday: 8:00-9:30 am, KCB 102**

**Instructor: Charles Dunbar**

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*Office Hours: Tuesday 2-3 pm, Wednesday 9-noon, and Thursday 10-11 am  
or by appointment*

**Course Summary**

This course examines how American foreign policy is made. A principal objective is to help students understand why a broad strategy, a more specific policy, or a decision that appears, particularly with the benefit of hindsight, either in the obvious best interest of the United States or entirely against that interest often was or is exactly the opposite of what happens in the “real world.” To make this point, the course looks at cases, for the most part specific decisions taken in the past but also decisions or broader strategies for the future, and the practical considerations that influenced or will influence those taking the decisions or attempting to put strategies into effect.

At the center of this effort is an analysis of the American foreign policy process based on what the authors of the course’s principal textbook call the “funnel of causality.” The course opens with a quick description of the “sources” – the external environment, the president and executive branch, the Congress, public opinion, the media, interest groups, and individuals –and how these sources are mix together in the funnel to produce both policy and the feedback that influences future decisions. In concrete terms, this abstraction is translated into a consideration of the ways in which other countries and governments, U.S. government institutions, the media, interest groups and non-government organizations, and the public interact, clash, coincide and influence the policy process.

The course has three segments. After a look at the interplay between “isms” (realism v. idealism, isolationism v. internationalism) that influence American attitudes towards the world, the first six sessions of the course review the history of American foreign relations with emphasis on the Cold War and Post Cold-War periods. The next ten sessions look in detail at the making of American foreign policy using the “funnel of causality as an analytical framework. Two sessions at the end of the course consider the views of a group of distinguished American statesmen, writing in the mid-1990s, about United States interests in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and their suggestions as to policies designed to serve those interests. With the benefit of hindsight, the relevance of these expert views will be measured both against developments in the half dozen intervening years and against the constraints imposed on them by the sources of U.S. foreign policy discussed throughout the course. Classroom discussions will seek to highlight those constraints.

The instructor draws on his experience as a U.S. and U.N. diplomat in an effort to present the “real world, “worm’s eye” view of the policy process in Washington and by discussing the role of American ambassadors and embassies in the making of policy. Students will encouraged to think of foreign policy problems as practitioners think of them and will be offered practical experience in writing the kind of paper used as the basis for decision-making in government.

## Course Requirements

**Mid-Term and Final Examinations (20% and 30% of the grade respectively):** These exams will be tests of the students' knowledge of the readings, the instructor's remarks, and the case studies presented orally by students in class. They will include brief definitions and longer essays. The final exam will cover the entire course.

**Policy Paper (30% of the grade):** A six-to-eight-page memorandum to the President or other leading official. The paper should be double-spaced paper with footnotes or endnotes and a bibliography. Footnotes may be in any style but should make it possible for the instructor to access easily the work cited.

The paper will identify an issue and recommend a specific course of action for dealing with it. It should be in three parts: 1) one or two paragraphs describing the issue and giving an action recommendation; 2) an analysis of the reasons for taking the recommended decision and of the problems that will be need to be overcome to make the proposed course of action produce the desired result; and 3) an outline of strategies to be used in dealing with those problems. Although they may choose an issue still to be decided, students are encouraged to select one from the past and either to recommend the decision that was actually taken or to argue for a different course of action. *It is important to deal with a single, specific decision on a particular issue, not the establishment of a broad policy (such as Containment, arms control or the opening to China) that involved a series of specific decisions.* Papers should include footnotes and a bibliography

Some suggested issues follow; others can be found in the chronology on Courseinfo:

- Announcement of the Truman Doctrine (1947)
- The Marshall Plan (1948)
- U.S. decision to recognize Israel's independence (1948)
- "Point Four" of Truman's inaugural address on aid to developing nations (1949)
- The Berlin airlift (1949)
- Entry into the Korean War (1950)
- Opposing the British/French/Israeli invasion of Egypt (1956)
- Kennedy's decision to go ahead with the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba (1961)
- Escalating the Vietnam war by bombing North Vietnam and sending 125,000 more troops (1965)
- Kissinger's secret trip to China (1971)
- Nixon's visit to China and the Shanghai Communique (1972)
- Establishing relations with China and renouncing treaty with Taiwan (1978)
- Authorizing a military operation to rescue U.S. hostages in Iran (1980)
- Beginning "covert" aid to Afghan resistance (1981)
- Reagan's southern Africa initiative (1981)
- Authorizing invasion of Grenada (1983)
- Reagan's visit to Bitburg cemetery (1985)
- Authorizing air strike on Libya (1986)
- Invading Panama (1989)
- Decision to use force to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait (1990)
- Decision to mount operation Restore Hope in Somalia (1992)
- Decision to use U.S. troops against Somali warlord Aideed (1993)

- U.S. policy towards the Rwanda massacres (1994)
- Decision to ratify the latest GATT accord and thus join the WTO (1994)
- Decision to bomb Serb positions in Bosnia (1995)
- U.S. support of NATO admission for Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland (1997)
- Decision to bomb Kosovo (1999)
- Establishing permanent normal trade relations with China (2000)
- Decision to convene the Barak-Arafat summit at Camp David in July 2000
- Decision on whether and how to go ahead with national missile defense (2001)
- Decision on removing U.S. forces from NATO contingents in Bosnia and Kosovo (2001)
- Seeking consultations on North Korea's nuclear program (2002)
- Decision to attack Iraq (2003)
- Decision to return sovereignty to an Iraqi government by June 2004 (2003)
- Decision to send 21,000 more troops to Iraq and increase the size of the Army and Marine Corps (2007)

**The following "textbook" example of such a paper will be discussed in the first session of the class. It may be found in e-journals on the BU Libraries home page:**

***Foreign Policy***, Sept-Oct 2003, Issue 138 p.63: **Memo to the President - Urgent: the U.S. needs to create a colonial service.** *Jeffrey E. Garten*

*"Mechanics:" Papers should be clearly footnoted or end-noted and should include a bibliography. One-three bonus points will be awarded for annotated bibliographies. The instructor prizes the following attributes in papers: sub-headings and short paragraphs, each with a topic sentence and written in simple, direct prose, developing the point made by the topic sentence. The text should be double-spaced within one-inch margins, top, bottom and sides and set in 12-point "Times New Roman" type.*

***Due: Friday, May 4; Please submit the memo by e-mail***

**Course participation (20% of the grade):** Students are expected to attend all classes. Absences will obviously affect their ability to participate in the interactive learning that is encouraged in four ways:

1. In the first 10 minutes of each class, students are encouraged to raise questions and/or comment on the news of the day. In the event of what the instructor hopes will be an excess of hands raised, the instructor will try to give priority to those who have not asked a question or commented before. He will also discuss the questions of anyone not called on in the office hours following the class.
2. Students will make 10-minute oral presentations of their memoranda to the President in class. The instructor will play the devil's advocate following each presentation. *Others should be prepared to contribute to these discussions.* Paper presentations begin in during the 11<sup>th</sup> session.
3. Students will be strongly encouraged to comment in class. They should note the constraints the various sources of American foreign policy impose on the policies recommended in the reading and try to articulate strategies for surmounting the constraints they identify.

4. There will be several brief unannounced quizzes covering readings and materials presented in class.

## **Plagiarism**

“What is Plagiarism and Why is it Important?”

In college courses, we are continually engaged with other people’s ideas: we read them in texts, hear them in lecture, discuss them in class, and incorporate them into our own writing. As a result, it is very important that we give credit where it is due. Plagiarism is using others’ ideas and words without clearly acknowledging the source of that information.

How Can Students Avoid Plagiarism?

To avoid plagiarism, you must give credit whenever you use:

--another person’s idea, opinion, or theory;  
 --any facts, statistics, graphs, drawings—any pieces of information—that are not common knowledge;  
 --quotations of another person’s actual spoken or written words; or  
 --paraphrase of another person’s written or spoken words.”

The foregoing quotation is taken from the website of the Writing Tutorial Services at Indiana University. For more information, see [www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/plagiarism.html](http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/plagiarism.html)

Most people do not want to plagiarize. It would seem easy to avoid doing so, yet some scholars have learned to their cost that “honest” plagiarism is sometimes easier to commit than they thought. In any case, students should expect honest and dishonest plagiarism to be seen in the same harsh light by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences to whom all suspected cases will be referred automatically. Thus, *if in doubt, add a footnote*, and in the meantime read the Boston University Code of Conduct.

## **Readings**

The following three texts are to be read largely or in their entirety:

Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Foreign Policy into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: the U.S Leadership Challenge*, Washington, The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1996 (to be distributed in class and found on CourseInfo) – hereafter **CSIS**

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations: Media Survey  
[http://www.c CFR.org/past\\_pos.php](http://www.c CFR.org/past_pos.php)

Hook, Steven W. and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 16<sup>th</sup> Edition, Washington, CQ Press, 2004 - hereafter **HS** (*At Barnes & Noble*)

Wittkopf, Eugene R. and Charles W. Kegley, Jr. & James M. Scott, *American Foreign Policy: Patterns and Process*, Sixth Edition, Belmont, CA, Thomson/Wadsworth, 2003 – hereafter **WKS** (*at Barnes & Noble*)

*Readings will also be drawn from the following book and studies.* The assigned readings are either reproduced in Courseinfo or linked when cited in the schedule.

Cole, Wayne S., *An Interpretive History of American Foreign Policy*, Homewood IL, The Dorsey Press, 1974, hereafter **Cole**

Jentleson, Bruce W., Editor, *Perspectives on American Foreign Policy: Readings and Cases*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 2000 – hereafter **Jentleson**

The Pew Research Center: “America’s Place in the World 2005” <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=263>

Preston, Thomas, *The President and His Inner Circle*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, hereafter **Preston**

Rosati, Jerel A., *Readings in the Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, Fort Worth, Harcourt Brace, 1998, hereafter **Rosati** (*also available at Barnes & Noble*)

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 2004 hereafter **Rosati II**

Wittkopf, Eugene and James McCormick (eds), *Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, hereafter **WM**

Other readings are cited in the schedule below with instructions on having access to them.

Students should also keep abreast of world events. It would be well to read regularly *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and/or *The Economist*. *Current History*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Foreign Policy* will be useful in doing research for papers. All are available on the library’s “e-journals” collection.

Other websites of interest are those of:

The Central Intelligence Agency <http://www.cia.gov/>. The World Factbook, which can be accessed directly from the CIA homepage, is a useful reference work.

The Council on Foreign Relations [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)

The Defense and State Department websites ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov) and [www.dod.gov](http://www.dod.gov))

The White House <http://www.whitehouse.gov>

The United Nations [www.un.org](http://www.un.org)

Finally, the instructor will send students via e-mail items of interest that come to his attention during the semester. Except in exceptional cases identified by the instructor, these will be for the students’ general edification. They will normally not be required reading.

### **Course Schedule and Reading Assignments**

**Session 1 (Tuesday, January 16)** – Explanation of course requirements.  
Introduction to the **WKS** funnel of causality.

**Session 2 (Thursday, January 18)** – More on the funnel of causality. Power and principle. The sources of U.S. foreign policy – internationalism v. isolationism; the complex relationship between realism and idealism.

**Reading:** WKS – Chapters 1-3; HS, Chapter 1; Jentleson, pp. 3-17

**Session 3 (Tuesday, January 23)** – Historical antecedents. American Revolution to the Spanish American War.

**Case presented by the instructor:** The Monroe Doctrine and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo

**Reading:** Cole – Chapters 3, 4, 9, 10, 17 and 18

**Session 4 (Thursday, January 25)** – Historical antecedents (cont) World War I through the onset of the Cold War

**Cases presented by the instructor:** President Wilson and the League of Nations; President Roosevelt and the road to war.

**Reading:** Cole – Chapters 23, 24, 28, and 29, HS – Chapters 2 and 3; Jentleson, pp 65-85

**Session 5 (Tuesday, January 30)** – The Cold War and its antecedents:

**Cases presented by the instructor:** The establishment of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan; Iran-Contra

**Reading:** HS – Chapters 5-8

**Session 6 (Thursday, February 1)** – The Post Cold-War era

**Reading:** HS – Chapters 9-12

**Session 7 (Tuesday, February 6)** – The 911 era

**Reading:** HS – Chapters 13-14; WKS – Chapter 15

**Session 8 (Thursday, February 8)** – Instruments of Global Influence: Covert activities – Instructor absent – Professor Joseph Wippl will lead the class

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 4

**Session 9 (Tuesday, February 13)** – The External Source: International Political System in Transition

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 6

**Session 10 (Thursday, February 15)** – Instruments of Global Influence: Military Might and Intervention, Foreign Aid, Sanctions, and Public Diplomacy

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 5

***Tuesday, February 20 – No class; University following Monday class schedule***

**Session 11 (Thursday, February 22)** – The External Source: World Political Economy in Transition; review for mid-term examination

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 7

**Session 12 (Tuesday, February 27)** –Mid-term examination

**Session 13 (Thursday, March 1)** The Governmental Source: Presidential leadership

***Note: Memo presentations begin and continue, two each day, through May 1***

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 10; Rosati, pp 1-53

**Session 14 (Tuesday, March 6)** – The Governmental Source: The National Security Council; the National Security Advisor, and the National Security Council system. The foreign policy bureaucracy

**Reading:** Rosati – pp 53-104

**Session 15 (Thursday, March 8)** – The Governmental Source: The foreign policy bureaucracy: The State Department at home and abroad

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 11; Rosati – pp 104-114; Thomas O. Melia, *Congressional Staff Attitudes towards the Department of State and Foreign Service Officers* (Courseinfo)

***Saturday, March 10-Sunday, March 18, Spring Break***

**Session 16 (Tuesday, March 20)** – The Governmental Source: The foreign policy bureaucracy – The defense and intelligence establishments

**Reading:** Rosati, pp104-157 and 183-198

**Session 17 (Thursday, March 22)** – The Governmental Source: The Congress

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 12;

**Session 18 (Tuesday, March 27)** – The Governmental Source: The Congress

**Reading:** Rosati – pp 238-300

**Session 19 (Thursday, March 29)** – The Governmental Source: Summary

**Reading:** *TO BE ASSIGNED*

**Session 20 (Tuesday, April 3)** – The Societal Source: Political Culture and Public Opinion

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 8

**Session 21 (Thursday, April 5) – Public Opinion**

**Reading:** The Pew Research Center: “America’s Place in the World 2005,” pp 1-38  
<http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=263>;

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations: Public Opinion Survey, pp 13-32  
[http://www.ccf.org/past\\_pos.php](http://www.ccf.org/past_pos.php);

Daniel Yankelovich, “The Tipping Points,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006;  
<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20060501faessay85309/daniel-yankelovich/the-tipping-points.html?mode=print>

**Session 22 (Tuesday, April 10) The Societal Source: Interest Groups**

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 9; Jessica Mathews, “Power Shift,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb 1997:  
<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/19970101faessay3739/jessica-t-mathews/power-shift.html?mode=print>

**Session 23 (Thursday, April 12) The Societal Source: The Media**

**Reading:** Nicholas Burns, *Talking to the World*; (Courseinfo) James Hoge, “Media Pervasiveness,” *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 1994 (Courseinfo)

**Session 24 (Tuesday, April 17) – The Bureaucratic Source**

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 13; **Rosati** – pp 211-227

**Session 25 (Thursday, April 19) – The Individual Source**

**Reading:** WKS – Chapter 14; **Preston**, pp 1-31

**Session 26 (Tuesday, April 24) – Foreign Policy Leaders assess the 21<sup>st</sup> Century;**

**Reading:** CSIS – pp. 3-22, 32-40

**Session 27 (Thursday, April 26) - Foreign Policy Leaders assess the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (cont)**

**Reading:** CSIS – pp 43-123

**Session 28 (Tuesday, May 1) – The road ahead**

**Reading:** National Security Strategies of the United States, 2002 and 2006;  
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/>

**Session 29 (Thursday, May 3) – Summing Up**