



POL 472/572 AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY II Dr. Frank Wayman W'17
1094 CAS&L Bldg., Mon.-Wed. 11 AM-12:15 PM [CRN's 472, 30160; 572, 30163] [170109]

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COURSE CONTENT:

This course is the second semester of a survey of American foreign policy. The second semester is concerned with American Foreign Policy in the non-western world, especially the post-Cold War issues affecting Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, and China. The chronological focus in the second semester is primarily 1990-present.

There is no need to take the first semester as a prerequisite; the division into terms is just a matter of convenience.

The first semester (PS 471/571) provides a general overview of U.S. foreign policy, with some brief attention on events even up to the present, but with primary attention on the earlier period, i.e., pre-1990. This means a concern with (1) the Western world, including the Western hemisphere and Europe, and (2) the relationship among the major powers, especially the Western major powers, plus Russia/the Soviet Union.

This syllabus represents a full description of PS 472; however, any students taking graduate credit (PS 572) will need to meet with me personally about the further requirements of graduate credit. Basically, graduate students will be responsible for the work in this syllabus, plus a substantial research paper focusing on U.S. interventions, wars, and militarized inter-state disputes. For graduate credit, 25% of the course grade will be based on each exam, and 25% will be based on the paper. Term papers for those taking graduate credit are due Wed., Mar. 15th, at 11 AM.

Topics in PS 472/572 this year include:

(1) Reflections on **How Post-Cold War U.S. Foreign Policy Has Been Made** (e.g., from the Wittkopf et al. textbook, and Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas," *International Security* 29, No. 1 (summer 2004): 5-48;

(2) A series of **background reports on emerging countries important to U.S. security: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, the Arabian Peninsula states (especially Saudi Arabia and Yemen), Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Libya, Sudan and S. Sudan, and Nigeria.**

(3) **U.S. Military Intervention, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan in the 21st century** (Benjamin Fordham and Christopher Sarver, "Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Use of Force," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, No. 3 (Sept. 2001): 455-466; David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, No. 1 (summer 2004): 49-9; and

(4) **Peacekeeping** (Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48, No. 2 (June 2004): 269-292).

(5) **Relations with Iran, especially concerning sanctions and the Iranian nuclear weapons program.**

(6) **The Far East, including Communist China and North Korea.**

(7) **Global Warming** and other "emerging issues".

(8) **Predicting the Future.** I think a moment's reflection would lead a reasonable person to the conclusion that it is impossible to design a good policy without an understanding of what will happen in the future. More specifically, one needs to know where we are headed, and where we would go instead if a particular new policy were adopted. But how do you do this successfully? One of our books, *The Predictioneer's Game*, is by an international relations professor who was named one of *Foreign Policy* magazine's top 100 global thinkers, and who was the man selected as "The Next Nostradamus" by the U.S. TV History Channel (in a one-hour special on his predictions).

Special readings for these topics can be obtained when needed through the electronic resources of the Univ. Library (such as JSTOR). Some additional assignments will possibly be made from these sources, as current events unfold during the semester.

OTHER RELATED COURSES ON CAMPUS:

Students interested in pursuing further work in the field should also consider Mideast Politics (Prof. Stockton), Revolution (Prof. Stockton), The Arms Race (Prof. Wayman), International Politics (Prof. Wayman), Great Foreign Powers (Prof. Wayman), International Security Affairs (Prof. Wayman) and Peace and War (Prof. Wayman). The Arms Race (P.S. 260) and International Security Affairs (P.S. 473) examine changing technology from the Manhattan project to the present, with a focus on arms control to limit the risk of death from weapons of mass destruction. International Politics (P.S. 371) focuses on general principles of international behavior, such as the balance of power, nationalism, the causes of war, arms races, international law, international organizations, and means of peaceful conflict resolution. Peace and War (PS 451) examines the causes of war, especially interstate war in the past two centuries. Great Foreign Powers (P.S. 375) focuses on the objectives, capabilities, and actions of the major powers in their struggle for world mastery since the Renaissance; primary attention is paid to the major allies and adversaries of the United States, including the Soviet Union and China. American Foreign Policy (PS 361), a one-semester treatment, concentrates on the development of American foreign and defense policy since World War II. Beyond courses in the Social Sciences Department, there is an International Studies concentration available on campus, focused on combining foreign language training with a substantive area such as international

relations and diplomacy (see brochures outside the Language, Culture, and Communication Dept. office -- this was formerly one-half of the "Humanities" Department in CAS&L).

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

The course is built around reading, lectures, and class participation. **Use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, except for course-related purposes.**

The following books are required of students and should be purchased in the bookstore:

Eugene Wittkopf, Jones, and Kegley, *American Foreign Policy*, ca. 658 pp.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *The Predictioneer's Game*. ca. 200 pp.

Juan Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World*. ca. 276 pp.

William Antholis and Strobe Talbott, *Fast Forward: Ethics and Politics in the Age of Global Warming*. 120 pp.

There is a course-pack, also required: from \$Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. \$Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at www.dollarbillcopying.com. At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and \$Bill ships next day UPS to your address.

TERM PAPER PORTION OF THE GRADE

There is a written assignment, of a six-page, single-spaced paper, examining the wars of a country of the world, using the Wayman-Schafer draft update of the Correlates of War Project data (www.correlatesofwar.org) to itemize all of its recent (2008-present) inter-state, extra-state, and intra-state wars, report whenever the U.S. was an official participant in some of those wars, and check for other indications of U.S. involvement, particularly U.S. troop deployments. Details forthcoming. The current plan is for each student to take one of the 21 countries that have experienced war in that period. Assignment due Thurs., Nov. 12th. This paper counts for 19% of the grade.

EXAMINATION PORTION OF THE GRADE

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and lectures. Each exam will be half multiple choice and half essay. The multiple choice questions will be designed to test your knowledge of specific points in the readings and lectures. The essay portion of each exam will be 25 minutes long, and during that period you will answer one question, assigned to you from a set of three questions that will be distributed at least one week before the exam. The three questions will attempt to give you the opportunity to integrate your knowledge into a broad perspective of your own on some aspect of foreign policy. You will have to answer the question on the exam without aid of notes, but the opportunity to prepare in advance will insure that you are not caught by surprise by the question. Each exam will have equal weight, which is 27% of the course grade. In the case of students who contribute in a consistently meaningful way to the simulation or class discussion, a small upward adjustment of grades will be made to reflect their contributions to the class.

Grading Scale:

Grading of the multiple choice tests is curved, to roughly correspond to the historic average University grade, in the B to B- range. Grading of the essay portion of the exam and of the term papers is on a basis of absolute quality rather than a curve. Grades of A correspond to a GPA of 4.0, B is a 3.0, C is a 2.0, and so on down through D (1.0) and E or F (0).

THERE WILL BE NO MAKE UP EXAMS EXCEPT UNDER THE MOST EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES AND WITH PROOF.

On occasion, there will be a few points extra credit offered for an event that is relevant to this course. However, some of you will not be able to take advantage of these because of time restrictions, so don't count on getting extra credit.

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND POLICIES:

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying) --

Code of Conduct from the office of the Provost:

The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth by the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

Any incidences of the above will be reported to the Social Science Department Chair, the CASL Deans office, and the Student's unit and/or school.

DISABILITIES:

The University will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students need to register with Disability Resource Services (DRS) every semester they are enrolled for classes. DRS is located in Counseling & Support Services, 2157 UC. To be assured of having services when they are needed, students should register no later than the end of the add/drop deadline of each term.

CLASS POLICIES:

1. No make-up exams will be given except under documented circumstances.
2. RESPECT. We are all to respect others opinions, beings, comments, and habits. This does not mean we cannot disagree, nor does it mean we cannot have fun. However, we each need to respect the diversity of our fellow students. There are also topics discussed that may challenge you either intellectually or emotionally; while we try to be sensitive, a university is also a place for inquiry and discovery. More about this in class.
3. Students arriving late should do so as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.
4. In the event that I am aware of a major accident on the road or a weather problem, I may delay class start by five to ten minutes.

5. ON E-MAIL: E-MAIL IS THE MAIN VEHICLE WE WILL USE TO STAY IN TOUCH OUTSIDE OF CLASS. For example, if school is canceled, I will send you an email with some attached materials. Anyone without access to the Internet at home should see me the first week of class to have alternative plans in place. While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from hackers and viruses, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. We should all also be cautious about opening e-mail attachments. This means, for example, your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment out of caution. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.

6. Class discussion and participation is an integral part of this class. If you are within two or three points of a higher grade, your participation and attendance will be taken into account. (I do not count you as present if you are sleeping, carrying on personal discussions, or otherwise “tuned out.”)

7. As a general rule, use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, but there are reasonable exceptions for portable computers for class purposes. Please step up to the podium area and notify me, in the first week of class, if you are wish to use a laptop computer.

Put your pagers on vibrate and turn off your cell phones. (In the event that you are on stand-by to be asked by President Obama to be a liaison in secret meetings with the Syrian rebels, or Donald Trump has asked you to be his on-call foreign policy advisor, or some critical personal reason, let me know ahead of time). **If your pager or cell phone goes off, or if you read or answer a text, YOU LOSE 5 POINTS. If you get up and leave to be on the phone, you lose five points. If mine goes off, you get five points.**

8 The use of a laptop in class is acceptable ONLY FOR CLASS PURPOSES. Game playing, emailing, and web surfing, unless approved by instructor, are not acceptable. This has become a problem and students have complained privately that it is distracting and annoying. If you feel a need to keep emailing your friends, surfing the web, or playing games, you probably should not come to class. It is your choice. If you have a laptop, I will, on occasion, ask you to look up something we are discussing.

9. I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus, and we may fall behind or surge ahead, but any changes to exam dates (due to school closure, falling behind because we had a speaker, etc.) will be decided by the class by vote.

10. UM-Dearborn’s official attendance policy states that, “a student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester.” If you are absent, you must get notes from a fellow student. I

will not go over what we covered in class, nor will I excuse you from any assignment or new information unless a real (documented) emergency occurred.

11. I will make every effort to meet with any student so requesting. You need to build relationships with your instructors so when it is time for a recommendation for a scholarship or something else, your instructors will know you. Try to come up and see me at least twice during the semester. I am around many other times than my official hours indicate; just ask. Using my email sledward@umich.edu is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

Emergency Preparedness:

All students are encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's University Police phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call University Police.

The Emergency Alert Notification (EAN) system is the official process for notifying the campus community for emergency events. All students are strongly encouraged to register in the campus EAN, for communications during an emergency. The following link includes information on registering as well as safety and emergency procedures information:

<http://umdearborn.edu/emergencyalert/>.

If you hear a fire alarm, class will be immediately suspended, and you must evacuate the building by using the nearest exit. Please proceed outdoors to the assembly area and away from the building. Do not use elevators. It is highly recommended that you do not head to your vehicle or leave campus since it is necessary to account for all persons and to ensure that first responders can access the campus.

If the class is notified of a shelter-in-place requirement for a tornado warning or severe weather warning, your instructor will suspend class and shelter the class in the lowest level of this building away from windows and doors.

If notified of an active threat (shooter) you will Run (get out), Hide (find a safe place to stay) or Fight (with anything available). Your response will be dictated by the specific circumstances of the encounter.

<http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/classroomsafety>

Any late assignment without a signed letter from an M.D. or equivalent authority will result in a two-notch reduction in grade for that exam (e.g., from B- to straight C).

THE INSTRUCTOR:

Prof. Wayman has been on the UM-D faculty since 1972. He has also taught courses on foreign policy at the University of Pennsylvania and on the Ann Arbor campus of this University. He has a B.A. from Cornell University and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He has published a monograph on what conditions produce military dictatorships (*Military Involvement in Politics*), a book on American presidential elections (*A Time of Turmoil*, co-authored with Ronald R. Stockton), and a number of articles on American, world politics and comparative politics. A long-time associate of the Correlates of War Project at the University of Michigan, he has especially written about the causes of war and the conditions of peace. Meredith Sarkees and Frank Wayman have recently completed *Resort to War: Data, Trends, and Narratives*

Concerning All Inter-State, Extra-State, Intra-State and Non-State Wars, 1816-2008 (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010). This book has a one-page essay with supporting data on each U.S. international war since 1816. Civil wars, while included, receive briefer attention. He is also an active scholar in the fields of American public opinion and of the effect of interest groups on Congress. His articles have been reprinted in such compendia as *Classics of International Relations*, *Classic Readings in American Politics*, and *Classics of Interest Group Behavior*. He has won the prize for the best paper at the Midwest Political Science annual meeting, as well as grants from the National Science Foundation and Resources for the Future. One of his recent projects is *Predicting the Future in Science, Economics, and Politics*, a book on the prediction of global conditions, and, in that endeavor, the proper role of "consilience," the quest for reduction and unity of the sciences. Related to that effort at global forecasting, we will be reading *The Predictioneer's Game*, by Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, one of the co-authors of *Predicting the Future in Science, Economics, and Politics*.

PURPOSES OF THE COURSE:

The course is designed to provide students with the information necessary (a) to comprehend the causes of U.S. foreign policy, and (b) to evaluate the quality of U.S. behavior in world affairs. The course will also be helpful in understanding the presidency, congress, the bureaucracy, the media and interest groups in our society, as well as the foreign cultures with which we interact. Other administrators think it is important that you be told what our bureaucratic goals are, so I have been told to place this website in the syllabus:

<http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/>

LECTURE TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS:

Complete by Jan. 11th:

Course Pack:

John Vasquez, "World Politics Theory". Vasquez discusses the benefits of two different types of theory -- practical theory and scientific theory. A paradigm is, I would say, a word for a family of specific theories that are similar to each other. Vasquez focuses on the realist paradigm, which he sees as dominant in the field of world politics. He discusses the pros and cons of the realist paradigm. Unfortunately, although Vasquez is for theory in principle, he finds that the grandest theoretical approach to world politics (realism) has terrible flaws. What are the standards by which Vasquez judges the value of practical theory? What are the standards by which he judges the value of scientific theory?

Alex George: "Foreword" to *Being Useful*, a U. of Michigan Press book by Nincic and Lepgold. Prof. George says there are "generic problems" that arise regularly in the conduct of foreign policy. These include deterrence, coercive diplomacy, crisis management, and conciliation. George calls for reliance on studies of them, rather than grander theory like realism. Policy makers need a general conceptual model of such a problem, a specific strategy they might employ, a correct image of the adversary, and generic knowledge about the chances a strategy would work under certain circumstances. George clearly believes we scholars have such "generic knowledge," a term George prefers to theory, because foreign policy makers in government are opposed to "theory," and he wants to influence those government leaders.

The readings in the course pack continue with other chapters in *Being Useful*, namely, those by Miroslav Nincic, Art Stein, and Bruce Jentelson.

The last item in the course pack, by Lloyd Jensen, measures how accurately State Department officials, professors, Pentagon officials, and journalists predict international events. Who wins? Who finishes second?

Related to these course-pack items, we will be taking a Foreign Service Officers exam, such as used by the State Department, to see what the U.S. Department of State expects its applicants to know.

Please note: Martin Luther King Day is Jan. 16th and we will not have class.

Complete by Jan. 18th:

Wittkopf, et. al., pp. 1-100.

Complete by Jan. 25th:

Wittkopf, et. al., pp. 101-200.

Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas," *International Security* 29, No. 1 (summer 2004): 5-48)

Complete by Feb. 1st:

Wittkopf, et. al., pp. 201-300.

Complete by Feb. 8th:

Wittkopf, et. al., pp. 301-400.

EXAM ON ABOVE MATERIAL ON Mon. Feb. 13th

Complete by Feb. 15th:

Wittkopf, et. al., pp. 401-500.

Complete by Feb. 22nd:

Wittkopf, et. al., pp. 500-end.

Spring Break is Feb. 25th-March 5th

Complete by Mar. 8th:

Cole, first half of book.

Complete by Mar. 15th:

Cole, rest of book.

SECOND EXAM IS MONDAY, MAR. 20TH

Complete by Mar. 22nd:

Bueno de Mesquita, first half of book

Complete by Mar. 29th:

Bueno de Mesquita, second half of book

Complete by April. 5th:

Antholis and Talbott, *Fast Forward*.

Complete by April 12th:

U.S. Military Intervention (Benjamin Fordham and Christopher Sarver, "Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Use of Force," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, No. 3 (Sept. 2001): 455-466; David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, No. 1 (summer 2004): 49-91.

Complete by April 19th:

Peacekeeping (Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48, No. 2 (June 2004): 269-292).

UM-D study day is Sat., April 22nd

FINAL EXAM WILL BE Monday, April 24th, at 11:30 AM.

Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following questions. One will be on each exam.
Revised version [150909]

Exam #1

1. What is impact of policy ideas on U.S. foreign policy? What about the impact of Kennan's containment policy and of the neo-cons in the Bush 43 administration?
2. What does it take to have vigilant problem solving in U.S. foreign policy? What are some examples to illustrate your points?
3. What are the sources of bias in U.S. foreign policy decision making?
4. Graham Allison (co-authoring now with Phillip Zelikow [*Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd edition, N.Y.: Addison, Wesley, Longman, p. 3]) says, "In

attempting to understand problems of foreign affairs, analysts engage in a number of related but logically separable enterprises: (1) description, (2) explanation, (3) prediction, (4) evaluation, and (5) recommendation. This study focuses primarily on description and explanation and, by implication, prediction.” In light of those 3 goals, what is the current and past role of international relations theory and academic research in U.S. foreign policy, and how should that change? Feel free to pick your favorite assigned reading and look at it from that point of view.

Exam # 2:

1. What are the most important influences on U.S. foreign policy, according to the textbook? To what degree did lectures and class discussion agree or disagree with that textbook viewpoint?
2. What are the main instruments of global influence discussed by the textbook authors, and which ones work best in advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives and influencing today’s world?
3. What is the best way to engage the Muslim world, according to the readings? Do you agree or disagree with Cole’s recommendations for U.S. foreign policy?

Exam # 3:

1. What do you see as the most valuable aspects of Bueno de Mesquita’s *Predictioneer’s Game*? Do you agree or disagree with his analysis of policies in the Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.)?
2. What do you predict will happen in climate change policy, and why, based on Antholis and Talbott, and on Bueno de Mesquita?
3. What do you see as the effective and ineffective foreign policy instruments discussed in the readings and class?
4. What should the U.S. do about Iranian nuclear proliferation?