

TOPICS IN FOREIGN POLICY

PROFESSOR: **MICHELE TESTONI**

DEGREE: BACHELOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ACADEMIC YEAR: 2015-2016

DEGREE COURSE YEAR: 2nd year

1^o SEMESTER 2^o SEMESTER

CATEGORY: BASIC COMPULSORY OPTIONAL

NO. OF CREDITS (ECTS): 6

LANGUAGE: English TUTORIALS:

FORMAT: LECTURE & SEMINAR PREREQUISITES:

1. COURSE DESCRIPTION

“Much of the anguish of foreign policy results from the need to establish priorities among competing, sometimes conflicting, necessities.” (Henry A. Kissinger)

The course is intended to introduce students to the central concepts, debates, and case studies of foreign policy analysis, the subfield of International Relations devoted to examine how states pursue their goals in their relations with external entities through the methods and theories of contemporary Political Science. Foreign policy represents a peculiar inter-change area between different and often contradictory forces: on the one hand, the impact of external factors (i.e. geopolitical configurations, security concerns, international bodies' resolutions, trade and investment flows, transnational terrorism, etc.) over governments' decisions; on the other side, the impact of states' domestic features (i.e. form of government, leaders' psychology, economic wealth, media, public opinion, etc.) upon the country's international conduct.

The course is divided in three parts. The first one (Sessions 1-4) will explore the most relevant approaches to the scientific study of foreign policy. It will focus on IR theories' conceptions of state action and the multiple ways in which the domestic structure-agency relationship is able to affect and shape states' international behavior. The second part (Sessions 5-20) will analyze the evolution of American foreign policy. The cultural traditions of US foreign policy, the decisionmaking system, the Presidential foreign policy “doctrines”, and all key political, military, and economic events that have characterized the development of America's global role will be taken into account. The third part (Sessions 21-30) will investigate the external action of ten further case studies. They are: Brazil, Britain, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Russia, South Africa and Turkey. The goal of this section is to highlight the peculiarities of their foreign policies as well as to emphasize their similarities and their differences in a comparative perspective.

2. COURSE SCHEDULE

PART ONE: CONCEPTS AND METHODS OF FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

SESSIONS 1 & 2: INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Description:

- Origins and evolution of foreign policy analysis
- External influences on states' foreign policy

Readings:

- ✓ Smith-Hadfield-Dunne: Chapter 1 (book)
- ✓ Beasley et al.: Chapter 1 (book)
- ✓ Doc.: P. Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics", in *International Organization*, 32 (4), 1978, pp. 881-912 (s-c)

SESSIONS 3 & 4: THE "INSIDE-OUT" APPROACH: FOREIGN POLICY STARTS AT HOME

Description:

- Implementation and behavior: the instruments of foreign policy
- The media, public opinion and foreign policy: the "pluralist model" vs. the "elite model"
- Decision-making and foreign policy: the "two-level games" model; organizational process and bureaucratic politics; the veto players theory

Readings

- ✓ Smith-Hadfield-Dunne: Chapters 8 and 9 (book)
- ✓ Doc.: R.D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games", in *International Organization*, 42 (3), 1988, pp. 427-460 (s-c)
- ✓ Doc.: T. Risse-Kappen, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies", in *World Politics*, 43 (4), 1991, pp. 479-512 (s-c)
- ✓ Doc.: G. Tsebelis, "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism", in *British Journal of Political Science*, 25 (3), 1995, pp. 289-325 (s-c)
- ✓ Doc.: D.A. Welsh, "The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect", in *International Security*, 17 (2), 1992, pp. 112-146 (s-c)

PART TWO: THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

SESSIONS 5 & 6: THE CONTINENTAL EMPIRE

Description:

- The basics of US foreign policy: exceptionalism and isolationism
- The origins of US foreign policy: closing the frontier; the Western Hemisphere; the "Pacific overtures"

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 1 (book)
- ✓ M.T. Lubragge, "Manifest Destiny"
[<http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/essays/1801-1900/manifest-destiny/>]
- ✓ George Washington's "Farewell Address" (1796)
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp]
- ✓ The Monroe Doctrine (1823) [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp]

SESSIONS 7 & 8: EMPIRE AMONG EMPIRES

Description:

- The rise of US imperialism: the 1898 Spanish-American war and the "Roosevelt corollary"

- Making the world “safe for democracy”: Wilson and the Fourteen Points

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 2 (book)
- ✓ Doc.: J.L. Offner, “McKinley and the Spanish-American War”, in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34 (1), 2004, pp. 50-61 (s-c)
- ✓ Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points (1917)
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp]

SESSIONS 9 & 10: THE INTERWAR YEARS

Description:

- The roaring 1920s and the “irresponsible internationalism”
- FDR: the “Good neighbor” policy and the Neutrality Acts

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 3 (book)
- ✓ C. O’Donnell, “American Foreign Policy: A Review of some Recent Literature on Isolation and Collective Security”, in *The Review of Politics*, 1 (3), 1939, pp. 333-347
- ✓ The Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/kbpact.asp]

SESSIONS 11 & 12: AMERICA’S GLOBAL EMPIRE

Description:

- FDR and the war effort: the Atlantic Charter and the Grand Alliance
- From anti-Nazism to anti-Communism: “containment” and the Truman Doctrine; the Korean war, McCarthyism and the Red Scare
- The US-Soviet nuclear confrontation: from balance of terror to peaceful coexistence
- The domestic impact of the Cold War: the “Imperial Presidency”

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 4 (book)
- ✓ The Atlantic Charter (August 1941) [<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp>]
- ✓ Doc.: X, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct”, in *Foreign Affairs*, 25 (4), 1947, pp. 566-582. (s-c)
- ✓ The Truman Doctrine (March 1947) [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp]

SESSIONS 13 & 14: THE AMERICAN CENTURY

Description:

- The “internationalization” of the New Deal: the Conferences of San Francisco and Bretton Woods
- The “Americanization” of Europe: the Marshall Plan and the European integration process
- American alliances in the world: NATO, CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS
- Revitalizing the American Dream: JFK and the myth of the “new frontier”

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 5 (book)
- ✓ H.R. Luce, “The American Century”, in *Life* (February 1941)
[<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~mllassite/discussions261/luce.pdf>]
- ✓ Doc.: S. Schlesinger, “FDR’s Five Policemen: Creating the United Nations”, in *World Policy Journal*, 11 (3), 1994, pp. 88-93. (s-c)

SESSIONS 15 & 16: THIRD WORLD CHALLENGES

Description:

- The end of European empires: India, Algeria, Suez, Congo
- The US and the rise of Israel
- Dealing with decolonization: supporting freedom or fighting communism?

- Indochina and the “domino theory”: the origins of US military involvement in Vietnam

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 6 (book)
- ✓ J.C. Thomson, “How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy”, in *The Atlantic* (April 1968) [<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1968/04/how-could-vietnam-happen-anautopsy/306462/>]

SESSIONS 17 & 18: COSTS AND DIFFICULTIES

Description:

- The rise and fall of détente: from Realpolitik to the “zero option”
- In the periphery: between coups, guerrillas and human rights
- The economic phoenix: from stagflation to Reaganomics

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 7 (book)

SESSIONS 19 & 20: THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

[First take-home paper due] Description:

- The post-victory American foreign policy debate
- Clinton’s “doctrine of enlargement”
- The Bush wars: September 11, 2001 and the neo-con movement
- Obama’s “pivot to Asia”

Readings:

- ✓ Hunt: Chapter 8 and Conclusion (book)
- ✓ Doc.: J.S. Nye jr., “Soft Power”, in *Foreign Policy*, 80, 1990, pp. 153-171. (s-c)
- ✓ Doc.: C. Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment”, in *Foreign Affairs*, 70 (1), 1990/1991, pp. 23-33. (s-c)
- ✓ Doc.: Z. Brzezinski, “From Hope to Audacity: Appraising Obama’s Foreign Policy”, in *Foreign Affairs*, 89 (1), 2010, pp. 16-30. (s-c)
- ✓ H. Clinton, “America’s Pacific Century”, in *Foreign Policy*, October 2011 [<http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/>]

PART THREE: FOREIGN POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

SESSIONS 21 & 22: POST-IMPERIAL CONTRADICTIONS

Description:

- Oral presentation, group 1: the foreign policy of Britain
- Oral presentation, group 2: the foreign policy of France

Readings:

- ✓ Beasley et al.: Chapters 2 and 3 (book)

SESSIONS 23 & 24: RESURGENT LOSERS

Description:

- Oral presentation, group 3: the foreign policy of Germany
- Oral presentation, group 4: the foreign policy of Japan Readings:
- ✓ Beasley et al.: Chapters 4 and 7 (book)

SESSIONS 25 & 26: POWER POLITICS IN EURASIA

Description:

- Oral presentation, group 5: the foreign policy of Russia
- Oral presentation, group 6: the foreign policy of China

Readings:

- ✓ Beasley et al.: Chapters 5 and 6 (book)

SESSIONS 27 & 28: BETWEEN CULTURE AND INTERESTS

Description:

- Oral presentation, group 7: the foreign policy of India
- Oral presentation, group 8: the foreign policy of Turkey

Readings:

- ✓ Beasley et al.: Chapters 8 and 9 (book)

SESSIONS 29 & 30: IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE

[Second take-home paper due]

Description

- Oral presentation, group 9: the foreign policy of South Africa
- Oral presentation, group 10: the foreign policy of Brazil

Readings

- ✓ Beasley et al.: Chapters 12 and 13 (book)

3. EVALUATION SYSTEM

3.1. EVALUATION AND WEIGHTING CRITERIA

The breakdown of the final grade is as follows:

Class attendance and participation	20%
Two pop-up quizzes	20% (10% each)
Two take-home papers	40% (20% each)
Team work	20%

Class attendance and participation

The grade will reflect how regularly students come to class, their pro-active contribution to class discussion, and their overall conduct. All readings are not just mandatory assignments, but a crucial components of the course; for students are expected do the readings in advance. Scarce preparedness, passive participation, late arrivals, and inappropriate behaviors will negatively affect the grade.

Pop-up quizzes

With the exception of the last part of the course (sessions 21-30), there will be two pop-up quizzes. They will be managed on a multiple-choice format and take place on a surprise, non-negotiable basis. Each test will be based on the readings and the class notes of the previous four sessions.

Take-home papers

Students will be asked to write two take-home papers (3,000 words, footnotes and bibliography included, 7-8 pages approximately) on topics previously assigned by the professor. Papers must be handled in class and are due to, respectively, sessions 19 and 29. Late papers will not be

accepted. Plagiarism is strictly forbidden and will be sanctioned. Any student found plagiarizing on an assignment will receive a '0' for that assignment and an ethics warning. A second case of plagiarism will lead to the convening of a university ethics committee, and failing the class.

Team work

Students will divide in ten groups, each of which will give an oral presentation on one of the comparative case studies forming the third part of the course (sessions 21-30). Each group will be required to provide a brief handout of the presentation in order to introduce, stimulate, and conduct subsequent class discussion. Students will be assessed individually, according to their own amount of in-depth analysis, organizational coherence and clarity of the exposition.

3.2. EXAMINATION POLICY

- Students have up to 4 examination sessions per course over two consecutive academic years.
- IE University has a mandatory Class Attendance Policy that requires students to attend a minimum of 70% of class sessions per course. For, any student missing more than 9 sessions will automatically fail the class. Failure to comply with this requirement will result in students being ineligible to sit for the exam in both the 1st and the 2nd examination sessions. Students will be required to sit for the exam in the 3rd session.
- Students who fail the course in the 1st round of exams are eligible to re-sit in the 2nd examination session.
- The highest grade that a student may earn in the 2nd examination session is 8.

3.3. EXTRAORDINARY EVALUATION

In the event that you do not satisfy the requirements to pass the class, you will have the option to take an extraordinary supplemental exam.

This extraordinary exam may be complemented and/or replaced by additional supplemental assignments as part of your overall evaluation.

Dispensation for the inclusion of additional evaluation criteria in the event of an unsatisfactory grade will be made solely at the discretion of your professor. In accordance with university policy, extraordinary exams must without exception be taken in Segovia during the extraordinary exam period.

4. USE OF ELECTRONIC DEVICES IN CLASS

This subject does not require the use of electronic devices. Barring exceptional circumstances, such as physical disabilities, they are not permitted class.

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Below are the compulsory texts. Additional readings will be contained in the digital course pack.

5.1. COMPULSORY

- R.K. Beasley et al. (eds.), *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior* (2nd edition). Los Angeles, SAGE, 2013.
- M.H. Hunt, *The American Ascendancy: How the United States Gained and Wielded Global Dominance*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

5.2. RECOMMENDED (ON RESERVE COLLECTION IN THE LIBRARY)

- S.W. Hook and J. Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II (19th edition)*. Los Angeles, SAGE, 2013.
- S. Smith, A. Hadfield, T. Dunne (eds.), *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases (2nd edition)*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

6. PROFESSOR'S BIO

MICHELE TESTONI

Michele Testoni has a PhD in Political Science from the University of Florence. His research and publications focus on international security relations, with a special attention to NATO and US foreign and defense policy. He is member of the Transatlantic Studies Association, and from 2010 to 2012 was appointed as Associate Fellow at SAIS-Europe, Johns Hopkins University.

7. OTHER INFORMATION OF INTEREST

Office Hours: before and the end of class, or by appointment.

Email: mtestoni@faculty.ie.edu