

W3631 American Foreign Policy

Thursday, 6:10-8pm

301 Fayerweather

Professor John Matthews

Office Hours: Thursday 8-9pm and by appointment

Course Overview:

This course is designed to introduce students to key features of American foreign policy. It does not assume any prior academic knowledge of the topic, but does assume that students will come to the class with a common familiarity on major issues in current American foreign policy. Students are expected to read the newspaper regularly in order to participate in class discussions.

The course will be divided into two major sections:

Foundations of American foreign policy. This will include readings and discussions on the major strands of thought in American foreign policy, the processes and mechanisms of making foreign policy in the United States, and the major historical features of U.S. foreign policy since WWII.

Current debates in American foreign policy. This will include readings and discussions on important contemporary topics in US foreign policy. We will cover America's national security policy, its international economic policy, terrorism, the question of American imperialism, and its attitude and actions toward other states and international institutions.

The course is primarily a lecture course. However, I anticipate that in each class session we will have opportunity for discussion.

Grading:

The course grade will be determined by:

Mid-term—20%

Final Exam—40%

Policy Paper—40%

The paper will take one of the current debates covered in class and write a policy memo recommending a course of action. It will be addressed to the “new administration” for consideration in January 2005. I will expect that it will outline the major options, describe the tradeoffs inherent in each, and advocate for a specific course of action. It should be approximately 10 pages.

Reading:

The syllabus has a required set of reading which is on reserve at Lehman library. Copies of key texts have also been ordered at Labrynth bookstore.

In addition, I will provide an additional bibliography of relevant works to supplement the required reading. Students may choose to consult this list for their papers.

Finally, I expect students to keep up with contemporary politics in the reputable news source of their choice. This should also be a part of your paper.

September 9: Introduction and Overview

Reading:

Walter Russell Mead, Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World (entire)

Warren Zimmerman, First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made their Country and Great Power (Introduction and chapter 12)

Class Agenda: What are the intellectual sources of American foreign policy?

September 16: The Making of Foreign Policy in the United States

Reading: James Nathan and James Oliver, Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System (entire)

Class Agenda: Who are the participants in the making of American foreign policy, and what are the mechanisms?

September 23: American Foreign Policy in the Cold War

Reading: John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, chapters 2, 5, 7, 9

Herring, America's Longest War, chapters 4 and 7

Lyndon B. Johnson, "American Foreign Policy in Viet-Nam", in Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, eds., The Viet-Nam Reader

Class Agenda: What were the main themes of American foreign policy in the Cold War? How did the United States act versus the Soviet Union, and in the Third World?

September 30: The End of the Cold War and American Foreign Policy

Reading: Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft (introduction, chapter 1, epilogue)

Jack Matlock, Jr., "Russia's Leaking Nukes," *The New York Review of Books*, February 5, 1998

President George H.W. Bush, "Toward a New World Order", Presidential Address before Joint Session of Congress, September 11, 1990 (skim)

Secretary of State James Baker, "American Strategy in the Persian Gulf Crisis" testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, December 5, 1990 (skim)

Joseph Nye, "What New World Order," Foreign Affairs, Spring 1992

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" National Interest, Summer 1989

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations" Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993

Class Agenda: How did the Cold War end and what were its immediate implications for the conduct of foreign policy?

October 7: Humanitarian Intervention

Reading: Michael Mandelbaum, "Foreign Policy as Social Work," Foreign Affairs, (Jan/Feb, 1996)

Richard Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention", Foreign Affairs, (November/December 1994)

Chester Crocker, "Lessons of Somalia", Foreign Affairs, May/June 1995

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War against Yugoslavia", Foreign Affairs, September/October 1999

James Steinberg, "A Perfect Polemic: Blind to Reality on Kosovo," Foreign Affairs, Nov/Dec 1999

Condoleezza Rice, "Campaign 2000—Promoting the National Interest," Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2000

Samantha Powers, "Bystanders to Genocide," Atlantic Monthly, September 2001

Kofi Annan, "Two Concepts of Sovereignty" The Economist, September 18, 1999

Class Agenda: What is the case for military intervention in humanitarian situations? Is this the job of the United States?

October 14: Intervention and Security: When to Do It and How to Do It

Reading: Ken Pollack, "Next Stop Baghdad?", Foreign Affairs, March/April 2002

"In Cheney's Words: The Administration Case for Removing Saddam Hussein," New York Times, August 27, 2002

Richard Perle, "Why the West Must Strike First against Saddam Hussein" The Daily Telegraph, August 9, 2002

John Mersheimer and Stephen Walt, "Keeping Saddam Hussein in a Box," New York Times, February 2, 2003

Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," Wall Street Journal, August 15, 2002

Rachel Bronson, "When Soldiers become Cops", Foreign Affairs, November 2003.

G. John Ikenberry, After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Power Wars, chapter 6

Max Boot, The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power chapters 12-14

James Dobbin, America's Role in Nation Building: From Germany to Iraq, RAND, 2003

Class Agenda: When and where should the United States deploy military power to prevent or pre-empt threats to national security? And what does it take to be successful in the aftermath?

October 28: Terrorism and Counter-terrorism

Reading: James Hoge and Gideon Rose, How Did this Happen? Terrorism and the New War, chapters by Lewis, Ajami, Betts

Thomas Caruthers, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror" Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2003

Dan Byman, "Should Hezbollah Be Next?" Foreign Affairs, Nov/Dec 2003

The 9/11 Commission Report, chapter 12.

Michael Doran, "Somebody Else's Civil War," Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2002

Christopher Chyba, "Toward Biological Security" Foreign Affairs, May/June 2002

Class Agenda: Is terrorism a unique national security threat and what should we do about it?

November 4: Economic Policy

Reading: "All Free Traders Now?" The Economist, December 7, 1996 (21-25)

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

Jagdish Bhagwati, "Don't Cry for Cancun" Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2004

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

Fred Bergsten, "Foreign Economic Policy for the Next President" Foreign Affairs, March/April 2004

Steven Radelet, "Bush and Foreign Aid," Foreign Affairs, September/October 2003

Jeffrey Sachs, "When Foreign Aid Makes a Difference" New York Times, February 3, 1997

Class Agenda: What are the key features of our international economic policy and what should they be?

November 11: Working with Others

Reading:

Robert Kaplan, "Power and Weakness," Policy Review, June 2002.

Bruce Jentleson, "Tough Love Multilateralism" Washington Quarterly, Winter 2003/04

Michael Reisman, "The United States and International Institutions" Survival, Winter 1999/2000

Jesse Helms, "American Sovereignty and the UN" The National Interest, Winter 2000/01

Thomas Schelling, "What Makes Greenhouse Sense? Time to Rethink the Kyoto Protocol" Foreign Affairs, May/June 2002

Shashi Tharoor, "Why America Still Needs the United Nations" Foreign Affairs, Sept/Oct 2003

Charles Krauthammer, "The Bush Doctrine: ABM, Kyoto, and the New American Unilateralism" Weekly Standard, June 2001.

Josef Joffe, "Who's Afraid of Mr. Big?" The National Interest, Summer 2001

Josef Joffe, "A Warning from Putin and Schroder" New York Times, June 20, 2000

Class Agenda: Should the United States look to work with other international actors, or go it alone?

November 18: China

Reading: Warren Cohen, America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations (4th Edition) (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Chapters 8, 9.

David Lampton, "America's China Policy in the Age of the Finance Minister: Clinton Ends Linkage," China Quarterly Issue 139 (Sept 1994): 597-621.

Richard Bernstein and Ross Munro, "The Coming Conflict With China," Foreign Affairs 76 no.2 (Mar/April 1997): 18-31.

Robert Ross, "Beijing as a Conservative Power," Foreign Affairs 76 no.2 (Mar/April 1997): 33-44.

Aaron Friedberg, "11 September and the Future of Sino-American Relations," Survival 44 no.1 (Spring 2002): 33-50.

David Lampton, "The Stealth Normalization of U.S.-China Relations," National Interest Fall 2003: 37-48.

John Mearsheimer, "The Future of the American Pacifier," Foreign Affairs 80 no.5 (Sept/Oct 2001): 46-61.

Class Agenda: The Sino-U.S. relationship during the Cold War was characterized by both intense conflict (from 1949-late 1960's) and relatively close strategic co-operation (early 1972-end of the Cold War). In reviewing the Sino-American relationship during the Cold War, what lessons or trends can we identify that might be applicable in understanding contemporary relations? In the present era (i.e. the next 25 years), is the Sino-American relationship likely to be characterized more by conflict or co-operation? Which factors will tend to promote conflict, and which will tend to promote co-operation?

November 25: Thanksgiving

December 2: The American Empire?

Reading: Andrew Bacevich, American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy, chapters 1, 4, 8, 9

John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition" Foreign Affairs, Sept/Oct 2002

Charles Krauthammer, "Unipolar Moment Revisited" The National Interest, Winter 2003/03

Max Boot, The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power chapter 15

Pew Global Attitudes Project, "A Year after Iraq" March 2004, pp. 1-23

Eliot Cohen, "History and the Hyperpower" Foreign Affairs, July/August 2004-08-11

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "American Primacy in Perspective" Foreign Affairs, July/August 2002

Class Agenda: Is the United States becoming an empire? Is this a good or bad thing?

December 9: Toward the Future

Reading: Charles Kupchan, The End of the American Era: US Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the 21st Century, chapters 1, 7, 8—skim other parts

Samuel Berger, "Foreign Policy for a Democratic President" Foreign Affairs, May/June 2004

Chuck Hagel, "A Republican Foreign Policy" Foreign Affairs, July/August 2004

Class Agenda: Where from here?