**PLIR 4440. Domestic Politics and American Foreign Policy**

**Fall 2015. Tuesdays, 5-7:30 pm, 115 New Cabell Hall**

**Mr. Lynch**

**Office hours: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11am-12:15 pm (Gibson 397)**

This course analyzes the relationship between U.S. domestic and U.S. foreign policy from several perspectives: conceptual, historical and topical. Students will be required to: (1) submit a formal research proposal, due in class on Tuesday, September 20; (2) write a take-home (open-notes, open book) analytical essay, due in class on Tuesday, October 11; (3) submit a 15-20 page research paper analyzing the relative influence of domestic factors on some aspect of U.S. foreign policy, due on Tuesday, December 13,5 pm at 397 Gibson. In addition, each student will make a formal presentation on readings as well as their research paper in progress; regular, informed participation in class discussion is expected.

Work will be evaluated as follows:

Formal research proposal: 20%

Take-home essay: 20%

Student participation: 20%

Research paper: 40%

I shall read one draft of your research paper and return it with comments (and without a grade) before final submission. Please note that the deadline for submission of a draft research paper is November 29. This is optional.

Students’ written work will be evaluated on the basis of the following criteria: degree of command of presentations and readings; degree of incisiveness and coherence of analysis; soundness and originality of judgment; as well as facility of expression in written English.

Please note that the grade of “B” denotes “good” work.

**Books Ordered for Purchase:**

1. Richard van Alstyne, “The Rising American Empire”

2. Jon Western, “Selling Intervention and War: the Presidency, the Media, and the American Public”

3. Melvin Small, “Democracy and Diplomacy”

4. Tony Smith, “Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy”

5. Stephen M. Griffin, “Long Wars and the Constitution”

6. James Mann, “The Obamians: The Struggle Inside the Obama White House to Redefine American Power”

7. Peter Hay Gries, “The Politics of American Foreign Policy: How Ideology Divides Liberals & Conservatives over Foreign Affairs”

8. James McCormick, ed., “Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence” (6th edition, 2012)

All other readings are available on Collab, indicated by “(C)”. Supreme Court cases may be found at: [www.supremejustia.com](http://www.supremejustia.com). Just type in the name of the given case (e.g., *Korematsu v. the United States*).

**Schedule of Classes**

8/23. **Introduction. Why this Course? Procedures**.

8/30. **Lecture: Historical Patterns**.

Van Alstyne, 1-99; Small, 1-15; Walter Russell Mead, “The Tea Party, Populism, and the Domestic Culture of U.S. Foreign Policy,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 55-66; Hunt, ch.2, “Visions of National Greatness” (C); Yoo, “Prerogative: the 18th Century Anglo-American Constitution and Foreign Affairs” (C); Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 19-45 (C).

9/6. **The Constitutional Framework**.

Warburg, “Conflict and Consensus” (C); Stevenson, “The Neutrality Declaration of 1793” (C); Walton, “The Early Years” (C); Henkin, “The Congress” (C); Corwin, “The National Executive Power” (C); Griffin, 11-59; Michael Nelson, “Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, pp. 179-188; James M. Lindsay, “The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations & American Foreign Policy,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 223-238.

Supreme Court Cases: Bas v. Tingy (1800), concerning undeclared war; US v Curtiss-Wright (1936), asserting the partial extra-constitutionality of the national foreign affairs power; Missouri v. Holland (1920), confirming no role for the states in foreign policy, and Goldwater v. Carter (1979), affirming presidential discretion on treaty termination. Excerpts from decisions may be found in Smith, *The Constitution and American Foreign Policy*, pp. 6-11, 89-90, 157-160 (C).

9/13. **The War Power**.

Griffin, 59-193; *The Tonkin Gulf Resolution* (1964) and *The War Powers Resolution* (1973), in Smith, 254-255, 257-260 (C); Louis Fisher, “Presidents Who Initiate Wars,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 189-208; Peter D. Feaver & Christopher Gelpi, “American Veterans in Government and the Use of Force,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 105-123.

Supreme Court Cases: *Youngstown Tube and Sheet v. Sawyer* (1952), affirming limits on President’s invocation of the war power; *New York Times v. the United States* (1971), denying prior restraint by the government on publication in absence of demonstrable danger. Excerpts in Smith, 197-206 (C).

9/20. **National Security and Individual Rights**.

Griffin, 194-235, 236-275.

Supreme Court Cases: Schenk v. US (1919), concerning restrictions on speech during wartime; Korematsu v. US (1944), concerning mass internment without due process during wartime; U.S. V. O’Brien (1968), denying that conscientious objection is a basic constitutional right; Hamdi v. Rumsfeld (2004) & Padilla v. Hanft (2006), concerning habeas corpus and due process in the context of the war on terror. Excerpts from Korematsu in Smith, pp. 189-192 (C).

***\*\*\*Research proposals are due in class.***

9/27. **Public Opinion**.

Gries, 1-29, 33-134, 235-262; Western, 1-25, 220-234; Adam J. Berinsky, “Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 123-138; Miroslav Nincic, “External Affairs and the Electoral Connection,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 139-155.

10/4. **Reading Period. No Class**.

10/11. **Interest Groups & the Electoral Cycle**.

Smith, 47-129; Gries, 183-208; James M. McCormick, “Ethnic Interest Groups in American Foreign Policy,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 67-88; John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 89-104; Wiarda, “American Foreign Policy: Actors and Processes” (C); Quandt, “The Electoral Cycle” (C).

10/18. **Several Historical Cases**:

1. Institutional Constraints on Foreign Policy Capacity: the late 19th Century.

Zakaria, “From Wealth to Power” (Collab, hereafter, “C”).

1. The Challenge of Globalism: Wilson and FDR.

Small, 26-51, 52-79; John Milton Cooper, “Breaking the Heart of the World,” at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/filmmore/fr_cooper.html>; Cole, “Roosevelt and the Isolationists,” pts 1-3 (C); Holsti, “The 1940 Destroyer Deal with Britain,” (C); review Griffin, 52-71; see text of the *Ludlow Amendment* (1937) in Smith, 245.

10/25. A. **McCarthyism and American Foreign Policy**.

Small, 80-140; Gries, 209-234; Stone, “The Cold War: the Scaremongers” (C); Todd Foglesong, ch.5, “Visions of Liberation, 1945-53,” in *The American Mission and the “Evil Empire”: the Crusade for a Free Russia since 1881* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 107-128 (C).

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1. **The Cuban Missile Crisis & Models of Foreign-Policy Decision Making**.

Allison & Zelikow, “The Essence of Decision,” 77-129 (C); Brussel, “The Cuban Missile Crisis” (C); Taubman, “Khrushchev: the Man and his Era” (ch. 19, “1962: the Cuban Cure All”) (C).

11/1. **Vietnam: 1954, 1965**.

Small, 141-164; Western, 26-61; (C); Gelb and Betts, “The Irony of Vietnam: the System Worked,” pp. 96-143 (C); James C. Thomson Jr., “How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 333-344; Snyder, ch. 7, “America’s Cold War Consensus,” 255-322 (C).

11/8. **Post-Vietnam, Post-Cold War Effects**:

1. **The U.S. & China**.

Gries, 235-262; E.A. Hyer, “The US Response to the Tianamen Massacre: Congressional Values and Executive Interests” (C); Auger, (Auger-ic.168.pdf—“Human Rights & Trade: the Clinton Administration and China)” (C); Swaine & Tuosheng, “The 2001 Aircraft Incident” (C).

1. **NATO Expansion**.

James M. Goldgeier, “NATO Expansion: the Anatomy of a Decision,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 361-382.

1. **Foreign Trade**.

I.M. (Mac) Destler, “American Trade Policymaking: A Unique Process,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 301-318;

D. **“Humanitarian” Military Intervention: Somalia (1993) and Bosnia (1995)**.

Jon Western, *Selling Intervention and War*, 133-174.

11/15. **Unilateralism Before George W. Bush, 1994-1999**.

Betts, “The Political Support System for American Primacy” (C); Pitzl & Stewart, “The US Position on the Kyoto Protocol: Senate Ratification or Not?” (C); Deibel, “Death of a Treaty” (C); Ausink, “Watershed in Rwanda: the Evolution of Clinton’s Humanitarian Policy” (C); Skidmore, “Who is at the Helm? The Debate over U.S. Funding for the United Nations,” (C).

11/22. **The Road to War in Iraq**.

Western, 175-219; Robert Jervis, “Why Intelligence and Policymakers Clash,” in McCormick, *Domestic* Sources, 267-284; Mann, “The Rise of the Vulcans,” 332-358 (C); Martin, “Going to the UN: George W. Bush and Iraq,” (C); Seymour Hersh, “Last Stand,” in McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, 417-428;

Videos: “Rumsfeld’s War,” PBS Frontline video, at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/pentagon/view/>; “The War Behind Closed Doors,” PBS Frontline Video, at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/view/>.

11/29. **The Obama Departure?**

Mann, *The Obamians. The Struggle Inside the Obama White House to Redefine American Power*, 66-75, 142-345; Ryan Lizza, “Obama: the Consequentialist,” in McCormick, *Domestic* Sources, 429-446; Rothkopf, ch.8, “Olympic Games” (C); Rothkopf, ch.9, “Leading from Behind” (C).

***\*\*\*November 29, class time, is deadline to submit draft research paper for “free” evaluation.***

12/6. Final Presentations on Research-in-Progress (continued).

***\*\*\*12/13, 5 pm. Research Paper is due at my office, 397 Gibson.***