

U.S. Foreign Policy
Political Science 5301
Texas State University
Spring 2013

Professor **Dr. William Ruger**

Classroom: **UAC 309**

Class Hours: **Tuesday 3:30 – 6:20 pm**

Office: **UAC 344**

Office Hours: **Monday and Wednesday 10:00 am to 11:00 am and by appointment**

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This course is intended to serve as an in-depth exploration of the subject of United States foreign policy. It will focus on three main topics: (1) the history of U.S. foreign policy; (2) the process by which foreign policy is made and implemented in the U.S.; and (3) important issues for current U.S. foreign policy

Course Requirements:

Reading, Attendance, Participation, and Class Decorum

Students should critically engage the required reading prior to each class. Keeping up with the reading will help you understand the lectures and more fully contribute to class discussion (however, **it should be understood that lectures ARE NOT intended to be exercises in restating the reading.** In some cases, I will not go over class readings that are intended as background knowledge for the lecture).

Caveat emptor: If you cannot or do not want to meet the rigorous demands of the course, you probably should not enroll in this class. However, I believe you will be intellectually rewarded if you do meet these demands.

In addition to the course readings, I require that you keep current on relevant national and international news by reading a major newspaper such as *The New York Times* or the *Washington Post* (local papers are not appropriate for meeting this requirement). Finally, I reserve the power to modify the reading assignments with appropriate prior notice.

As for attendance, I assume that you are all adults trying to build your store of human capital through an investment in education. I expect, therefore, that you will come to class, and thus I

will not need to call the roll on a regular basis. You should understand, however, that your grades will be better if you regularly attend class.

In order to encourage appropriate preparation and active, sensible class participation, **20%** of your grade will reflect my evaluation of your preparation and participation. Therefore, I wholeheartedly welcome appropriate questions and comments. Please do not be shy. Also, be advised that, when appropriate, I will call on students at any time to join our discussion. If I do so, I am not picking on you but rather trying to engage you and bring your talents to bear on the discussion topic. Caveat: Your preparation/participation grade will be based on the quality, not the quantity, of your participation. A single incisive comment that shows critical thought and careful preparation is worth more than a million forgettable words that convince me of your failure to read or think about the subject of discussion.

As part of your preparation/participation grade, **one or two students will be assigned a week in which they will start off our discussion with a series of questions and substantive comments related to the reading.** These should show serious reflection of the works under consideration and help propel the class discussion forward. Students will provide me with a typed list of questions and comments at the beginning of the class period for which they will start the discussion.

Please also observe the following rules of decorum: no food, no significant side chatter, and no radios or headphones. Furthermore, please make sure to turn off cell phones, pagers, and other electronic devices before coming to class. I would also appreciate it if you would take notes the old-fashioned way and not use a laptop computer. Several students clicking away at the keyboard will bother and distract other students, not to mention your instructor. I insist that you refrain from using recording/video devices in the classroom; I consider your continued enrollment in this class as constituting your agreement not to record/video class or distribute a recording/video by any means. In my experience, students are less eager to speak their minds on controversial subjects when they know their words will be caught on tape. Considering this, such a ban is regrettable but necessary.

Lastly, in order for our discussions to produce not just heat, but light, basic rules must be followed. First, please be civil and respectful at all times. This includes paying attention to your classmates when they are talking. It also means that you should avoid dominating the floor or blathering ceaselessly. Second, do not be afraid of voicing unpopular or unorthodox opinions (and do not tune-out or chide those who do). A spirit of free thought is most conducive to lively debate and intellectual discovery. Third, it is acceptable to argue passionately as long as you do so in an intelligent manner. But do not spout rhetoric that you are unprepared to defend.

Exam

There will be one midterm exam. It will be worth **40%** of your final grade. Exam questions will be drawn from the required reading, lectures, discussion, etc.

Paper

All serious students should be actively honing their writing and research skills during their college careers. To facilitate improvement in these areas and to exercise your critical thinking abilities, each student must write a substantial research paper on a crucial decision in American foreign policy.

In particular, your paper should examine the causes of your chosen decision and carefully explicate why the president and his relevant decision-makers decided to act as they did. It should discuss and evaluate the relative influence of (1) the president and other top executive branch officials; (2) the bureaucracy (as well as civil-military relations and bureaucratic politics); (3) Congress and executive-legislative relations; (4) public opinion; (5) interest groups and other domestic factors; (6) international factors (such as the balance of power, crises abroad, alliance considerations, international threats, etc.); (7) particular historical contingencies (such as a recession/depression, an election, etc.); and (8) any other factor that you think contributed to the particular policy decision made.

Students should avoid writing a paper that is little more than a list without evaluation. They should also refrain from being excessive in terms of background discussion. Papers that fail to exhibit good writing, careful presentation, and appropriate organization will be penalized. Most important, top grades will be reserved for students who provide thoughtful, critical analysis. The paper should be **no longer than 25-30** double-spaced pages.

The paper must be submitted in a two-step process. You must bring a first draft of the paper to class on **April 9th**. You will then exchange papers with one of your fellow students. You should then peer-review that paper and bring it back to class on **April 16th**. This peer-review should include stylistic, grammatical, and substantive feedback on the paper. Once you receive your paper back on the 16th, you should rework it in light of the peer-review and submit a final draft on **April 30th** (either to me personally or to the department secretary). You should include the peer-reviewed copy with the final paper as well as the name of your peer-reviewer. I will then grade your paper and provide further editorial and substantive comments. The peer-review you perform will count for a ¼ of your paper grade. You must do a peer-review and you must have your paper peer-reviewed.

The paper and your peer-review will be worth a total of **40%** of your final grade.

A topic with a list of potential sources is due **February 12th**. Late papers will be penalized a half-grade per day (including weekend days and holidays). Papers will be considered late for any reason except family or medical emergency (which must be documented). I will not make exceptions for computer-related problems. If for some non-emergency reason you do have to pass in your paper late, you **MUST** e-mail me a copy of your paper and have its delivery confirmed by me, and put a paper copy of it in my department mailbox or under my office door. The e-mail time stamp will determine the grade reduction.

Do not plagiarize. It is unacceptable, dishonorable, and immoral.

Please reference ideas that are not your own and do not copy the words of others without appropriate punctuation (i.e., quotation marks) and citation. I require that you use footnotes and provide a complete bibliography. Furthermore, you should follow the Chicago style described by Kate Turabian. See Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* 6th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). If you have any style questions that she does not answer, please feel free to consult with me.

Additionally, please include a title page for your paper. It should contain the full title of the paper, your name, the course title and number, and the date. Please paginate the paper in the middle of the bottom of the page starting on page two. Make sure you use standard spacing (double spacing of normal text, single spacing for indented extended quotations), fonts (12 point), and margins (1 inch). Please do not place the paper in a folder or binder; such additions are unnecessary and wasteful (both economically and environmentally).

For helpful tips to improve your writing, see the fourth edition of William Strunk, Jr. and E.B. White's classic book, *The Elements of Style*.

A Note on Office Hours:

As stated above, my scheduled office hours are Monday and Tuesday 10:00 am to 11:00 am. I am also available by appointment for your convenience.

I have noticed that students rarely visit professors during office hours. If students do come in, the visit is usually immediately preceding or following an examination. Although my door is open at those times, I would recommend that students use my office hours throughout the semester. By holding office hours, a professor is essentially telling you that he is available for individual instruction during that time period. Considering class sizes these days, students should utilize office hours as a supplement to regular class hours. I have had several students in the past who were clearly struggling with the course material and did not take advantage of office hours. As you can guess, I was not surprised when they did not earn the top grades. If you are having trouble understanding something, stop by during office hours for help. I want to help so do not be afraid to ask questions and do not feel that I will think less of you if you require additional assistance. None of us is perfect, and we all need help at times in our life.

One caveat is in order. If your problem is cognitive, I am most willing to help you. However, if your problem is that you do not attend classes or are slothful in regards to your assignments, I will not allow my (and your fellow students') office hours to be used as a substitute for your own consistent hard work.

Evaluation:

The breakdown of your grade will be as follows:

Preparation/Participation	-	20%
Paper and Peer-Review	-	40%
Midterm	-	40%

I think you will find that my grading is fair. By fair, I mean you are likely to find that the grade you receive will be what you have earned. I want to warn you ahead of time that this is a tough class. I agree with Columbia University professor Richard Betts who tells his students, “In hope of making this course as rewarding as possible for those genuinely interested in education, it is meant to be challenging and difficult. Satisfactory performance should take one-fourth [or one-fifth depending on your class load] of the time of a normal full-time job. Outstanding performance may require work comparable to an elite job . . ., meaning overtime” (Betts’ syllabus for “War, Peace, and Strategy in the Twentieth Century”).

Required Reading for Purchase:

As noted below, you can order the McCormick, the Rosati and Scott, and the Wittkopf and Jones textbook chapters direct from the publisher at the web addresses provided. I also recommend that students purchase the following books for their convenience:

I. M. Destler. *American Trade Politics*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2005.

David Sanger. *Confront and Conceal*. New York: Crown, 2012.

All Other Required Reading Will Be Available On TRACS.

A Note for Students with Disabilities:

If you are a student with a disability who will require an accommodation(s) to participate in this course, please contact me as soon as possible. You will be asked to provide documentation from the Office of Disability Services. Failure to contact me in a timely manner may delay your accommodations.

Learning Outcomes:

The Department of Political Science has adopted student learning outcomes for general education courses (POSI 2310 and POSI 2320) and for all undergraduate and graduate degree programs offered in the Department of Political Science. The outcomes are available for your

review at <http://www.polisci.txstate.edu>. Pull down the Student Resources menu and go to “Learning Outcomes.”

Department of Political Science Information:

Evans Liberal Arts Bldg. Room 265; Telephone Number: 512-245-2143; Fax Number: 512-245-7815; Website: <http://www.polisci.txstate.edu>

Liberal Arts Computer Lab:

Evans Liberal Arts Bldg. Room 224; Website:
<http://www.polisci.txstate.edu/resources/computer-lab.html>.

Course Outline

- Part I - Introduction to U.S. Foreign Policy
- Part II - The History of U.S. Foreign Policy
 - General Themes
 - The Founding Period, the Monroe Doctrine, and Expansion
 - The Spanish-American War
 - World War I
 - The Interwar Period
 - World War II
 - The Cold War Era
 - The Post-Cold War Era
 - After 9/11
- Part III - The Making and Implementation of Foreign Policy
 - The Constitutional Context
 - The Systemic Context
 - The Presidency and the Bureaucracy
 - The Congress
 - Public Opinion, Interest Groups, and the Media
- Part IV - Major Foreign Policy Issues and Debates in the Post-Cold War Era
 - Grand Strategy
 - Foreign Economic Policy: Trade, Aid, and Sanctions
- Part V - Regional Policies
 - Eurasia: NATO, Europe, and Russia
 - The Middle East, AFPAK, and the Arab Spring
 - East Asia
- Part VI - Whither the Future of American Foreign Policy?

Schedule of Readings and Other Assignments

WEEK ONE: Course Orientation, Introduction, and the History of U.S. Foreign Policy (Part I)

REQUIRED READING:

Seyom Brown. *The Faces of Power: United States Foreign Policy from Truman to Clinton*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. **Pages 7-9 only.**

Alexander L. George and Robert O. Keohane. "The Concept of National Interests: Uses and Limitations." Chap. in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1980.

Stephen D. Krasner. "A Statist Approach to the Study of Foreign Policy." Chap. in *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

WEEK TWO: History of American Foreign Policy (Part II)

REQUIRED READING:

Louis J. Halle. *Dream and Reality: Aspects of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. Chapter 1.

Felix Gilbert. *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. Chapter 5.

Jerald A. Combs. "The Spanish-American War and the Decision for Empire." Chap. in *The History of American Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997.

Paterson, Thomas G., et al. *American Foreign Relations: A History, Volume I to 1920*. Boston: Wadsworth, 2010. Chapter 8.

George Washington's Farewell Address (1796)
Available at <http://www.law.ou.edu/hist/washbye.html>

John Quincy Adams' July 4th Address (1821)
Available at <http://digital.library.umsystem.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=jul;cc=jul;sid=30c6473ceca6e244238fbb70d7377f03;idno=jul000086;seq=1>

John L. O'Sullivan. "The Great Nation of Futurity." (1839)

William McKinley's War Message (April 11, 1898)

American Anti-Imperialist League Program (October 17, 1899)

Senator Albert J. Beveridge's speech supporting American imperialism (1900)

John Hay's Open Door Note (September 6, 1899)

The Roosevelt Corollary (December 6, 1904)

Woodrow Wilson's War Message (April 2, 1917)

Dissenting speech by Senator Robert LaFollette (April 4, 1917)

RECOMMENDED READING:

Samuel P. Huntington. "The Erosion of American National Interests." *Foreign Affairs* 76:5 (September/October 1997): 28-49.

Robert J. Art. "Geopolitics Updated: The Strategy of Selective Engagement." *International Security* 23:3 (Winter 1998/99): 79-113. See pages 83-101.

Charles A. Beard. *The Idea of National Interest: An Analytical Study in American Foreign Policy*. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

H.W. Brands. "The Idea of the National Interest." *Diplomatic History* 23:2 (Spring 1999): 239-261.

Charles B. Marshall. "The National Interest." *Department of State Bulletin*, May 5, 1952.

Fred A. Sondermann. "The Concept of the National Interest." *Orbis* 21:1 (Spring 1977): 121-138.

Senator Robert A. Taft. "What Are the Purposes of a Foreign Policy?" Chap. in *A Foreign Policy For Americans*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952.

Jerald A. Combs. *The History of American Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997.

Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan. *American Foreign Relations: Volumes I and II* 5th ed. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 2000.

Samuel Flagg Bemis. *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. 5th ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Thomas A. Bailey. *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. 10th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

Hans J. Morgenthau. *In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Knopf, 1951; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1982. Chapter 1.

James Madison's War Message (1812)

The Monroe Doctrine (December 2, 1823)

James K. Polk's Inaugural Address (March 4, 1845)

Jonathan R. Dull. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1985.

James H. Hutson. *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1980.

Max Savelle. *The Origins of American Diplomacy: The International History of Anglo-America, 1492-1793*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson. "Thomas Jefferson and American Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 69:2 (Spring 1990): 135-156.

Harry Ammon. "The Monroe Doctrine: Domestic Politics or National Decision." *Diplomatic History*. 5:1 (Winter 1981): 53-70.

Ernest R. May. *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Ernest R. May. "Response to Harry Ammon." *Diplomatic History* 5:1 (Winter 1981): 71-73

John A.S. Grenville and George Berkeley Young. *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy: Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873-1917*. New Haven Yale University Press, 1966.

Stuart Creighton Miller. "*Benevolent Assimilation*": *The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Robert Endicott Osgood. *Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations: The Great Transformation of the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

William Graham Sumner. "The Conquest of the United States By Spain." Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale University (1899)

John W. Coogan. *The End of Neutrality: The United States, Britain, and Maritime Rights, 1899-1915*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.

Edward H. Buehrig. *Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1968.

Robert Divine. *The Illusion of Neutrality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Raymond A. Esthus. "Isolationism and World Power." *Diplomatic History* 2:2 (Spring 1978): 117-129.

Ernest R. May. *The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959.

Ernest R. May. *The Coming of War, 1917*. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1963.

WEEK THREE: History of American Foreign Policy (Part III)

REQUIRED READING:

Nicholas John Spykman. *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942. Chapters 11,14,15, and 447-457.

Bruce M. Russett. *No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S. Entry Into World War II*. 25th anniv ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997. Chapter 2.

John Lewis Gaddis. "The Origins of the Cold War: 1945-1953." Chap. in *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1990.

Michael Mandelbaum. "Foreign Policy as Social Work." *Foreign Affairs* 75:1 (January/February 1996): 16-32.

The Atlantic Charter (August 1941)

Franklin Roosevelt's War Message (December 8, 1941)

The Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947)

NSC-68 (April 7, 1950)

William Clinton's speech on Kosovo (March 24, 1999)

RECOMMENDED READING:

Robert J. Art. "The United States, the Balance of Power, and World War II: Was Spykman Right?" *Security Studies* 14:3 (July -September 2005): 365-406.

Manfred Jonas. *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966; Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1990.

- Harry Elmer Barnes, ed. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace: A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Its Aftermath*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1953.
- Charles A. Beard. *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.
- Charles A. Beard. *President Roosevelt and the Coming of War, 1941*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.
- Robert A. Divine. *The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.
- John W. Dower. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- Gerald K. Haines. "Roads to War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941." In *American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review*. ed. Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, 159-185. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Patrick J. Hearden. *Roosevelt Confronts Hitler: America's Entry Into World War II*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1987.
- Charles C. Tansill. *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-1945*. Chicago: Regnery, 1952.
- Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*. 8th ed. rev. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- X [George F. Kennan]. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs* 25 (July 1947): 566-582.
- Winston S. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" Speech (March 5, 1946)
- Herbert Hoover. "Our National Policies in This Crisis." *Vital Speeches*, Jan 1, 1951.
- Joseph P. Kennedy. "Present Policy Is Politically and Morally Bankrupt." *Vital Speeches*, Jan 1, 1951.
- Robert J. Art. "The United States: Nuclear Weapons and Grand Strategy." In *Security with Nuclear Weapons?: Different Perspectives on National Security*. ed. Regina Cowen Karp, 57-99. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Seyom Brown. *The Face of Power: Constancy and Change in United States Foreign Policy from Truman to Clinton*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

- John Lewis Gaddis. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1997.
- John Lewis Gaddis. *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1990.
- John Lewis Gaddis. *The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- John Lewis Gaddis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- John Lewis Gaddis. *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Raymond L. Garthoff. *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1985.
- Michael J. Hogan. *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Timothy Ireland. *Creating the Entangling Alliance: The Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Melvyn P. Leffler. *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Melvyn P. Leffler. "The Interpretative Wars Over the Cold War, 1945-1960." In *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered, 1890-1993*. ed. Gordon Martel, 106-124. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Walter Lippman. *The Cold War: A Study in U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1947. (Critic of Kennan)
- Robert A. Taft. *A Foreign Policy for Americans*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952.
- Lyndon Johnson's speech at Johns Hopkins University on Vietnam (April 7, 1965)
- J. William Fulbright on Vietnam (May 5, 1966)
- Hans J. Morgenthau. "What Should We Do Now?" *Look Magazine*, August 9, 1966.
- Steven L. Spiegel. *World Politics in a New Era*. 2nd ed. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998. Chapter 4.
- Andrew Krepinevich. *The Army and Vietnam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Harry G. Summers, Jr. *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War*. Novato, CA : Presidio Press, 1982.

Robert W. Tucker. *Nation or Empire: The Debate Over American Foreign Policy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968.

George W. Bush and Skowcroft. *A World Transformed*. New York : Knopf, 1998.

Raymond L. Garthoff. *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War*. Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution, 1994.

Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice. *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995, 1997.

William C. Wohlforth. "Realism and the End of the Cold War." *International Security* 19:3 (Winter 1994/95): 91-129.

Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds. *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*. New York: Times Books, Random House, 1991.

Michael R. Gordon and Bernard E. Trainor. *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*. Boston : Little, Brown, 1995.

Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh. *The Gulf Conflict, 1990-1991: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Robert W. Tucker. *The Imperial Temptation: The New World Order and America's Purpose*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992.

Stephen Biddle. "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us about the Future of Conflict." *International Security* 21:2 (Fall 1996): 139-179.

David Rieff. "A New Age of Liberal Imperialism?" *World Policy Journal* 16:2 (Summer 1999): 1-10.

Alvin Z. Rubinstein, ed. *The Clinton Foreign Policy Reader: Presidential Speeches with Commentary*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.

Sherle R. Schwenninger. "World Order Lost: American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War World." *World Policy Journal* 16:2 (Summer 1999): 42-71.

WEEK FOUR: The Constitutional and Systemic Context; The Presidency and the Bureaucracy (Part I)

REQUIRED READING:

The Constitution of the United States of America

Eugene R. Wittkopf, Christopher M. Jones with Charles W. Kegley, Jr. *American Foreign Policy: Patterns and Process*. 7th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008. Chapter 10. The chapters from this book can be purchased at the following web address: <http://www.cengagebrain.com/shop/en/US/storefront/US?cmd=catProductDetail&ISBN=978-0-534-60337-3&showBrowseAllLink=true&echapterView=true>

Louis Fisher. "The Constitutional Framework." Chap. in *Presidential War Power*. 2nd ed. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Michael J. Glennon. "The Gulf War and the Constitution." *Foreign Affairs* 70:2 (Spring 1991): 84-101.

Paul E. Peterson. "The President's Dominance in Foreign Policy Making." *Political Science Quarterly* 109:2 (Summer 1994): 215-234.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Louis Henkin. *Foreign Affairs and the United States Constitution*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Gary M. Stern and Morton H. Halperin. *The U.S. Constitution and the Power to Go to War: Historical and Current Perspectives*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Cecil V. Crabb, Jr. and Pat M. Holt. "The Executive Branch and Foreign Affairs: Locus of Decision Making." Chap. in *Invitation to Struggle: Congress, the President, and Foreign Policy*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.

Aaron Wildavsky. "The Two Presidencies." In *The Two Presidencies: A Quarter Century Assessment*. ed. Steven A. Shull, 11-25. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1991.

William C. Banks and Jeffrey D. Straussman. "A New Imperial Presidency? Insights from U.S. Involvement in Bosnia." *Political Science Quarterly* 114:2 (Summer 1999): 195-217.

Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf. "The Role of Executive Departments and Agencies in Foreign Policy Making." Chap. in *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*. 5th ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Geoffrey Kemp. "Presidential Management of the Executive Bureaucracy." In *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for a New Role*, ed. Robert J. Art and Seyom Brown, 32-48. New York: Macmillan, 1993.

Paul E. Peterson, ed. *The President, the Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Steven A. Shull, ed. *The Two Presidencies: A Quarter Century Assessment*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1991.

James M. McCormick. *American Foreign Policy and Process*. 3rd ed. Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1998. Chapters 9 and 10.

Jeffrey T. Richelson. *The U.S. Intelligence Community*. 4th ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

Mark M. Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000.

WEEK FIVE: The Presidency and the Bureaucracy (Part II)

Wittkopf, Jones with Kegley. Chapter 11.

Jerel Rosati and James M. Scott. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*. 5th ed. Boston: Wadsworth, 2011. Chapter 6. This chapter can be purchased at <http://www.cengagebrain.com/shop/ISBN/9780495797241?cid=APL1>

Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications." *World Politics* 24: Supplement (Spring 1972): 40-79. Full text available on the internet at <http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/listjournal>.

Stephen D. Krasner. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy* 7 (Summer 1971).

RECOMMENDED READING:

Stephen Benedict Dyson. "George W. Bush, the Surge, and Presidential Leadership." *Political Science Quarterly* (Winter 2010/2011).

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 1999

Robert J. Art. "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique." *Policy Sciences* (December 1973): 467-490.

Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond. "Rethinking Allison's Models." *American Political Science Review* 86:2 (June 1992):301-322.

Edward Rhodes. "Do Bureaucratic Politics Matter?: Some Disconfirming Evidence from the Case of the U.S. Navy." *World Politics* 47:1 (Oct., 1994): 1-41.

WEEK SIX: Congress

REQUIRED READING:

Wittkopf, Jones with Kegley. Chapter 12.

James M. Lindsay. "Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters." *Political Science Quarterly* 107: 4 (Winter 1992-93): 607-628.

James M. Lindsay. "Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33:3 (September 2003): 53-546.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Louis Fisher. "Congressional Checks on Military Initiatives." *Political Science Quarterly* 109:5 (Winter 1994-95): 739-762.

Jerel A. Rosati. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. Forth Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1999. Chapter 12.

James M. Lindsay. *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Barry M. Blechman. "The Congressional Role in U.S. Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 106:1 (Spring 1991):17-32.

Louis Fisher and David Gray Adler. "The War Powers Resolution: Time to Say Goodbye." *Political Science Quarterly* 113: 1 (Spring 1998): 1-20.

Ryan C. Hendrickson. "War Powers, Bosnia, and the 104th Congress." *Political Science Quarterly* 113:2 (Spring 1998): 241-258.

WEEK SEVEN: Public Opinion, Interest Groups, and the Media

REQUIRED READING:

James M. McCormick. *American Foreign Policy and Process*. 5th edition. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage, 2010. Chapter 12. This chapter can be purchased at <http://www.cengagebrain.com/shop/isbn/9780495189817>.

Steven W. Hook and Jeremy Lesh, "Sino-American Trade Relations: Privatizing Foreign Policy."

Douglas C. Foyle. "Leading the Public To War? The Influence of American Public Opinion on The Bush Administration's Decision to go to War in Iraq." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 16 (Autumn 2004): 269-294.

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy." See <http://web.hks.harvard.edu/publications/workingpapers/citation.aspx?PubId=3670>

Alan Dershowitz "A Challenge to Walt and Mersheimer's Publishers." Huffington Post. 3 November 2006. Available online at: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/a-challenge-to-walt-and-m b 33191.html>

Piers Robinson. "The CNN Effect Revisited." *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 22:4 (2005): 344-349.

RECOMMENDED READING:

John Mueller. "The Common Sense." *The National Interest* 47 (Spring 1997): 81-88..

Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro. "The New China Lobby." In *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, 3rd ed., ed. Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, 71-83. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Warren P. Strobel. "The CNN Effect: Myth or Reality." In *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, 3rd ed., ed. Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, 85-93. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Jonathan Mermin. "Television News and American Intervention in Somalia: The Myth of a Media-Driven Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 112:3 (Fall 1997): 385-403.

Gabriel Almond. *The American People and Foreign Policy*. New York: Praeger, 1950.

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Douglas C. Foyle. *Counting the Public In: Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Columbia University Press 1999.

Ole R. Holsti. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

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Bruce W. Jentleson. "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force." *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992): 49-74.

Walter Lippmann. *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan, 1922; New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997.

Alan Monroe. "Consistency Between Public Preferences and National Policy Decision." *American Politics Quarterly* 7 (1979): 3-19.

John E. Mueller. *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

John E. Mueller. *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion*. New York, Wiley, 1973.

Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Philip Powlick. "The Sources of Public Opinion for American Foreign Policy Officials." *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (1995): 427-452.

John E. Rielly, ed. *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1999*. Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1999. Full text available on the internet at <http://www.c CFR.org/publications/opinion/AmPuOp99.pdf>

Richard Sobel, ed. *Public Opinion in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Controversy Over Contra Aid*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1993.

John R. Zaller. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Richard Davis. *The Press and American Politics: The New Mediator*. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1996. Chapters 20 and 21.

Jonathan Mermin. *Debating War and Peace: Media Coverage of U.S. Intervention in the Post-Vietnam Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

WEEK EIGHT: MIDTERM

WEEK NINE: Grand Strategy in the Post-9/11 World

REQUIRED READING:

Barry R. Posen. "Pull Back." *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2013).

Stephen G. Brooks. G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. "Lean Forward." *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2013).

Bradley A. Thayer. "In Defense of Primacy." *National Interest* (November/December 2006).

Robert Kagan. "The Price of Power." *Weekly Standard*. January 24, 2011.

William Kristol and Robert Kagan. "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 75:4 (July/August 1996): 18-32.

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Benjamin H. Friedman, Eugene Gholz, and Daryl G. Press. "Restraining Order for Strategic Modesty." *World Affairs* (Fall 2009): 84-94.

Benjamin H. Friedman and Christopher A. Preble. "Budgetary Savings from Military Restraint." *Cato Policy Analysis*. September 23, 2010.

Robert J. Art. "Selective Engagement After Bush." *Finding Our Way: Debating American Grand Strategy*. Ed. Flournoy, Michele A. and Brimley, Shawn, eds.. Center for A New American Security, 2008. 23-43.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Christopher A. Preble. *The Power Problem*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Stephen M. Walt. *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy*. New York: Norton, 2005. Chapter 5.

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross. "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy." *International Security* 21:3 (Winter 1996/7): 5-53.

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Robert J. Art. "A Defensible Defense: America's Grand Strategy After the Cold War." *International Security* 15:4 (Spring 1991): 5-53.

Zbigniew Brzezinski. *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.

Ted Galen Carpenter. *A Search for Enemies: America's Alliances after the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1992.

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Samuel P. Huntington. "America's Changing Strategic Interests." *Survival* 33:1 (January/February 1991): 3-17.

Samuel P. Huntington. "Why International Primacy Matters." *International Security* 17:4 (Spring 1993).

Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan. "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe." *International Security* 16:1 (Summer 1991).

Christopher Layne. "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy." *International Security* 22:1 (Summer 1997): 86-124.

Christopher Layne. "Rethinking American Grand Strategy: Hegemony or Balance of Power in the Twenty-First Century?" *World Policy Journal* 15:2 (Summer 1998): 8-28.

Michael Lind. "Pax Atlantica: The Case for Euramerica." *World Policy Journal* 13:1 (Spring 1996): 1-7.

Joshua Muravchik. *The Imperative of American Leadership: A Challenge to Neo-Isolationism*. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1996.

Eric A. Nordlinger. *Isolationism Reconfigured: American Foreign Policy for a New Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Ronald Steel. *Temptations of a Superpower*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Stephen Van Evera. "Why Europe Matters, Why the Third World Doesn't: American Grand Strategy After the Cold War." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 13:2 (June 1990): 1-51.

WEEK TEN: Foreign Economic Policy: Trade, Aid, and Sanctions

REQUIRED READING:

I. M. Destler. *American Trade Politics*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2005.

RECOMMENDED READING:

- Stephen D. Cohen, Joel R. Paul, and Robert A. Blecker. *Fundamentals of U.S. Foreign Trade Policy: Economics, Politics, Laws, and Issues*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996. Chapter 5.
- Navin A. Bapat and T. Clifton Morgan. "Multilateral Versus Unilateral Sanctions Reconsidered: A Test Using New Data." *International Studies Quarterly* 53:4 (2009): 1075-1094.
- Lopez, George A., and David Cortright. "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked." *Foreign Affairs* 83:4 (2004): 90–103.
- Susan Hannah Allen. "The Determinants of Economic Sanctions Success and Failure." *International Interactions* 31:2 (2005): 117–138.
- I.M. Destler. "The Foreign Economic Bureaucracy." Draft Manuscript, Sept 2010. Available at http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/foreign_economic_bureaucracy_destler.pdf
- John Whalley and Colleen Hamilton. *The Trading System After the Uruguay Round*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1996.
- John T. Rourke, ed. "Issue 9: Should the Developed North Increase Aid to the Less Developed South?" Chap. in *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics*. 8th ed. Guilford, Conn: Duskin/McGraw-Hill, 1998. Pages 168-185. (Includes reprinted articles by James P. Grant, "Jumpstarting Development," and the editors of The Economist, "The Kindness of Strangers")
- Richard N. Haass. "Sanctioning Madness." *Foreign Affairs* 76:6 (November/December 1997): 74-85.
- Eric J. Labs. *The Role of Foreign Aid in Development*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Budget Office, 1997.
- Carol Graham & Michael O'Hanlon. "Making Foreign Aid Work." *Foreign Affairs* 76:4 (July/August 1997): 96-104.
- John Mueller and Karl Mueller. "Sanctions of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* 78:3 (May/June 1999): 43-53.
- Robert A. Pape. "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work." *International Security* 22:2 (Fall 1997): 90-136.
- Kimberly Ann Elliott. "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty?" *International Security* 23:1 (Summer 1998): 50-65.
- Robert A. Pape. "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work." *International Security* 23:1 (Summer 1998): 66-77.

WEEK ELEVEN: Eurasia: NATO, Europe, and Russia

REQUIRED READING:

Richard K. Betts. "The Three Faces of NATO." *National Interest* (March/April 2009). Available at <http://nationalinterest.org/article/the-three-faces-nato-3031?page=show>

Charles Kupchan. "NATO's Final Frontier: Why Russia Should Join the Alliance." *Foreign Affairs* (May-June 2010).

Doug Bando. "How Nato Expansion Makes America Less Safe." *Forbes* (2012). Available at: <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/how-nato-expansion-makes-america-less-safe>

RECOMMENDED READING:

Stephen M. Walt. "The Ties That Fray: Why Europe and America Are Drifting Apart." *The National Interest* 54 (Winter 1998/99): 3-11.

C. Fred Bergsten. "America and Europe: Clash of the Titans." *Foreign Affairs* 78:2 (March/April 1999): 20-34.

Richard Pipes. "Is Russia Still an Enemy?" *Foreign Affairs* 76:5 (September/October 1997): 65-78.

NATO. "Purposes and Principles of Enlargement." Chap. in *Study on NATO Enlargement*. September 1995. Full text available on the internet at <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/enl-9502.htm>

The U.S. Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. "NATO Enlargement." Undated. Full text available on the internet at <http://www.nato.int/usa/info/enlargement.htm>

Michael E. Brown. "The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion." *Survival* 37:1 (Spring 1995): 34-52.

Bruce Russett and Alan C. Stam. "Courting Disaster: An Expanded NATO vs. Russia and China." *Political Science Quarterly* 113:3 (Fall 1998): 361-382.

Robert J. Art. "Creating a Disaster: NATO's Open Door Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 113:3 (Fall 1998): 383-403.

John J. Mearsheimer. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War." *International Security* 15:1 (Summer 1990): 5-56.

Stephen Van Evera. "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War." *International Security* 15:3 (Winter 1990/91): 7-57.

Martin Feldstein. "EMU and International Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 76:6 (November/December 1997): 60-73.

Grigory Yavlinsky. "Russia's Phony Capitalism." *Foreign Affairs* 77:3 (May/June 1998): 67-79.

Alexei K. Pushkov. "Don't Isolate Us: A Russian View of NATO Expansion." *The National Interest* 47 (Spring 1997): 58-62.

Amos Perlmutter and Ted Galen Carpenter. "NATO's Expensive Trip East: The Folly of Enlargement." *Foreign Affairs* 77:1 (January/February 1998): 2-6.

Ted Galen Carpenter and Barbara Conry, eds. *NATO Enlargement: Illusions and Reality*. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1998.

Michael Mandelbaum. "Preserving the New Peace: The Case Against NATO Expansion." *Foreign Affairs* 74: 3 (May/June 1995): 9-13.

William Pfaff. "The Coming Clash of Europe with America." *World Policy Journal* 15:4 (Winter 1998/99): 1-9.

WEEK TWELVE: PEER-REVIEW DAY

WEEK THIRTEEN: The Middle East, ACPAK, and the Arab Spring

REQUIRED READING:

David Sanger. *Confront and Conceal*. New York: Crown, 2012. Parts I-IV

Paul R. Pillar and John Nagl. "Debating Afghanistan: The Great Debate." *National Interest* (March/April 2010). Read both points of view and the responses. Available on TRACS.

Fred Kaplan. "We Ae So Out of There." *Slate* (January 11, 2013). Available online at: http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/war_stories/2013/01/barack_obama_and_hamid_karzai_press_conference_the_president_is_pulling.html

RECOMMENDED READING:

Kenneth N. Waltz. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability." *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2012).

Scott D. Sagan. "How to Keep the Bomb From Iran." *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2006).

Matthew Kroenig. "Time to Attack Iran: Why a Strike Is the Least Bad Option." *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2012).

Ryan Crocker. "Dreams of Babylon." *National Interest* (July/August 2010). Available on TRACS.

Bruce Riedel. "If Israel Attacks." *National Interest* (September/October 2010). Available at <http://nationalinterest.org/article/israel-attacks-3907?page=show>

Kenneth M. Pollack. "Pariahs in Tehran." *National Interest* (November/December 2010). Available at <http://nationalinterest.org/article/pariahs-tehran-4246?page=show>.

Anatol Lieven. "All Kayani's Men." *National Interest* (May/June 2010). Available at <http://nationalinterest.org/article/all-kayanis-men-3445?page=show>

James Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh. *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999. (This is helpful for gaining an understanding of Middle East political history)

Lawrence Wright. *The Looming Tower*. New York: Vintage, 2006.

WEEK FOURTEEN: East Asia; The Future of American Foreign Policy.

REQUIRED READING:

David Sanger. *Confront and Conceal*. New York: Crown, 2012. Part V.

Aaron Friedberg. "Bucking China." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012)

Robert J. Art. "The United States and the Rise of China: Implications for the Long Haul." *Political Science Quarterly* (Fall 2010): 359-391.

Robert S. Ross. "China's Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the U.S. Response." *International Security* (Fall 2009): 46-81.

Robert Madsen and Richard J. Samuels. "Japan, LLP." *National Interest* (May/June 2010).
Available on TRACS.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Andrew J. Bacevich. *The Limits of Power*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008.

Fareed Zakaria. *The Post-American World*. New York: Norton, 2008.

Christopher Layne. "The Waning of U.S. Hegemony—Myth or Reality? A Review Essay"
International Security (Summer 2009): 147-172.

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