

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Professor Deborah J. Gerner  
POL 682/AFS 602  
University of Kansas  
Spring 2000  
Class meets TR 9:30-10:50  
in Blake 212

Office hours: Monday 3:30-4:30  
Tuesday 2:30-4:00  
Thursday 2:30-5:00  
or by appointment  
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## **U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Third World**

### ***Course Description***

***Focus and goals.*** This upper-level course begins with the assumption that there are some common elements in 20th century U.S. political, economic, and military relations with most of Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), Latin America, and the Middle East (the so-called "Third World," where well over half of the world's population lives) that are distinct from US policy toward the USSR/Russia and the advanced industrial states. With this in mind, the course will address several topics:

- theories on the major determinants of U.S. foreign policy formulation, including international, societal, governmental, and individual sources;
- the historical evolution of U.S. policy objectives and the instruments used to fulfill (or attempt to fulfill) these goals;
- foreign policy challenges facing the United States in the post-Cold War era.

In addition to gaining specific knowledge about the substance and sources of US policy toward the Third World, this course provides you with the opportunity to:

- develop problem-solving and analytical skills;
- improve your capacity to think independently and to work through intellectual puzzles;
- strengthen your proficiency in reading, listening, speaking, and writing;
- scrutinize policy choices in politically and ethically difficult situations; and
- increase your "information literacy" by becoming familiar with key library resources relevant to the study of foreign policy.

As POLS 682, the course fulfills the political science distribution requirement for the "international law and relations" field; for the international studies co-major it is part of the "conflict & cooperation" specialization. The course has also been approved for credit within the Latin American Studies program. As AFS 602, it counts toward the African and African-American Studies major.

***Prerequisites.*** This course assumes students have taken nine hours (three courses) in political science, including POLS 170/171 and POLS 150/151. If you do not have these prerequisites, please discuss your situation with me to avoid being dropped from the course.

***Readings.*** We will use two books and twelve cases. The twelve required cases should be purchased from me for \$41.25.

Hunt, Michael H. *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

Snow, Donald M., and Eugene Brown. *U.S. Foreign Policy: Politics Beyond the Water's Edge* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas G. Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1997). [Recommended if your background in the history of US foreign policy is weak.]

***Evaluation.*** You should feel free to stop by my office during office hours — or make an appointment for another time if that is more convenient — if you would like feedback on how you are doing in class or

if you have questions or comments that you prefer not to raise in class. Course requirements for graduate students are slightly different; graduate students should speak with me early in the semester.

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|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| Short Assignments | 10 points | Class Participation  | 30 points |
| In-Class Exam     | 25 points | Case-Writing Project | 35 points |

**Consistent with KU policy, any student in this course who has a disability that prevents the fullest expression of his/her abilities should contact me personally as soon as possible so that we can discuss class requirements.** Make-up exams will not be given nor extensions and incompletes granted except in the case of an authoritatively documented medical emergency or bereavement. Please plan your schedule accordingly.

**Method of instruction.** The method of instruction will be directed discussion, interspersed with lectures on background material. The lectures and discussions will build on, rather than duplicate, the readings assigned for that day, so it is important to be familiar with their contents *before* class. Warning: This is a time-consuming course. A key component of the course will be the analysis and interpretation by students of nine foreign policy cases. *On the days when we are working through a specific case, it is essential that you study that case thoroughly ahead of time and come prepared to present and defend your analysis.*

#### **Summary of Case Discussions**

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 3 February  | "The Fall of Marcos" [Asia, Reagan]  |
| 15 February | "The War Powers Resolution and U.S. Policy in Lebanon, 1982-84 [Middle East, Reagan]                           |
| 22 February | "Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs" [Latin America, Kennedy]   |
| 29 February | "Americanizing the Vietnam War" [Asia, Johnson]  |
| 7 March     | "The US and South Africa: The Sanctions Debate of 1985" [Africa, Reagan]                                       |
| 14 March    | "Siege Mentality: ABC, the White House and the Iran Hostage Crisis" [Middle East, Carter]                      |
| 28 March    | "U.S.-Guatemalan Relations: The Struggle over Human Rights" [Latin America, Reagan/Bush]                       |
| 4 April     | "The Gulf Crisis: Building a Coalition for War" [Middle East, Bush]  |
| 11 April    | "A 'Seamless' Transition: US and UN Operations in Somalia" [Africa, Bush/Clinton]                              |
| 18 April    | "Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China" [Asia, Clinton]                                 |
| 25 April    | "Watershed in Rwanda: The Evolution of President Clinton's Humanitarian Intervention Policy" [Africa, Clinton] |
| 2 May       | "President Clinton's Haiti Dilemma" [Latin America, Clinton]   |

**Case-Writing Project.** Details about the case-writing project — which will require you to write a case study of a specific post-World War II decision regarding U.S. policy toward the Third World, based on primary source materials — will be distributed in class. If you intend to use this class as part of a Latin American or African Studies major, your paper should deal with an instance of US policy toward that region.

**Information Technologies.** This course will require you to make use of a variety of print and electronic sources of information, both as part of your preparation for case discussions and as you research the case you will be writing. To increase your familiarity with the wide-ranging materials available, we will have a hands-on information session, led by KU librarians Cindy Pierard and Roger Anderson, that will focus specifically on print and electronic sources that are particularly useful in the analysis of U.S. foreign policy.

**Academic misconduct.** Cheating and plagiarism in all their forms is a serious matter and will be treated as such. The minimum penalty is a zero for the assignment; depending on the circumstances, cases of academic misconduct may also be prosecuted at the college-level and may result in an "F" in the course. If you have *any* questions about what constitutes academic misconduct, please talk with me.

**Keeping up-to-date on the world.** While this is not a course in current events, I encourage you to pay attention to U.S. foreign policy actions around the world. I recommend the *New York Times*, *L.A. Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, or *Washington Post*; decent news magazines include the *Economist*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, or *US News and World Report*. Listening to National Public Radio's news programs "Morning Edition" (5:00 to 9:00 a.m.) and "All Things Considered" (4:00 to 6:00 p.m.) will also serve to keep you up to date (KANU, 91.5 FM).

**Why "cases"?** In this class, a case is a narrative account of an actual (or realistic) situation that requires a decision by a foreign policy official. Cases tend to look either prospectively or retrospectively at critical junctures in international affairs: diplomatic negotiations on the eve of war and peace, crises in foreign policy decision-making, military actions with unintended consequences, politically complex trade disputes, global environmental dilemmas. Cases present information but not analysis; your task is to supply the latter, as well as to formulate a strategy and advocate for your recommendation .

Why not just have an instructor provide "the answer"? As Gomez-Ibañez explains, "The fundamental principles behind the case method are that the best learned lessons are the ones you teach yourself, through your own struggles, and that many of the most useful kinds of understanding and judgment can not be told but must be learned through practical experience." Learning with cases involves your *active participation*. Unlike traditional lectures, where the material presented by the professor may find its way to your notebook with little conscious intervention on your part, case discussion demands your ideas and involvement. Rather than being a passive observer of the knowledge transmission process, cases require you to learn by actually doing the analysis and defending a particular course of action.

Studying cases may seem frustrating at first. Like the situations faced by real policy makers, information provided in the case may be ambiguous, complex, or incomplete. Generally a case has no single "correct" answer; there are only choices, some better, some worse, and all open for discussion and interpretation. Don't be afraid to be wrong or to have your position challenged! Sometimes the most valuable contribution you can make is to present an analysis that has merit but on closer consideration by the class turns out to have some unanticipated problems. That's how we all learn. *There would be little point in discussing these cases if the issues they present are so obvious that you can figure everything out before you come to class.*

**How will your performance in case discussions be evaluated?** The success of this approach depends on your preparation of each case and your intellectual engagement with its challenges. In assessing your participation — both in the case discussions and more generally — I will be looking for several things:

- evidence of careful preparation, including knowledge of the factual details of the case or other assigned readings;
- logical consistency, appropriateness to the discussion, originality, analytical sophistication, and use of relevant evidence in the arguments made;
- comments that are clear, concise, and enthusiastic; and
- the extent to which your contribution(s) contribute to the *process* of the discussion, such as building on the ideas of others, providing constructive criticism, asking useful questions, or indicating a careful listening to others.

If you want to raise an issue that is completely different from the one the class is discussing, consider waiting until the class is ready to move on to another topic. Alternatively, if you feel that you need to interject your point — particularly if you believe the class is moving off onto a tangent — try to do so by linking your comments to those of others.

I recognize that class discussion comes more easily for some people than for others. By temperament or habit, some of us are "talkers," others are "listeners." *Learning to be both is an important goal of this course.* I would prefer that you volunteer to participate but will call on you if necessary to bring you into the conversation. If you are uncomfortable speaking in class, please come by and talk with me: there are some "tricks" that I can suggest that might help. One final — perhaps obvious — comment: If you don't attend class, you cannot participate. If you don't participate, your grade will reflect this. (Each absence from a case discussion class will drop your participation grade 2 points.)

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***Historical Background***

There are a number of ways to initiate the study of U.S. foreign policy toward the Third World. I've chosen to begin by reviewing the historical domestic and international context in which this policy is constructed. As we enter the new millennium, it is sometimes difficult to remember that much of United States post-WW II foreign policy was staged against the backdrop of a massive nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union and an economic, political, and military alliance with Western Europe based in part on a shared hostility toward Communism and a commitment to the creation and maintenance of a liberal international economic order. We will examine the ways in which these overarching concerns have influenced U.S. foreign policy.

- 18 January (T)     **Course Introduction**  
                   *Reading*     Review the course syllabus carefully.
  
- 20 January (R)     **Context of US Foreign Policy**  
                   *Reading*     Hunt, chapters 1 & 2
  
- 25 January (T)     **US Foreign Relations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century**  
                   *Reading*     Hunt, chapter 3  
                               Snow & Brown, chapter 1
  
- 27 January (R)     **US Interventionary Activities Before WW II**  
                   *Reading*     Hunt, chapter 5
  
- 1 February (T)     **The Cold War Environment**  
                   *Reading*     Snow & Brown, chapters 2-3
  
- 3 February (R)     **Case Discussion**  
                   *Reading*     "The Fall of Marcos"

***Individual & Institutional Sources of U.S. Foreign Policy***

US foreign policy is formulated primarily through complex bureaucratic interactions involving the executive branch (the President and advisors), the legislature (Congress), the Departments of State and Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the intelligence operations. The relative political power of these actors has changed over time, as has their legal environment. We will examine various parts of the foreign policy bureaucracy, then turn to a brief discussion of some theories of foreign policy decision-making that are useful in understanding US actions toward the Third World.

- 8 February (T)    **Presidential Leadership: Personality and Images**  
     *Reading*      Snow & Brown, chapter 4
- 10 February (R)    **Library Session: Watson Library**
- 15 February (T)    **Case Discussion**  
     *Reading*      “The War Powers Resolution and U.S. Policy in Lebanon, 1982-84”
- 17 February (R)    **Executive-Legislative Relations**  
     *Reading*      Snow & Brown, chapters 6 (*except* pp. 178-186) and 7
- 22 February (T)    **Case Discussion**  
     *Reading*      “Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs”
- 24 February (R)    **Executive Agencies & Bureaucratic Politics**  
     *Reading*      Snow & Brown, chapter 5
- 29 February (T)    **Case Discussion**  
     *Reading*      “Americanizing the Vietnam War”

### ***Foreign Policy Formulation in the Democratic Context***

Foreign policy does not have the large popular constituency of social security or agricultural policy but there is considerable democratic input, particularly on issues where interest groups have mobilized or think-tank elites are outspoken. The media and the general public can also influence the process under certain circumstances. Since the Westphalian international system assumes a single, nondemocratic central actor, this lends some interesting complications to the U.S. foreign policy process.

- 2 March (R)        **Interest Groups and Policy Elites**  
     *Reading*      Snow & Brown, chapter 8
- 7 March (T)        **Case Discussion**  
     *Reading*      “The US and South Africa: The Sanctions Debate of 1985”
- 9 March (R)        **Public Opinion and the Media**  
     *Reading*      Snow & Brown, chapter 9
- 14 March (T)       **Case Discussion**  
     *Reading*      “Siege Mentality: ABC, the White House and the Iran Hostage Crisis”
- 16 March (R)       **In-Class Exam**

**Spring Break!!!**

### ***Contemporary Challenges for U.S. Foreign Policy***

As we have seen, during the Cold War major U.S. objectives in the Third World included limiting Soviet influence, establishing democracy, and promoting market-oriented economies. In the radically different post-Cold War world, scholars and practitioners are asking what role the US should or will be take within the international community. Isolationism, bilateral global activism, or increased cooperation with intergovernmental organizations are among the options being considered. Simultaneously, a number of issues which seemed peripheral during much of the Cold War period — for example, the global environment, human rights, and international peacekeeping — have assumed new importance in U.S. multilateral relations.

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|----------------|--|
| 28 March (T)   | <b><i>Case Discussion</i></b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | "U.S.-Guatemalan Relations: The Struggle over Human Rights"                                  |
| 30 March (R)   | <b>The End of the Cold War</b>   |
| <i>Reading</i> | Snow & Brown, chapter 3  |
| 4 April (T)    | <b><i>Case Discussion</i></b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | "The Gulf Crisis: Building a Coalition for War"  |
| 6 April (R)    | <b>Security Issues in the 1990s and Beyond</b>   |
| <i>Reading</i> | Snow & Brown, chapter 10   |
| 11 April (T)   | <b><i>Case Discussion</i></b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | "A 'Seamless' Transition: US and UN Operations in Somalia"                                   |
| 13 April (R)   | <b>Political and Economic Instruments of Influence</b>                                       |
| <i>Reading</i> | Snow & Brown, chapter 11   |
| 18 April (T)   | <b><i>Case Discussion</i></b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | "Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China"                               |
| 20 April (R)   | <b>Challenges without Borders</b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | Snow & Brown, chapter 12   |
| 25 April (T)   | <b><i>Case Discussion</i></b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | "Watershed in Rwanda: The Evolution of President Clinton's Humanitarian Intervention Policy" |
| 27 April (R)   | <b>Ethical Dilemmas in Determining Foreign Policy</b>  |
| <i>Reading</i> | To be handed out in class  |

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| 2 May (T)      | <b>Case Discussion</b>                    |
| <i>Reading</i> | “President Clinton’s Haiti Dilemma”       |
| 4 May (R)      | <b>Future of U.S. Foreign Policy</b>      |
| <i>Reading</i> | Snow & Brown, chapter 14                  |
| 9 May (T)      | <b>Stop Day: Case Writing Project Due</b> |

### ***Preparing for Case Discussions***

Case discussions are an important aspect of this course. The more carefully you prepare for these class sessions, the more intellectually useful, interesting, and fun you will find them (and, most likely, the better the grade you will receive for this part of the course). You may feel uncertain at first how best to prepare for case discussion classes. The following suggestions are based on the experience of other students and faculty involved in case-based teaching/learning activities:

1. Form a study group to prepare for case discussions.
  - a. Experience and research both show that preparing cases alone is not as productive (or as enjoyable) as doing it in groups. Not only do study groups help improve your own skills, you can also learn from other students' thought patterns and problem-solving styles.
  - b. Use the study group to present your analysis to others, to practice articulating your ideas, to get feedback on both the ideas and presentation, to compare different views, to redefine and rethink positions, and to build confidence for making contributions to the case discussion with the whole class.
  
2. Read the case meticulously.
  - a. Quickly look at the case by reading the introduction and conclusion and by skimming the rest of the contents. Now you know what you are getting into.
  - b. Review the placement of the case in the syllabus. What topics have just been discussed? What will come next? This will clue you in to some of the issues that the case is likely to raise.
  - c. Read the entire case rapidly, without underlining or highlighting. You now know the basic structure of the case and where the main information is. If the sequence of events is complicated, you might also want to create a chronology of critical incidents.
  - d. Re-read the case. Focus on the important information that was located during the skimming: Who is involved in the case? What problems do they face? What are their objectives? What is the environment in which the decision-makers are operating? Highlight, underline, or make margin notes to organize the details and record new thoughts or questions generated by reading.
  
3. Work the case.
  - a. Reformulate the problem. What is the case really about? What issues are central to the problem? What conflicts between ideas, perspectives, or values are involved in deciding what action to take? Whose interests are really at stake? What are the alternative courses of action? What are the possible results of each alternative?
  - b. Answer the specific study questions, preferably in writing. Remember that often there is no single right or wrong answer to a question. Make thoughtful assumptions about the information that is *not* available in the case.
  - c. Investigate source materials beyond the case itself as appropriate to gain additional insights.