Columbia University Political Science W4825 Fall 2005

CENTRAL ISSUES IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Lectures: Mon., Wed., 2:40-3:55
Office Hours: Mon., 12:30-2:00, 1315 IAB

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> *The United States does not have a choice as to whether it will or will not play a great part in the world. Fate has made that choice for us. The only question is whether we will play that part well or badly.*
>
> —Theodore Roosevelt

Description

This course examines the sources, substance, and enduring themes of American foreign policy, with a special focus on the post-Cold War era. Part I reviews the rise of American power in world affairs from the 18th Century through the end of the Cold War. Part II provides an overview of the process and politics of American foreign policy making. Part III applies the theory and history of Part I, and the process of Part II, to examine a number of contemporary U.S. foreign policy issues and debates, including America's two wars with Iraq; how the U.S. should deal with other "rogue" states; America's responses to the threat of global terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and what role the U.S. should play in the world economy, global and regional institutions, and the developing world.

Requirements

Grading will be based on the results of a take-home midterm exam (optional for graduate students); a policy memorandum paper; and a cumulative three-hour final exam. The midterm questions, covering Parts I and II of the course, will be handed out at the end of class on Wednesday, Oct. 26, and due the beginning of class on Monday, Oct. 31. The policy memorandum paper assignment will be handed out at the end of class on Wednesday, Nov. 16, and due the beginning of class on Monday, Nov. 21. The final exam will be scheduled during finals week, Dec. 15-22.

Readings

The following texts are available at the Columbia Bookstore, and on reserve at Lehman Library. Other required readings are available as a course packet at Broadway Copy Center (121st and Broadway). Required (and supplementary) speeches and documents are posted on CourseWorks.

*John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment (Oxford University Press, 1982).
*Stuart Gottlieb, ed., Central Issues in American Foreign Policy (Foreign Affairs, 2005).
*Lee Hamilton, A Creative Tension (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002).
*George Kennan, American Diplomacy, Expanded Edition (University of Chicago Press, 1984).
*Robert Kennedy, Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Norton, 1999).
*Walter McDougall, Promised Land, Crusader State (Houghton Mifflin, 1997).
*James Nathan and James Oliver, Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System, 3d ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
*The 9/11 Commission Report (Norton, 2004).

Part I: Theoretical and Historical Framework

Week 1 September 7
Introduction

Week 2 September 12, 14
Lectures
The Analysis of Foreign Policy
Unique America? American Ideals and International Realities

Readings [~150 pp.]
Ole Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy," The Journal of Diplomatic History, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 15-43. (Course Packet – "CP")
Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics (McGraw-Hill, 1979), Ch. 6, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," pp. 102-128. (CP)
Walter McDougall, Promised Land, Crusader State (Houghton Mifflin, 1997), Intro., Chs. 1-4.

Week 3 September 19, 21
Lectures
The Strategy of Revolution, Survival, and Expansion: 1776-1900

Readings [~140 pp.]
Norman Graebner, Ideas and Diplomacy (Oxford University Press, 1964), Ch. 2, pp. 77-90, Ch. 3, pp. 154-163, Ch. 5, pp. 262-274, Ch. 6, 334-346. (CP)
Nicholas Spykman, America's Strategy in World Politics (Harcourt Brace, 1942), Ch. 3, "From Monroe Doctrine to Hemispheric Defense," pp. 65-89. (CP)
George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, Expanded Edition, (University of Chicago Press, 1984), Part I, Chs. 1-3, pp. 3-54.
McDougall, Promised Land, Ch. 5.

Week 4 September 26, 28
Lectures
The Strategy of World Power: 1900-1945

Readings [~115 pp.]
Kennan, American Diplomacy, Part I, Ch. 4, pp. 55-73.
McDougall, Promised Land, Ch. 6.
Kennan, American Diplomacy, Part I, Ch. 5, pp. 74-90.
Jeff Frieden, "Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940," International Organization, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Winter 1988), pp. 59-90. (Foreign Affairs reader – "FA")
Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (Simon & Schuster, 1994), Ch. 15, "America Re-enters the Arena," pp. 369-393. (CP)

Week 5 October 3, 5

Lectures

American Strategy and the Cold War: 1945-1990
Origins of the Cold War
Containment in Theory and Practice

Readings [~175 pp.]

Melvyn Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War: 1945-48," American Historical Review, Vol. 89, No. 2 (April 1984), pp 346-381. (CP)
Kennan, American Diplomacy, Part II, Ch. 1, pp. 107-128.
John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment (Oxford University Press, 1982), Chs. 2, 3, 5
McDougal, Promised Land, Ch. 7.

Week 6 October 10, 12

Lectures

American Strategy and the Cold War: 1945-1990 (Continued)
Case Studies in Strategic Decisionmaking: The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War
The Cold War's Decline, Renewal, and End

Readings [~315 pp.]

Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, Chs. 7-8.
Richard Neustadt and Graham Allison, "Afterword," in Robert Kennedy, Thirteen Days (Norton, 1999), pp. 101-145.
Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)" Foreign Policy (Summer 1972), pp. 159-179. (FA)
Fred Kaplan, "Kennedy and Cuba at 35," Boston Sunday Globe, October 10, 1997. (CP)
Lyndon Johnson, "American Policy in Viet-Nam," in Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, eds., The Viet-Nam Reader (Vintage, 1967), pp. 343-351. (CP)
James Thomson, Jr., "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," The Atlantic (April 1968), pp. 47-53. (CP)
Irving Janis, Groupthink (Houghton Mifflin, 1982), Ch. 5, "Escalation in the Vietnam War: How Could it Happen?" pp. 97-130. (CP)
Michael Roskin, "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms and Foreign Policy," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Fall 1974), pp. 563-588. (FA)
Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, Ch. 9.
McDougal, Promised Land, Ch. 8.
Jimmy Carter, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy," Commencement Address, University of Notre Dame, May 22, 1977. (CourseWorks – "CW")
Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (Simon & Schuster, 1994), Ch. 30, "The End of the Cold War," pp. 762-803. (CP)

Part II: The Making of American Foreign Policy

Week 7 October 17, 19

Lectures

The Nature of the American State

Readings [~130 pp.]

James Nathan and James Oliver, Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), Chs. 9-12.

Stephen Krasner, Defending the National Interest (Princeton University Press, 1978), Ch. 3, "Policy-Making in a Weak State," pp. 55-70. (CP)

Michael Mastanduno, "The United States Political System and International Leadership," in John Ikenberry, ed., American Foreign Policy (Longman, 2002), pp. 238-255. (CP)

Stuart Gottlieb and Martin Malin, "NATO Expansion: Policy for Sale," Providence Journal, May 9, 1998. (CP)

"Countries Turn to Bush's Top Fundraisers for Access," Los Angeles Times, Oct. 25, 2004. (CP)

"Evangelicals Give U.S. Foreign Policy Activist Tinge," Wall Street Journal, May 26, 2004. (CP)

Jeffrey Goldberg, "Real Insiders," The New Yorker, July 4, 2005, pp. 34-40. (CP)

Week 8 October 24, 26

Lectures

The Institutions of American Foreign Policy

Midterm examination questions handed out Oct. 26; due in class Oct. 31

Readings [~240 pp.]

Nathan and Oliver, Foreign Policy Making, Chs. 2-6, 8.

Lee Hamilton, A Creative Tension (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002), pp. 8-91.

Kirk Victor, "Congress in Eclipse," National Journal Magazine, April 5, 2003. (CP)

Joseph Schatz, "Has Congress Given Bush Too Free a Spending Hand?" Congressional Quarterly Weekly, April 12, 2003. (CP)

Alexis Simendinger, "Power Plays," National Journal Magazine, April 16, 2004. (CP)

David Nather, "Congress as Watchdog: Asleep on the Job?" Congressional Quarterly Weekly, May 22, 2004. (CP)

Michael Beschloss, "Foreign Policy's Big Moment," New York Times, April 11, 1999. (CP)

Kurt Campbell and Michael O'Hanlon, "The Democrat Armed," The National Interest, No. 80 (Summer 2005), pp. 93-101. (FA)

David Rothkopf, "Inside the Committee that Runs the World," Foreign Policy (March/April 2005), pp. 30-40. (FA)

"CAFTA Reflects Democrats' Shift From Trade Bills," Washington Post, July 6, 2005. (CP)

Part III: Issues in Contemporary American Foreign Policy

Week 9 Oct. 31, Nov. 2

Lectures

The First Iraq War and the "New World Order" of the 1990s

Case Studies: Somalia, Rwanda, Kosovo and the Principle of (Non)Intervention.

Readings [~125 pp.]

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" The National Interest (Summer 1989), pp. 1-28. (FA)

George H.W. Bush, "Toward A New World Order," Presidential address before a joint session of Congress, Sept. 11, 1990. (CW)

George H.W. Bush, "Why We Are in the Gulf," Newsweek, Nov. 26, 1990. (CP)

James Baker, "American Strategy in the Persian Gulf Crisis," testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dec. 5, 1990. (CW)

Joseph Nye, "What New World Order?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 83-96. (FA)

Chester Crocker, "Lessons of Somalia," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 3 (May/June 1995), pp. 2-8. (FA)

Kenneth Cain, "The Legacy of Black Hawk Down," New York Times, October 3, 2003. (CP)

Samantha Powers, "Bystanders to Genocide," Atlantic Monthly (Sept. 2001). (CP)

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War Against Yugoslavia," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1999), pp. 2-8. (FA)

James Steinberg, "A Perfect Polemic: Blind to Reality on Kosovo," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 6 (Nov./Dec. 1999), pp. 128-133. (FA)

Stuart Gottlieb, "Kosovo and the Politics of Self-Determination," Providence Journal, Feb. 12, 1999. (CP)

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49. (FA)

Week 10 November 9

Lecture

Before 9/11: The George W. Bush Doctrine vs. the Clinton Legacy

Readings [~75 pp.]

McDougal, Promised Land, "Conclusion," pp. 199-222.

Stephen Walt, "Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 2 (March/April 2000), pp. 63-79. (FA)

Richard Haass "The Squandered Presidency," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 3 (May/June 2000), pp. 136-140. (FA)

Samuel Berger, "A Foreign Policy for the Global Age," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 6 (Nov./Dec. 2000), pp. 22-39. (FA)

Charles Krauthammer, "The Bush Doctrine," Weekly Standard, June 4, 2001, pp. 21-27. (CP)

"White House Says the U.S. Is Not a Loner, Just Choosey," New York Times, July 31, 2001. (CP)

Week 11 November 14, 16

Lectures

After 9/11: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Homeland Security

Policy Memorandum assignment handed out Nov. 16; due in class Nov. 21

Readings [~230 pp.]

The 9/11 Commission Report (Norton, 2004), Chs. 3, 6, 11, 12; skim 13.

The White House, "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," February 2003. (CW)

"The Nuke Pipeline; Can We Turn off the Spigot?" Time, Dec. 17, 2001, pp. 40-45. (CP)

Christopher Chyba, "Toward Biological Security," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 3 (May/June 2002), pp. 122-136. (FA)

Dahlia Lithwick and Julia Turner, "A Guide to the Patriot Act," 4-part series in Slate Magazine, Sept. 8, 9, 11, 12, 2003. (CP)

Stuart Taylor, Jr., "Patriot Act Hysteria Meets Reality," National Journal (April 16, 2005). (CP)

"Patriot Act Push Angers Some on Right," Los Angeles Times, June 12, 2005. (CP)

Laura Donohue, "Counterterrorism, Individual Rights, and US Foreign Relations Post 9/11," in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., Terrorism and Counterterrorism (McGraw-Hill, 2004) pp. 313-338. (CP)

Anthony Lewis, "Guantanamo's Long Shadow," New York Times, June 21, 2005. (CP)

"Access to Courts," New York Times, June 29, 2004. (CP)

Siobhan Gorman, "Second-Class Security," National Journal, May 1, 2004. (CP)

"Many Antiterror Recommendations Wither," Wall Street Journal, April 26, 2005. (CP)

"Security Loses; Pork Wins," New York Times, July 14, 2005. (CP)

Adam Cohen, "A Lawmaker Works, Oddly Enough, to Keep His Voters' Backyards Dangerous," New York Times, May 26, 2005. (CP)

Week 12 November 21, 23

Lectures

American Primacy and the Role of Allies and Institutions

Readings [~150 pp.]

The White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States," (Sept. 2002). (CW)

Charles Krauthammer, "Unipolar Moment Revisited" The National Interest, No. 70 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 5-17. (FA)

Paul Kennedy, "The Eagle has Landed," Financial Times, Feb. 2, 2002. (CP)

John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2002), pp. 44-60. (FA)

Michael Walzer, "Is There an American Empire?" Dissent, No. 50, Vol. 4 (Fall 2003): 27-31. (CP)

Robert Kagan, "America's Crisis of Legitimacy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 2 (March/April 2004), pp. 65-87. (CP)

Robert Tucker and David Hendrickson, "The Sources of American Legitimacy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 6 (Nov./Dec. 2004), pp. 18-32. (FA)

Michael Reisman, "The United States and International Institutions," Survival, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Winter 1999-2000), pp. 62-80. (CP)

Bruce Jentleson, "Tough Love Multilateralism," Washington Quarterly (Winter 2003-04), pp. 7-24. (FA)
Jesse Helms, "American Sovereignty and the UN," The National Interest, No. 62 (Winter 2000/01), pp. 31-34. (FA)
Shashi Tharoor, "Why America Still Needs the United Nations," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2003), pp. 67-80. (FA)
Thomas Schelling, "What Makes Greenhouse Sense? Time to Rethink the Kyoto Protocol," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 3 (May/June 2002), pp. 2-9. (FA)
Romeo Dallaire, "Looking at Darfur, Seeing Rwanda," New York Times, Oct. 4, 2004. (CP)

Week 13 November 28, 30

Lectures
Lessons from the Second Iraq War
Democracy on the March?

Readings [~140 pp.]
Richard Perle, "Why the West Must Strike First," Daily Telegraph, Aug. 9, 2002. (CP)
Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," Wall Street Journal, August 15, 2002. (CP)
John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "Keeping Saddam Hussein in A Box," New York Times, Feb. 2, 2003. (CP)
Kenneth Pollack, "A Last Chance to Stop Iraq," New York Times, February 21, 2003. (CP)
Bob Woodward, "Behind Diplomatic Moves, Military Plan was Launched," Washington Post, April 18, 2004. (CP)
Mark Danner, "The Secret Way to War," New York Review of Books, Vol. 52, No. 10 (June 9, 2005), pp. 70-74. (CP)
James Rubin, "Stumbling Into War," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2003): 46-66. (FA)
Michael Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 3 (May/June 2003), pp. 16-35. (FA)
"Key Findings," Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD (a.k.a., "Duelfer Report"), Sept. 30, 2004. (CW)
Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "The Right War for the Right Reasons," Weekly Standard, Feb. 23, 2004, pp. 20-28. (CP)
"Forum on Humanitarian Intervention," The Nation (July 14, 2003). (CP)
James Dobbins, "Winning the Unwinnable War," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2005), pp. 16-25. (FA)
"Iraq Prime For Training Militants, CIA Report Concludes," New York Times, June 22, 2005. (CP)
The Pew Global Attitudes Project, "A Year After Iraq" (March 2004), pp. 1-23. (CW)
George W. Bush, 2nd Presidential Inaugural Address, January 19, 2005. (CW)
Marina Ottaway and Thomas Carothers, "Think Again: Middle East Democracy," Foreign Policy (Nov./Dec. 2004), pp. 22-28. (FA)
"Mideast Climate Change," New York Times, March 1, 2005. (CP)
Michael Ignatieff, "Who Are Americans to Think that Freedom is Theirs to Spread?" New York Times Magazine, June 26, 2005, pp. 42-47. (CP)
"Crackdown in Uzbekistan Reopens Debate on Military Aid," New York Times, July 13, 2005.(CP)

Week 14 December 5, 7

Lectures

America and the World Economy

Addressing (or not) Crises in the Developing World

Readings [~125 pp.]

"The Economics of Free Trade," The Economist, September 22, 1990, pp. 12-19. (CP)

"All Free Traders Now?" The Economist, December 7, 1996, pp. 21-25. (CP)

"Free Trade on Trial," The Economist, January 3, 2004, pp. 13-16. (CP)

Ethan Kapstein, "Workers and the World Economy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75, No. 3 (May/June 1996), pp. 16-37. (FA)

Responses to Kapstein by Krugman, Lawrence, Barnes, Donahue, and Forbes; Kapstein responds, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75, No. 4 (July/August 1996), pp. 164-181. (FA)

Jay Mazur, "Labor's New Internationalism," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2000), pp. 79-93. (FA)

Warren Buffett, "America's Trade Deficit Is Selling the Nation," Fortune, Nov. 10 2003. (CP)

Jeffrey Garten, "The Global Economic Challenge," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2005), pp. 37-48. (FA)

David Levy and Stuart Brown. "The Overstretch Myth," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 2 (March/April 2005), pp. 2-7. (FA)

"Pakistanis Fume as Clothing Sales to U.S. Tumble," New York Times, June 23, 2002. (CP)

"The Unkept Promise," New York Times, Dec. 30, 2003. (CP)

Christina Sevilla, "The WTO's North-South Conflict," The National Interest, No. 74 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 121- 125. (FA)

"Foreign Aid Budget: Quick, How Much? Wrong," New York Times, Feb.27, 1995. (CP)

Steven Radelet, "Bush and Foreign Aid," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2003), pp. 104-117. (FA)

Judy Shelton, "More Aid? Sounds Great; But Wait…" Wall Street Journal, Feb. 15, 2002. (CP)

"New Bush Strategy on Aid Faces Test in Madagascar," Wall Street Journal, April 18, 2005. (CP)

Jeffrey Sachs, "The Development Challenge," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 2 (March/April 2005), pp. 78-90. (FA)

Week 15 December 12

Lecture

The Future of American Foreign Policy

Review and Conclusions

Readings [~110 pp.]

"Where Is Iran Going?" The Economist, December 11, 2004. (CP)

Kenneth Pollack and Ray Takeyh, "Taking on Tehran," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 2 (March/April 2005), pp. 20-34. (FA)

James Laney and Jason Shaplen, "How to Deal With North Korea," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 2 (March/April 2003), pp. 16-30. (FA)

Richard Haass, "Regime Change and Its Limits," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 4 (July/August 2005), pp. 66-78. (FA)
Neil Hughes, "A Trade War with China?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 4 (July/August 2005), pp. 94-106. (FA)
"Who's Afraid of China Inc.?" New York Times, July 24, 2005. (CP)
Henry Kissinger, "China: Containment Won't Work," Washington Post, June 13, 2005. (CP)
"Russia, China, Team Up to Assail US Foreign Policy," Los Angeles Times, July 2, 2005. (CP)
Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "American Primacy in Perspective," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/August 2002), pp. 20-33. (FA)
Niall Ferguson, "A World Without Power," Foreign Policy (July/August 2004), pp. 32-39. (FA)
John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. (Jan./Feb. 2005), pp. 2-15. (FA)
Colin Powell, "A Strategy of Partnerships," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2004), pp. 22-34. (FA)
P.J. O'Rourke, "America, Recuse Thyself!" Wall Street Journal, May 25, 2004. (CP)

Required and Suggested Readings Available on CourseWorks (asterisk denotes required)

Week 3
Washington's Farewell Address
JQ Adams Monsters speech
Monroe Doctrine speech

Week 4
Hay's Open Door Notes
Wilson, Peace Without Victory

Week 5
Truman Doctrine speech
NSC-68

Week 6
Carter, UND address*
Reagan's Westminster address

Week 7
Eisenhower's Farewell Address
Kerry campaign speech (Week 12)

Week 8
War Powers Act

Week 9
Bush 41, New World Order speech*
Baker's Senate testimony*

Week 10
1995 National Security Strategy

Week 11
US Terrorism Strategy*
Bush's post-9/11 address
Blair's post-9/11 address
Amnesty's 2005 Report
Chertoff's first speech

Week 12
2002 National Security Strategy*
John Kerry campaign speech

Week 13
Duelfer Report, Key Findings*
Pew Survey, 2004*
Bush 43, Second Inaugural*
Bush 43, NED speech
Rice's Cairo address
Pew Survey, 2005