

Princeton University
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs



**WWS 527B: The Role of Congress in Shaping American Foreign Policy
Fall 2008**

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Time and Location

Tuesdays 7:00-10:00 pm
Robertson 005

Course Description

The course will assess the political and Constitutional framework of foreign policy decision-making and how it has evolved over time. Particular emphasis will be given to issues of the post Cold War era – nuclear proliferation, the distinctions between the Gulf War of George H.W. Bush and the Iraq War of George W. Bush. The role of Congress in developing international approaches to AIDs prevention will be reviewed as will economic issues including currency relationships and trade agreements. In addition, the Congressional-Executive dynamic involved in dealing with a North Korean dictatorship, a Taiwanese democracy, and the Arab-Israeli conflict will be assessed.

Course Objectives

The aim of the course is to outline the evolving role of Congress in foreign affairs. Within the American system there is perpetual tension between the branches of government, particularly the legislative and executive in foreign policy. While the executive is generally preeminent, especially in times of war, there are ebbs and flows in power relationships depending on the personalities of the times and domestic and international circumstances. Nevertheless, the likelihood is great that the future will see a steady increase in Congressional activism as international communications become more

sophisticated, commerce more intertwined, and travel more extensive. Through a review of case examples as well as constitutional constraints, the course will seek to illumine the changing dynamics of the legislative-executive relationship in a changing world.

Requirements and Grading

The course is open to all students and cross-registrants, space permitting. Auditors will be permitted on a case-by-case basis. Lectures will supplement the course readings.

Attendance and Participation: Attendance to all classes is required and active student participation is expected.

Readings and Assignments: The readings for each class will address the topic at hand. Students are expected to consider the themes of the course when doing these readings and come to class appropriately prepared. Additionally, students will be required to write a short two page reflection paper in preparation for one of the classes.

Final Paper: A final paper of 10-15 pages will be due on the last day of class. Students will be expected to propose a topic for approval by Class Nine.

<u>Grading:</u>	Class Participation	50 %
	Final Paper	40%
	Short Paper	10%

Course Materials

The required readings -- largely journal articles and congressional testimony -- should be available online through the course website. Listed material may be augmented on a week-to-week basis. Students with problems accessing the materials should contact the Course Assistant.

Course Outline

Class One: September 16, 2008

Introduction: Congress and the Dilemma of Leadership

*What were the founders' expectations for the role of Congress? How has it evolved?
What is the current state of executive legislative relations?*

- "When Congress Checks Out." By: Ornstein, Norman J., Mann, Thomas E., *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec2006, Vol. 85, Issue 6:
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=22891373&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- *The Federalist Papers* (No. 52-53, 62-63):
<http://thomas.loc.gov/home/histdox/fedpapers.html>

Class Two: September 23, 2008

The U.S. and East Asia: Trade with China

How important is geo-economics relative to geo-politics? Which is most important for most countries, economic or political relations? Is there a contrast between China and the U.S. way of looking at the world?

- “Washington's Eastern Sunset.” By: Shaplen, Jason T., Laney, James, *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec2007, Vol. 86, Issue 6:
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20071101faessay86606/jason-t-shaplen-james-laney/washington-s-eastern-sunset.html>
- “China-U.S. Trade Issues,” CRS Report, Oct. 3, 2007, 36 pp:
<http://italy.usembassy.gov/pdf/other/RL33536.pdf>
- “Reconsidering Revaluation.” By: Hale, David and Hughes, Lyric. *Foreign Affairs*. Jan/Feb 2008.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=28018923&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

Class Three: September 30, 2008

The U.S. and East Asia: Negotiating Across the Taiwan Strait

What is unique about the status of Taiwan? Could the status quo be challenged in such a way as to precipitate great power conflict?

- Statement Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Thomas Christensen, September 15, 2005:
http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2005hearings/written_testimonies/05_09_15wrts/christensen_thomas.htm
- “Taiwan's Fading Independence Movement.” By: Ross, Robert S., *Foreign Affairs*, 00157120, Mar/Apr2006, Vol. 85, Issue 2:
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=19895483&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- “Military Power of the People's Republic of China, A Report to Congress from Department of Defense,” (2007): <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/070523-China-Military-Power-final.pdf>

Class Four: October 7, 2008

The U.S. and East Asia: Congress, Nuclear Proliferation and the Future of Korea

What is the historical background of US-Korean relations? How dangerous is a nuclear North Korea? What can be done about it?

- “The Long Road to Pyongyang.” By: Mazarr, Michael J., *Foreign Affairs*, 00157120, Sep/Oct2007, Vol. 86, Issue 5:

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=26258101&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

- “Bush Sends Letter to North Korea.” *BBC News*. December 6, 2007.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7130528.stm>
- “North Korea: Nuclear Standoff,” *The Online Newshour*, Updated December 14, 2007:
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/asia/northkorea/

Class Five: October 14, 2008

Latin America in Focus: Cuba and American Diplomacy

Have American policies had the unintended effect of abetting Fidel Castro's reign? How and when will the politics of intransigence be transcended?

- “Latin America's Left Turn.” By: Castañeda, Jorge G., *Foreign Affairs*, May/Jun2006, Vol. 85, Issue 3: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060501faessay85302-p30/jorge-g-castaneda/latin-america-s-left-turn.html>
- “Was Fidel Good for Cuba?” By: Ramonet, Ignacio and Carlos Alberto Montaner, *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb2007, Issue 158:
<http://www.mywire.com/pubs/ForeignPolicy/2007/01/11/2507862>
- “Cuba: Issues for the 110th Congress,” CRS Report, September 27, 2007.
http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL33819_20070927.pdf

Class Six: October 21, 2008

Latin America in Focus: Plan Colombia and the War on Drugs

Does intervention work? How effectively has Congress conducted oversight of military aid to Colombia?

- “The War on Drugs.” By: Harman, Danna, *Christian Science Monitor*, September 27-29 (3 part series): <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0927/p01s04-woam.html>
- US-Colombia Relations, Hearing for Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, April 24, 2007 (110-39):
<http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/110/35031.pdf>
- “Colombia: Issues for Congress,” CRS Report, Nov. 9, 2007: (Search Lexis-Nexis Congressional Universe, for “Colombia”, in the last six months.)

Class Seven: November 4, 2008

Engagement in Africa: Peacemaking and Human Rights in Sudan: the Rising China Factor in Africa

How does a great country advance a great principle?

- “Darfur and the Genocide Debate.” By: Straus, Scott, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb2005, Vol. 84, Issue 1: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050101faessay84111-p0/scott-straus/darfur-and-the-genocide-debate.html>

- “Republicans in Congress Press Bush for Sanctions on Sudan.” By: Cooper, Helene, New York Times, 5/11/2007, Vol. 156 Issue 53941, pA8.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=25371727&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Darfur Legislation, DarfurScores.org, Updated July 31, 2007:
<http://darfurscores.org/darfur-legislation>
- “Structuring a Peace Process for Darfur,” By Hanson, Stephanie, Council on Foreign Relations Online, October 11, 2007:
http://www.cfr.org/publication/14455/structuring_a_peace_process_for_darfur.html?breadcrumb=%2Fpublication%2Fpublication_list%3Fgroupby%3D1%26type%3Dbackground%26filter%3D37

Class Eight: November 11, 2008

Engagement in Africa: Congress’ Role in Combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Other Diseases

How can moral issues and activist naiveté trump traditional interests and group politics?

- “Making HIV Prevention Paramount in the Next Phase of the U.S. Global HIV/AIDS Response: A Report from the CSIS Task Force on HIV/AIDS,” October, 2007.
<http://www.kff.org/hivaids/upload/HIV101507oth.pdf>
- Bristol, N. (2007, October 26). Battling HIV/AIDS. *CQ Researcher*, 17, 889-912. Retrieved December 17, 2007, from CQ Researcher Online,
<http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre2007102600>
- United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act of 2003, H.R. 1298, http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=108_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ025.108

Class Nine: November 18, 2008

America’s Role in the Middle East: The Future of Iraq

How did we get in? And why should we get out? What is the responsibility of Congress in both cases?

- Cirincione, Joseph and Michael O’Hanlon, Michael, “The Congress Shares Responsibility for War,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 2003. pp.1.
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1404>
- The Situation in Iraq, Speech by Jim Leach, House of Representatives, April 25, 2006:
<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/C?r109:./temp/~r109am6v8s>
- The Costs of Containing Iran - Washington's Misguided New Middle East Policy, by Nasr, Vali and Takeyh, Ray, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2008:
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080101faessay87106/vali-nasr-ray-takeyh/the-costs-of-containing-iran.html>

Class Ten: November 25, 2008

America's Role in the Middle East: Congress and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Can politics elevate as well as emote? What is the track-record of Congress in bringing about constructive engagement of the Arab-Israeli conflict?

- “Can Hamas be Tamed,” By Herzog, Michael, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2006:
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060301faessay85207/michael-herzog/can-hamas-be-tamed.html>
- US Studies Israel's cluster bomb use in Lebanon, By Tran, Mark, The Guardian, January 29, 2007: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/usa/story/0,,2001289,00.html>
- “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy,” By John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt
Kennedy School of Government Working Paper Number:RWP06-011, *Submitted:* 03/13/2006: <http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP06-011>
- “Debunking the Newest – and Oldest – Jewish Conspiracy,” By Alan Dershowitz, Harvard Law School, April 2006:
http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/research/working_papers/dershowitzreply.pdf

Class Eleven: December 2, 2008

International Institutions and Treaties

Can Congress be a force for advancing international understanding? Or does it serve principally as a bastion of sovereignty concerns in decision-making?

- Report of the Independent Inquiry Committee on the Manipulation of the Oil-for-Food Program, October 27, 2005. <http://www.iic-offp.org/story27oct05.htm>.
- Final Report of the U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations, 1993. (*Report to be made available*)

Class Twelve: December 9, 2008

Global Warming and the Environment

Where has Congress led and where has it dragged its feet?

- Proceedings of United Nations Climate Change Conference, 3-14 December, 2007, Bali Indonesia: http://unfccc.int/meetings/cop_13/items/4049.php
- International Climate Cooperation Re-Engagement Act of 2007, Report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, June 28, 2007: http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=110_cong_reports&docid=f:hr215.110.pdf
- “2007: Global Warming Alarmism Reaches a Tipping Point,” Speech by Senator James Inhofe, Committee on Senate Environment and Public Works, October 26, 2007.

http://epw.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Minority.Speeches&ContentRecord_id=dceb518c-802a-23ad-45bf-894a13435a08&Region_id=&Issue_id=

Class Thirteen: January 6, 2009

Conclusion: The Role of Congress in Creating a New American Foreign Policy

- “A Smarter, More Secure America,” *CSIS Commission on Smart Power*, November 6, 2007. http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf
- “Forging a World of Liberty Under Law,” A Final Report of the Princeton Project on National Security, Directors Slaughter, Anne-Marie and Ikenberry, John, September 27, 2006. <http://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf>

Final Note:

The above is a bare bones outline which will be supplemented on a weekly basis by additional readings.